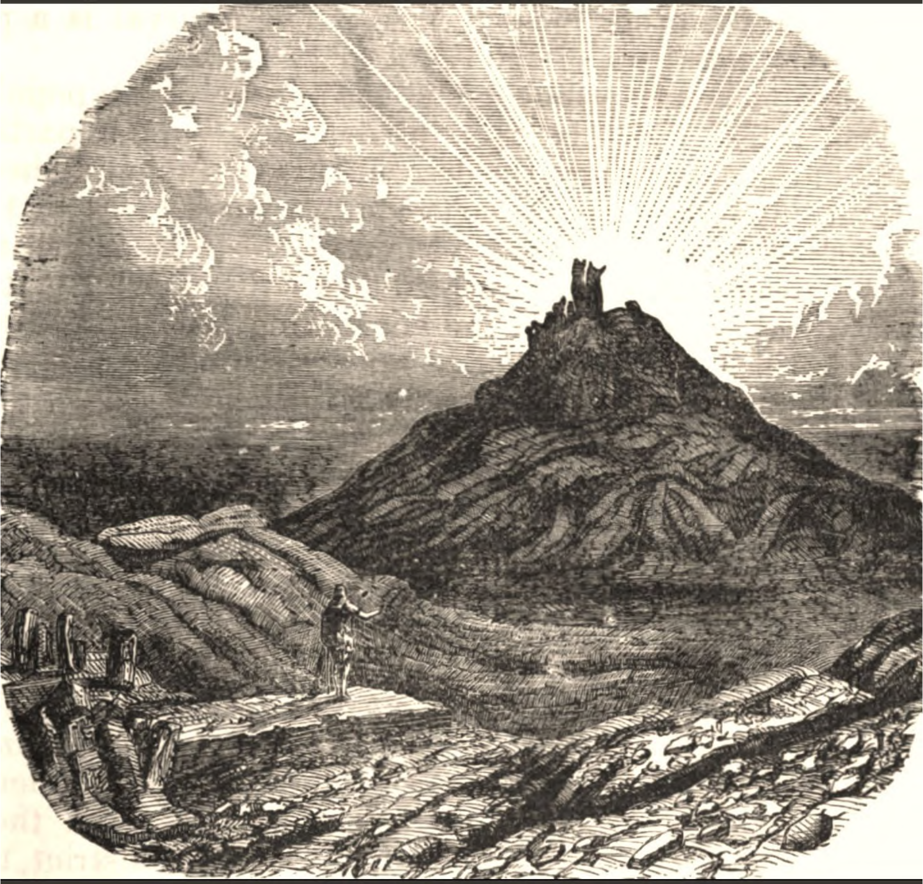
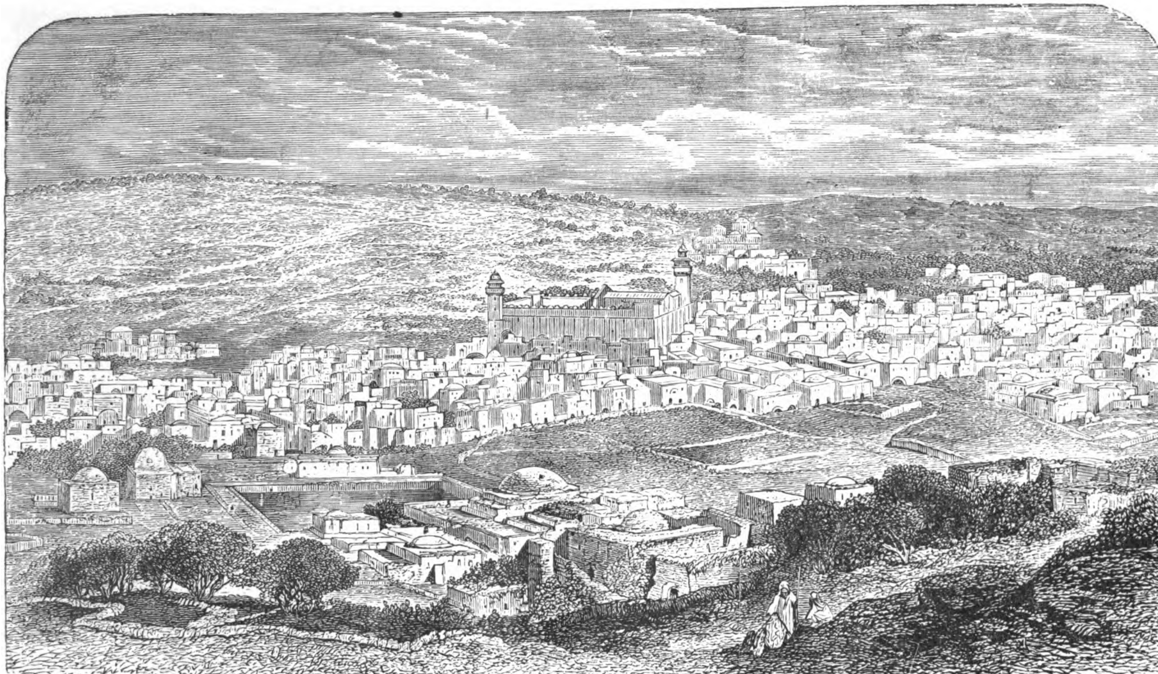


The Old Testament History

William Smith, William George Smith

Laurance F. Bower
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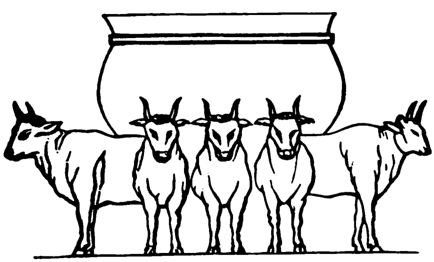
OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY.

FROM THE CREATION TO THE RETURN OF THE JEWS FROM CAPTIVITY.

EDITED

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WITH MAPS AND WOODCUTS.

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PREFACE.

THE great progress that has been made in Biblical studies of late years demands some better Text-book for the illustration of Old Testament History than has hitherto existed. It is surprising that a subject of such universal interest and importance should have no manual which can for a moment be compared, in fullness, accuracy, and scholar-like treatment, with the Histories of Greece and Rome in general use in our best schools. This attempt to supply such a want is partly due to the suggestions of many school-masters and other persons who have expressed a desire for a good Class-book for use on Sundays and at other times.

Besides giving the history recorded in the Old Testament with the necessary explanations, notes, references, and citations, this Work contains information on a large number of other subjects. Among these may be mentioned an account of each of the Books of the Bible, containing much of the matter found in "Introductions to the Old Testament," the geography of the Holy Land and of other countries, together with the political and ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Jews, Historical and Genealogical Tables, etc.

The Appendices, Notes and Illustrations are taken for the most part from the Dictionary of the Bible.

WM. SMITH.

LONDON, *November*, 1865.

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OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY.



Moses, after Michael Angelo.

BOOK I.

FROM ADAM TO ABRAHAM. THE PROBATION OF THE HUMAN RACE. A.M. 1–2008. B.C. 4004–1996.

CHAPTER I.

THE CREATION.

§ 1. Purpose and scope of Scripture History. § 2. The Universe created by God only. § 3. At a definite time. § 4. The objects created—They are described as *phenomena*. § 5. The order of Creation. § 6. Chaos: its indefinite duration. § 7. Works of the several days: i. Light—ii. The firmament and division of the waters—iii. Seas, dry land, and plants—iv. Sun, moon, and stars—v. Reptiles, fishes, and birds—vi. The higher animals and man. § 8. The rest of the Seventh Day: the Sabbath. § 9. Primeval state of man—Marriage—Paradise—Naming of the animals—Language—Spiritual perfection.

§ 1. The purpose of this work is to set forth the History contained in the Old Testament, with the necessary explanations and illustrations. We begin where the Bible itself begins. Its first Book, the first of the five-fold volume (*Pentateuch*) ascribed to Moses, opens with the words which form its title in Hebrew:—"In the beginning." That *beginning*, as explained by the Greek title of Genesis, is the commencement of creation; but this is but the first of the steps by which God built up for Himself a people, a *Church*, in the world which he created to be its dwelling-place. The Bible relates the history of that Church. It shows us the successive offers of grace which God made, first, to all mankind, then to the family of Abraham, then to the nation of the Jews, and lastly again to all mankind in Jesus Christ; and it so exhibits the result of these several offers, as to make us know our own impotence and the omnipotence of His mercy.

§ 2. The Books of Moses were written for a people who believed in GOD, who had been revealed to them as ONE only, a personal, omniscient, omnipotent Being. Without preface, therefore, or argument on the being of God, the sacred writer speaks of Him as the Creator of the universe:—"In the be-

ginning God created the heaven and the earth."[1] The purpose of this declaration was practical. It is addressed to the reader's religious faith, not to his scientific curiosity. It is designed to guard believers against the first steps in unbelief. There is in it a tacit reference to all the forms of error respecting the origin of the universe. The world was created by God; not by *chance*, not by *self-generation*, not by impersonal *powers of nature*, not by *many agents*, whether acting in harmony, or in antagonism, like the good and evil principles of the Persian religion. Above all, the sacred story reveals the *love* which was the ruling principle of the whole work, for at each stage God pronounces it *good.* And if we take this first statement in connection with other passages of the Bible, we learn that the *agent* in creation was the *Son*, the *Word.*[2]

§ 3. This work of creation, which is altogether distinct from the maintenance of the things once created, was performed *at a definite time.* "*In the beginning* God created the heaven and the earth." They did not exist, therefore, from eternity; nor are we permitted to trace them backward from age to age, till we lose all idea of their having had a beginning. Scripture does not tell us how remote *the beginning* is from any age of the world, known to science or to history, but it insists on the reality of *a beginning* for the Universe.

§ 4. The *objects created* were all that we are cognizant of, both by sense and reason :—" *the heaven and the earth :*"—the earth on which we live, and all that is above it: the Cosmos of the Greeks. And here, on the very threshold, we meet with the manifest principle, that the scriptural history of creation is a history of *phenomena.* The *heaven* which God created is that which we see, whether at once, by unaided vision, or gradually by the discoveries of the astronomer. The *earth* is the whole structure which forms our portion of the great Cosmos, manifested to us in like manner. These phenomena are so spoken of, in the plain language of common sense, as to leave the reader's judgment open for the reception of scientific facts and laws; but, whatever wonders science may re-

[1] Gen. i. 1. On the *Names of God*, see *Notes and Illustrations.*

[2] "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. *All things were made by Him;* and without Him was not any thing made that was made" (John i. 1–3). "God .... hath in these last days spoken unto us by His Son, whom He hath appointed heir of all things, *by whom also He made the worlds*" (Heb. i. 2). "All things were created by Him and for Him" (Col. i. 16). Comp. 1 Cor. viii. 6; Rom. xi. 36.

veal in heaven and earth, the simple truth remains, that *God created them all.*

§ 5. This might have seemed enough for the basis of our belief in God, as the Being in whose hands we are. But as a whole can only be comprehended through its parts, we are further taught the *order* in which the various portions of the created universe were produced; and that this order was *progressive*, from the lowest to the most perfect forms of being. From the first simple fact of *creation by God at a definite time* we are led on to a second point of time, when the *earth* (for the *heaven* is not now mentioned)[3] existed indeed, but in a state of *confusion* and *emptiness.* Its materials were not yet arranged in order, and it was void of the forms of being that were to cover its surface. Science clearly shows that our globe has passed through such a stage. Its materials were fused by *heat*, the great sustaining power of all life; and from that state the outer portions hardened into what is called the earth's crust, on the surface of which the vapors began to condense into water, while they still shut out the light of heaven. This *watery chaos* is the stage from which the more detailed narrative begins:[4]—"The earth was *without form and void*, and *darkness* was upon the face of the deep. And the spirit (or wind) of God moved upon the face of the waters."

§ 6. The duration of this Chaos is not so much as hinted at; and this absence of chronological definition, which separates the 1st verse from the 3d, was noticed by Hebrew scholars long before the discoveries of geology had revealed the earth's antiquity. It is quite clear that the Book of Genesis assigns no date for the epoch of creation. The successive steps by which "the heaven and earth rose out of chaos" are arranged in periods called *days;* and some who admit the indefinite duration of chaos, yet hold that these are natural days of 24 hours. But there are insuperable objections to this view; and the use of the word *day* for an indefinite period is extremely frequent in the Bible.[5] How these periods of creation were defined, and what analogy they bore to natural days, is a question too wide to be discussed here.[6]

[3] Gen. i. 2. [4] Ibid.

[5] Deut. ix. 1; Psalm xxxvii. 13; cxxxvii. 7; Rom. xiii. 12; Heb. iii. 15.

[6] The works written, especially in our own age, with a view to reconcile the Mosaic account of the Creation with the discoveries of astronomy and geology, are too many to be even enumerated. The ablest exposition of that "phenomenal" view, which seems the only key to such difficulties, is given in Hugh Miller's *Testimony of the Rocks.* Further investi-

The following are the works assigned to each "day:"

§ 7. i. On the First Day went forth the Word of God—the *creative* fiat, as it has been well called, for "He *spake* and it was *done*"—"Let there be Light, and *Light was*."[7] Light broke over the face of the choas, we are not told from what source, but probably through the floating vapors being now rare enough to be penetrated by the sun's light. It shone upon each part of the earth's surface that was exposed to it in turn, and so "God *divided* the light from the darkness; and God called the light *Day*, and the darkness he called *Night*. And the evening and the morning were the *First Day*."[8]

ii. As yet the watery vapors raised by intense heat formed an envelop of mist around the earth. They were now parted into two divisions, those which lie upon and hang about the surface of the earth, and those which float high above it. The blue heavens became visible, like a crystal vault, called the *firmament* (literally *expanse*), because its appearance is that of an outspread covering, elsewhere likened to a *tent*.[9] But the word chosen no more implies that the sky is really a solid vault than that it is a canvas tent. It forms, to the eye, the partition between the upper and lower heavens, between "the waters under the firmament and the waters above the firmament." Such was the work of the Second Day.[10]

iii. Next began the tremendous upheavings and sinkings of the earth's crust, by the forces at work within it, which formed it into mountains and valleys, and provided channels and basins for the waters on its surface. These were now

gation may perhaps throw more light on these interesting questions. Meanwhile it may be safely said that modern discoveries are in no way opposed to the great outlines of the Mosaic cosmogony. That the world was created in six periods, that creation was by a law of gradual advance, beginning with inorganic matter, and then advancing from the lowest organisms to the highest, that since the appearance of man upon the earth no new species have come into being; these are statements not only not disproved, but the two last of them at least amply confirmed by geological research.

[7] Gen. i. 3. Comp. 2 Cor. iv. 6.

[8] Gen. i. 4, 5. On the supposition that the work of Creation was unfolded to Moses, in vision, as a series of pictorial scenes, divided by intervals of darkness, since the whole vision began from a state of darkness, those successive intervals would naturally be reckoned with the following day. The division of the day from sunset to sunset is still observed by the Jews.

[9] Isaiah xl. 22.

[10] Gen. i. 6–8. To substitute the word *atmosphere* for *firmament* and *heaven* is a dangerous departure from the phenomenal simplicity of the narrative. The work was not so much the creation of an atmosphere, as the beginning of its clearance from dense aqueous vapor.

gathered into collections which were called *Seas*, while the name of *Earth* was applied, in an narrower sense than before, to the portions exposed above the waters. On these portions the germs of vegetation began at once to burst into life, forming grass and fruit trees. These had *their seed in themselves, after their kind.* Here is the great law of *reproduction according to species*, on which depends the order of the vegetable and animal kingdoms. This was the work of the THIRD DAY.[11]

iv. On the FOURTH DAY, the *Sun* and *Moon* were seen in the firmament of heaven. The fact of their previous creation is involved in the stability of the earth as a member of the solar system, as well as in the appearance of light on the first day. It is not said that they were first created on the fourth day; and of the stars, many of which must have existed myriads of years before their light reached the earth, it is simply said, "He made the stars also," not *when* He made them. In fact, the "fourth day" seems to mark the period during which the air was cleared of its thick vapors, by the action of the plants and other causes, so that the heavenly bodies became visible. Stress is laid on their *ruling* as well as *lighting* the day and night. God said:—"Let them be for *signs*, and for *seasons*, and for *days* and *years*." They were designed, as they have ever since been used, to mark out the periods of human life; to inculcate the great lesson that "to every thing there is a *season*, and a *time* to every purpose under the heaven."[12]

v. Vegetables could live and flourish in a thick moist atmosphere; and the lower animal organisms could already be associated with them, though they had not been mentioned as yet, because not outwardly visible. But now the larger animals appeared. First the waters teemed with the "creeping things" and the "great sea-monsters," with fishes and reptiles. Birds were produced at the same time, and might have been seen flying over the waters and in the open firmament of heaven. This was the work of the FIFTH DAY.[13]

vi. The SIXTH DAY witnessed the creation of the *higher animals* and MAN. These were formed out of the earth, the chemical constituents of which are, in the main, the same as those of animal bodies. The latter, in fact, derive their materials from the vegetables, which have first derived theirs from the earth and air and water; and all render

[11] Gen. i. 9–13. [12] Gen. i. 14–19; Eccles. iii. 1. [13] Gen. i. 20–23.

back their gaseous and fluid components to air and water, and their solids to the earth.

MAN, the last created, for whom all the previous work was but a preparation, differed from all other creatures in being made *like God.* The depth of meaning contained in this statement, though partly revealed in the Son of God, the true head of our race, remains to be developed hereafter. But at least it includes *intellectual* and *spiritual* likeness, intelligence, moral power, and holiness. To man was given dominion over all other animals; and both to him and them the plants were given for food. All were appointed to continue their species according to their own likeness, and all were blessed with fertility; but on the human race was pronounced the special blessing:—"Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and *subdue* it:"—so that Man's lordship of the creation is a part of his original constitution.[14]

On each of the works of the last four days God pronounced the blessing that *it was very good;* perfect in its kind, useful in its purpose, and entirely subject to His holy laws.

§ 8. On the SEVENTH DAY God ceased from his finished work, rested, and blessed the day by the perpetual institution of the SABBATH.[15] His rest, however, was not an entire cessation from activity. He had done *creating*, but he continued to *sustain* and *bless* his creatures. "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work,"[16] said Christ; and thus this seventh period finds its perfect analogy in the day for which he also gave the law, "to *do good* on the Sabbath-day."[17]

§ 9. The account of the Creation in *Genesis* i.–ii. 3, is followed by a more particular account of the *creation and primeval state of man* (Gen. ii. 4–25).[18] His frame was made from the dust (or clay) of the ground; his life was breathed into his nostrils by God. The female, created to be "a help meet

[14] Gen. i. 24–31: Compare Psalm viii. The name *Adam*, which is used in a threefold sense—*generic*, for the human creature, both male and female (see Gen. v. 2), *specific*, for the male, and hence as a *proper name* for the first man—is derived from the *ground* (*Adamah*) out of which he was formed. The root sense is the same as that of *Edom*, *red*. The name applied to man in the nobler aspect of his nature is *Ish* (a *man of worth*, Gen. ii. 23). The distinction has a resemblance to that between *homo* and *vir* in Latin.

[15] Gen. ii. 1–3. These verses are improperly divided from chap. i., of which they form the conclusion, verse 4 of chap. ii. beginning a new account of man's primeval state. The institution of the Sabbath will be more particularly considered in connection with the Mosaic Law.

[16] John v. 17.

[17] Matt. xii. 12.

[18] In Gen. i.–ii. 3, *Elohim* occurs alone as the name of God; in Gen. ii. 4–25, *Jehovah-Elohim* is used as the name of the Divine Being. See *Notes and Illustrations*.

for him," was made out of the substance of his own body, whence she was called *woman* (*Ishah*, the feminine of *Ish*, man).[19] This is given now, and long afterward used by Christ, as a reason for the *law of marriage*, which is a divine institution, plainly involved in the fact that *one woman* was created for *one man.* "Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and they shall be one flesh."[20] From these words, coupled with the circumstances attendant on the formation of the first woman, we may evolve the following principles:—(1), The unity of man and wife, as implied in her being formed out of man, and as expressed in the words "one flesh;" (2), the indissolubleness of the marriage bond, except on the strongest grounds;[21] (3), monogamy, as the original law of marriage, resulting from there having been but one original couple, as is forcibly expressed in the subsequent references to this passage by our Lord,[22] and St. Paul;[23] (4), the social equality of man and wife, as implied in the terms *ish* and *ishah*, the one being the exact correlative of the other, as well as in the words "help meet for him;" (5), the subordination of the wife to the husband, consequent upon her subsequent formation;[24] and (6) the respective duties of man and wife, as implied in the words "help meet for him."

To this pair God gave an abode and an occupation. He placed them in a Garden in Eden, an Eastern region, the name of which survived in historic times, and at least two of its four rivers are identified with the Tigris and Euphrates.[25] Their easy and pleasant occupation was to keep and dress the garden, or, as the Septuagint calls it, *Paradise.* This word, of Persian origin, describes an extensive tract of pleasure land, somewhat like an English *park;* and the use of it suggests a wider view of man's first abode than a *garden.* Perfect as he was in physical constitution, man might roam

[19] Gen. ii. 21–25.

[20] Gen. ii. 24; Matt. xix. 5.

[21] Comp. Matt. xix.

[22] "They *twain*," Matt. xix. 5.

[23] "*Two* shall be one flesh," 1 Cor. vi. 16.

[24] 1 Cor. xi. 8, 9; 1 Tim. ii. 13.

[25] The Hiddekel is the Tigris; but with regard to the Pison and Gihon, a great variety of opinion exists. Many ancient writers, as Josephus, identified the Pison with the Ganges, and the Gihon with the Nile. Others, guided by the position of the two known rivers, identify the two unknown ones with the Phasis and Araxes, which also have their sources in the highlands of Armenia. Others, again, have transferred the site to the sources of the Oxus and Jaxartes, and place it in Bactria; others, again, in the valley of Cashmere. Such speculations may be multiplied *ad infinitum*, and have sometimes assumed the wildest character. See *Dict. of Bible*, art. *Eden*.

over a very extensive region, such as that which lies between the highlands of Armenia and the Persian Gulf. Here he might find occupation for his mind in the study of the creatures made subject to him, and so be qualified to *name* them, as he did when God brought them before him. This suggestion also removes a difficulty arising out of the narrow range of climate in which so many varieties of animals are supposed to have lived. At all events, the researches of science point to the highlands south of the Caucasus as the primeval seat of the human race.

The fact of Adam's naming the animals proves that he was endowed from his first creation with the power of *language.* The narrative of his fall bears indirect but certain testimony to his close intercourse with God. All else is speculation; but we may dwell with delight on Milton's pictures of unfallen man, and believe with South that "Aristotle was but the rubbish of an Adam, and Athens the rudiments of Paradise." More perfectly, however, does Christ, "the second Adam," reveal to us the perfeotion of the first.

The last stroke in the description indicates the perfection of man's innocence by the absence of the sense of shame which sin alone has introduced into the original moral harmony of man's constitution:—"They were both naked, the man and his wife, and were not ashamed."[26]

[26] Gen. ii. 25.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

THE HEBREW NAMES OF GOD.

THROUGHOUT the Hebrew Scriptures two chief names are used for the one true divine Being—ELOHIM, commonly translated *God* in our version, and JEHOVAH, translated *Lord.* ELOHIM is the plural of ELOAH (in Arabic *Allah*), a form which occurs only in poetry and a few passages of later Hebrew (Neh. ix. 17; 2 Chr. xxxii. 15). It is also formed with the pronominal suffixes, as ELOI, *my God*, with the dependent genitive, and with an epithet, in which case it is often used in the short form, EL (a word signifying *strength*), as in EL-SHADDAI, *God Almighty*, the name by which God was specially known to the patriarchs (Gen. xvii. 1, xxviii. 3; Ex. vi. 3). The etymology is uncertain, but it is generally agreed that the primary idea is that of *strength*, *power to effect;* and that it properly describes God in that character in which He is exhibited to all men in His works, as the creator, sustainer, and supreme

governor of the world. Hence it is used to denote any being believed in and worshiped as God. But in the sense of a heathen deity, or a divine being spoken of indefinitely, the singular is most often used, and the plural is employed, with the strict idea of number, for the collective objects of polytheistic worship, *the gods, the gods of the heathen.* It is also used for any being that strikes an observer as godlike (Sam. xxviii. 13), and for kings, judges, and others endowed with authority from God (Psalm lxxxii. 1, 6, viii. 6, xcvii. 7, etc.; Ex. xxi. 6, xxii. 7, 8). The short form *El* is used for a *hero*, or *mighty man*, as Nebuchadnezzar (Ezek. xxxi. 11), a sense derived at once from the meaning of strength. The plural form of ELOHIM has given rise to much discussion. The fanciful idea, that it referred to the *Trinity of Persons* in the Godhead, hardly finds now a supporter among scholars. It is either what grammarians call the *plural of majesty*, or it denotes the *fullness* of divine strength, the *sum of the powers* displayed by God.

JEHOVAH denotes specifically the one true God, whose people the Jews were, and who made them the guardians of His truth. The name is never applied to a false god, nor to any other being, except ONE, the ANGEL-JEHOVAH, who is thereby marked as one with God, and who appears again in the New Covenant as "God manifested in the flesh." Thus much is clear; but all else is beset with difficulties. At a time too early to be traced, the Jews abstained from pronouncing the name, for fear of its irreverent use. The custom is said to have been founded on a strained interpretation of Lev. xxiv. 16; and the phrase there used "THE NAME" (*Shema*), is substituted by the Rabbis for the unutterable word. They also call it "the name of four letters" (יהוה), "the great and terrible name," "the peculiar name," "the separate name." In reading the Scriptures, they substituted for it the word ADONAI (*Lord*), from the translation of which by Κύριος in the LXX., followed by the Vulgate, which uses *Dominus*, we have got the LORD of our Version. Our translators, have, however, used JEHOVAH in four passages (Ex. vi. 3; Psalm lxxxiii. 18; Is. xii. 2, xxvi. 4), and in the compounds *Jehovah-Jireh*, *Jehovah-Nissi*, and *Jehovah-Shalom* (*Jehovah shall see*, *Jehovah* is *my Banner*, *Jehovah* is *Peace*, Gen. xxii. 14; Ex. xvii. 15; Judges vi. 24); while the similar phrases *Jehovah-Tsidkenu* and *Jehovah-Shammah* are translated, "the LORD our righteousness," and "the Lord is there" (Jer. xxiii. 6, xxxiii. 16; Ezek. xlviii. 35). In one passage the abbreviated form JAH is retained (Psalm lxviii. 4). The substitution of the word LORD is most unhappy; for, while it in no way represents the meaning of the sacred name, the mind has constantly to guard against a confusion with its lower uses, and, above all, the direct personal bearing of the name on the revelation of God through the whole course of Jewish history is kept injuriously out of sight. For these reasons, we have restored the name in the following pages, in the common form, its true pronunciation having been completely lost.

The key to the *meaning* of the name is unquestionably given in God's revelation of Himself to Moses by the phrase "I AM THAT I AM," in connection with the statement, that He was now first revealed by his name JEHOVAH (Ex. iii. 14, vi. 3). Without entering here upon questions of Hebrew philology, we must be content to take as establishod the etymological connection of the name *Jehovah* with the Hebrew substantive verb, with the inference that it ex-

presses the essential, eternal, unchangeable *Being* of Jehovah. But more, it is not the expression only, or chiefly, of an *absolute* truth: it is a *practical revelation* of God, in His essential, unchangeable relation to His chosen people, the basis of His *Covenant*. This is both implied in the occasion on which it is revealed to Moses, and in the fifteenth verse of Ex. iii. And here we find the solution of a difficulty raised by Ex. vi. 3, as if it meant that the name *Jehovah* had not been known to the patriarchs. There is abundant evidence to the contrary. As early as the time of Seth, "men began to call on the name of Jehovah" (Gen. iv. 25). The name is used by the patriarchs themselves (Gen. xviii. 14; xxiv. 40; xxvi. 28; xxviii. 21). It is the basis of titles, like *Jehovah-Jireh*, and of proper names, like *Moriah*, and *Jochebed*. Indeed, the same reasoning would prove that the patriarchs did not know God as *Elohim*, but exclusively as *El-Shaddai*. But, in fact, the word *name* is used here, as elsewhere, for the attributes of God. He was about, for the first time, fully to reveal that aspect of His character which the name implied.

The removal of this error does away with many of the inferences drawn from the way in which the two names are used in the Pentateuch, and especially in the Book of Genesis. This is not the place for a discussion of the hypothesis, that the use of *Elohim*, or *Jehovah*, or *Jehovah-Elohim*, is a sufficient test by which different original documents may be distinguished in the Book of Genesis. According to this theory, the sacred narrative is made up of two component and originally independent parts, the respective contributions of an "Elohist" and a "Jehovist." But the prevalence of one or the other name is certainly not incapable of an explanation consistent with the single authorship of the book. At the same time, it must be borne in mind that, even if we admit that Moses made use of earlier documents in drawing up the Book of Genesis, such a theory does not in the least militate against either the unity or the divine authority of the book. The history contained in Genesis could not have been narrated by Moses from personal knowledge; but whether he was taught it by immediate divine suggestion, or was directed by the Holy Spirit to the use of earlier documents, is immaterial in reference to the inspiration of the work. For a further discussion, see the articles *Jehovah*, *Genesis*, and *Pentateuch* in the *Dictionary of the Bible*.

CHAPTER II.

MAN'S PROBATION AND FALL.

§ 1. The Trees of Life and Knowledge. § 2. The Law and its penalty. § 3. The Temptation and Fall. § 4. Effects of the Fall. § 5. God's judgment—i. On the Serpent—ii. On the Woman—iii. On the Man. § 6. Promise of a Redeemer—The name of *Eve*. § 7. Institution of sacrifice—Dispensation of mercy. § 8. Traditions of heathen nations.

§ 1. THE happiness of Paradise was granted to the first human pair on one simple condition. A restraint was to be placed upon their appetite and self-will. Abundant scope was given for gratifying every lawful taste: "The Lord God caused to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food."[1] But two trees are distinguished from the rest, as having special properties. The *tree of life* had, in some mysterious way, the power of making man immortal.[2] The *tree of the knowledge of good and evil* revealed to those who ate its fruit secrets of which they had better have remained ignorant; for the purity of man's happiness consisted in doing and loving good without even knowing evil.

§ 2. The use of these trees was not left to man's unaided judgment. God gave him the plain command: "Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat: but of the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die."[3] The vast freedom granted to him proved the goodness of the Creator; the one exception taught him that he was to live under a *law;* and that law was enforced by a practical penalty, of which he was mercifully warned. We must not regard the prohibition merely as a test of obedience, nor the penalty as arbitrary. The knowledge forbidden to him was of a kind which would corrupt his nature—so corrupt it, as to make him unfit, as well as unworthy, to live forever.

§ 3. The trial of man's obedience was completed by a *temptation from without.*[4] The tempter is simply called in

[1] Gen. ii. 9. [2] Gen. iii. 22.
[3] Gen. ii. 16, 17.
[4] The whole Scripture doctrine of temptation is confused by the modern senses of the words *tempt*, *try*, *prove*. God *tries* his people's faith (as in the

Genesis the *Serpent*;[5] but that creature was a well-known type of the chief of the fallen angels, the Evil Spirit, whose constant effort is to drag down man to share his own ruin. From this enmity to God and man, he is called SATAN (the *adversary*), and the DEVIL[6] (the *accuser* or *slanderer*). He slandered God to our first parents, teaching them to doubt his truth, and to ascribe his law to jealousy. "*Ye shall not surely die:* for God doth know that, in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and *ye shall be as gods*, knowing good and evil."[7] He addressed the temptation first to the woman, who fell into the threefold sin of sensuality, pleasure, and ambition, "the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life."[8] She "saw that the tree was *good for food*, and that it was *pleasant to the eyes*, and a tree to be desired *to make one wise*;"[9] and she ate the fruit, and gave it to her husband. The threefold appeal of the tempter to the infirmities of our nature may be traced also in the temptation of Christ, the second Adam, who "was in all points likewise tempted, but *without* SIN."

§ 4. In one point the devil had truly described the effect of eating the forbidden fruit. "Their eyes were opened."[10] They had "become as gods" in respect of that knowledge of evil, as well as good, which God had reserved to himself and mercifully denied to them. They became conscious of the working of lawless pleasure in place of purity, in the very constitution given them by God to perpetuate their race; and they were ashamed because they were naked. Toward God they felt fear in place of love, and they fled to hide themselves from His presence among the trees of the garden.[11]

§ 5. Thus they were already self-condemned before God called them forth to judgment. Then the man cast the blame upon the woman, and the woman upon the serpent; and God proceeded to award a righteous sentence to each.[12]

i. The judgment passed upon the serpent is symbolical of the condemnation of the devil. The creature, as Satan's instrument and type, is doomed to an accursed and degraded life; and the enmity that has ever since existed between him and man is the symbol of the conflict between the powers of hell and all that is good in the human race.

ii. The woman is condemned to subjection to her husband,

case of Abraham), desiring that it may stand the trial: Satan *tempts* them, hoping for their fall.

[5] Gen. iii. 1; comp. 2 Cor. xi. 3. See *Notes and Illustrations*.

[6] *διάβολος*.

[7] Gen. iii. 4, 5.

[8] 1 John ii. 16

[9] Gen. iii. 6.

[10] Gen. iii. 7.

[11] Gen. iii. 8.

[12] Gen. iii. 9–19.

and sorrow and suffering in giving birth to her children; but she had the consolation of hearing that *her seed* was to conquer in the battle with the serpent, crushing its head, after the reptile had inflicted a deadly wound upon his heel.[13]

iii. The man is shut up to a life of toil, and the earth is cursed for his sake, to bring forth, like himself, evil weeds, that require all his exertions to keep them down. But, as before, a promise is added; his labors shall not be without its reward—"in the sweat of thy brow, *thou shalt eat bread.*"

Reminded of the doom they had incurred, though its execution was postponed—"dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return"—and clothed by God's goodness with the skins of beasts, they were driven out of Paradise. An angelic guard, with a flaming sword, debarred them from returning to taste the tree of life; for it would have perpetuated their suffering.[14]

§ 6. But yet they had received the revelation of eternal life. The curse upon the serpent and the promise to the woman pointed clearly to a Redeemer, who should be born of a woman, and, by his own suffering, should destroy the power of the devil; and here we have the *first prophecy of the Messiah.* Henceforth the woman lived in the expectation of the promised seed, which should make her the mother of a truly *living* race; and, to signify this hope, Adam gave her the name of EVE (*Chavah*, that is, *living*). Thus already life began to spring from death.[15]

§ 7. There can be no reasonable doubt that the *sacrifice of living animals* was now instituted as a prophetic figure of the great sacrifice which should fulfill this promise. Animals must have been slain to provide the skins that clothed Adam and Eve; and wherefore slain, except in sacrifice? This might not seem conclusive in itself; but the whole reason for sacrifice began to exist now: its use is taken for granted in the next chapter (Gen. iv.); and it continues throughout the patriarchal age without the record of any other beginning. Thus early, then, man learned that, "without shedding of blood, there is no remission of sin;" that his own forfeited life was redeemed, and to be restored by the sacrifice of the coming "seed of the woman;" and that he was placed by God under a new *dispensation of mercy.* Nay, even his punishment was a mercy; for his suffering was a discipline to train him in submission to God's will. The repentance of

[13] Comp. Rom. xvi. 20. [14] Gen. iii. 21–24. [15] Gen iii. 20.

our first parents is nowhere expressly stated: but it is implied here and in the subsequent narrative.

§ 8. We must not omit to notice the traces of these truths, which are found among many nations. The Greek legend of Pandora traces the entrance of evil to a woman; the Buddhist and Chinese traditions refer the beginning of sin to eating forbidden fruit and desiring forbidden knowledge; and most systems of mythology make the serpent a type of the power of evil, and a divine personage his destroyer. Delitzsch well says, "The story of the Fall, like that of the Creation, has wandered over the world. Heathen nations have transplanted and mixed it up with their geography, their history, their mythology, although it has never so completely changed form, and color, and spirit, that you can not recognize it. Here, however, in the Law, it preserves the character of a universal, human, world-wide fact: and the groans of Creation, the Redemption that is in Christ Jesus, and the heart of every man, conspire in their testimony to the most literal truth of the narrative." The recollection of the *tree of life* is preserved in the sacred tree of the Assyrians and Hindoos, and in other Eastern systems of mythology.[16]

[16] See Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 472.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

THE SERPENT.

It has been supposed by many commentators that the serpent, prior to the Fall, moved along in an erect attitude, as Milton (*Par. L.* ix. 496)—

> "Not with indented wave
> Prone on the ground, as since, but on his rear,
> Circular base of rising folds that tower'd
> Fold above fold, a surging maze."

But it is quite clear that an erect mode of progression is utterly incompatible with the structure of a serpent, whose motion on the ground is beautifully effected by the mechanism of the vertebral column and the multitudinous ribs, which, forming as it were so many pairs of levers, enable the animal to move its body from place to place; consequently, had the snakes before the Fall moved in an erect attitude, they must have been formed on a different plan altogether. It is true that there are Saurian reptiles, such as the *Saurophis tetradactylus* and the *Chamæsaura anguina* of S. Africa, which in external form are very like serpents, but with quasi-feet; indeed, even in the boa-constrictor, underneath the skin near the extremity, there exist rudimentary legs; some have been disposed to believe that the snakes before the Fall were similar to the *Saurophis*. Such an hypothesis, howev-

er, is untenable, for all the fossil Ophidia that have hitherto been found differ in no essential respects from modern representatives of that order; it is, moreover, beside the mark, for the words of the curse, "upon thy belly shalt thou go," are as characteristic of the progression of a Saurophoid serpent before the Fall as of a true Ophidian after it. There is no reason whatever to conclude from the language of Scripture that the serpent underwent any change of form on account of the part it played in the history of the Fall. The sun and the moon were in the heavens long before they were appointed for "signs and for seasons, and for days and for years." The typical form of the serpent and its mode of progression were in all probability the same before the Fall as after it; but subsequent to the Fall its form and progression were to be regarded with hatred and disgust by all mankind, and thus the animal was cursed "above all cattle," and a mark of condemnation was forever stamped upon it. There can be no necessity to show how that part of the curse is literally fulfilled which speaks of the "enmity" that was henceforth to exist between the serpent and mankind; and though, of course, this has more especial allusion to the devil, whose instrument the serpent was in his deceit, yet it is perfectly true of the serpent. Serpents are said in Scripture to "eat dust" (see Gen. iii. 14; Is. lxv. 25; Mic. vii. 17); these animals, which for the most part take their food on the ground, do consequently swallow with it large portions of sand and dust.

CHAPTER III.

THE DESCENDANTS OF ADAM, OR ANTEDILUVIAN PATRIARCHS, DOWN TO NOAH. A.M. 1–1056. B.C. 4004–2948.[1]

§ 1. Birth of Cain and Abel. § 2. Their different occupations and characters—Two types of men. § 3. Their respective offerings. § 4. The murder of Abel. § 5. The punishment of Cain. § 6. His descendants. § 7. The race of Seth. § 8. Character of Enoch—His translation. § 9. Methuselah—Epoch of his death.

§ 1. AFTER the expulsion of man from Paradise, Eve bore her first-born son, and named him CAIN (i. e., *possession*, or *acquisition*), saying "I have gotten a man from the Lord." The name itself, and the reason given for its choice, clearly indicate her belief that this man-child was the promised "seed of the woman."[2] Her mistake seems to have been soon revealed to her, for, on the birth of her second son, she gave him a name expressive of disappointment, ABEL (Heb. *Hebel*, i. e., *breath*, *vapor*, *transitoriness:* some, however, take it to refer to the shortness of his life).

§ 2. In the occupation of these two sons of Adam, we trace the two great branches of productive industry pursued by men in an early stage of society. "Abel was a *keeper* (or feeder) *of sheep*, but Cain was a *tiller of the ground*."[3] Here are the beginnings of the *pastoral* and *agricultural* modes of life; and in this respect, as in others, the two first sons of Adam are representatives of his posterity. For we must avoid the error of thinking of Cain and Abel as the only progeny of Adam and Eve. The mention of Cain's wife,[4] as well as his fear that men would slay him (v. 14), are indications that the "replenishing of the earth" had made considerable progress before the murder of Abel. They are rather to be viewed as *types* of the two classes of character, which appeared from the first among men:—the good and the wicked, the "children of God" and the "children of the

[1] These are the commonly received dates; but there is really no sound basis for scriptural chronology before the time of David and Solomon. See *Notes and Illustrations* (A), on SCRIPTURE CHRONOLOGY at the end of the present chapter.

[2] Gen. iv. 1.

[3] Gen. iv. 4.

[4] Gen. iv. 17.

devil." This is clearly recognized by St. Jude, who uses "the way of Cain" for a type of wickedness,[5] and by St. John, who says that "Cain was *of that wicked one* (the devil), and slew his brother. And wherefore slew he him? Because *his own works were evil*, and *his brother's righteous*."[6] We see here, not only the distinction itself, but the jealousy and hatred with which wicked men regard the virtue that condemns them, and which vents itself in persecution. Accordingly Abel is named by our Saviour as the first of the noble army of martyrs.[7]

§ 3 This difference of character was made evident when they were called to observe the services of religion. Cain and Abel brought their several offerings according to their several possessions. "Cain brought of the fruit of the ground: Abel the firstlings of his flock, and of the fat thereof:" that is, the choicest of the first-born lambs or kids.[8] Abel presented his offering in a spirit of faith,[9] and was therefore accepted, but Cain's was rejected on account of the state of mind in which it was brought. This is implied in God's rebuke to Cain, who "was very wroth, and whose countenance fell," though it is obscured by the language of the English version. The passage may be rendered thus:— "Why art thou wroth, and why is thy countenance fallen?" If thou doest well (or, "if thou offerest ought" LXX.),[10] is there not an elevation of the countenance (i. e., "*cheerfulness, happiness*"); but if thou doest not well, *there is a sinking of the countenance;* sin lurketh (as a wild beast) at the door, "and to thee is its desire"—it seeks the mastery over you; "but thou art to rule over it"—to resist and subdue it.

§ 4. Cain scorned the remonstrance, and his anger advanced to its natural result in the murder of his brother.[11] It is uncertain whether the words "Cain talked with Abel" imply a treacherous snare, or a quarrel which led on to the fatal deed. In any case, Cain's rage at his brother's being preferred to him was its true cause. For, fearful as is the truth that the first overt act of sin after the fall was a brother's murder, he who knew what was in man has testified that "whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause" has already broken the spirit of the Sixth Commandment,[12] and that whosoever hateth his brother is a murderer."[13] This truth is confirmed by all history; and Christ does not hesi-

[5] Jude 11. [6] 1 John iii. 12.
[7] Matt. xxiii. 35.
[8] Gen. iv. 3–5. [9] Heb. xi. 4.
[10] LXX. This indicates the Septuagint or Greek translation of the Old Testament made at Alexandria.
[11] Gen. iv. 8. [12] Matt. v. 22.
[13] 1 John iii. 15.

tate to tell the Jews, who were enraged at him for the purity of His doctrine:—"Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do; he was a murderer from the beginning."[14]

§ 5. This first crime was promptly punished. The sullen indifference of Cain's reply to God's demand, "Where is Abel thy brother?" was probably affected, to conceal the remorse which has ever haunted the murderer.[15] The blood of the victim seems always to have that power, which is ascribed to the blood of Abel, of "crying to God from the ground."[16] The cry implied is clearly that for vengeance; and the same cry proceeds from the blood of all the martyrs.[17] Cain was doomed to a new infliction of the primal curse. To Adam the earth yielded its fruit, though with toil and sweat; but to Cain, as if indignant at the outrage done her by his brother's blood, the earth was cursed for him again, refusing to yield her strength under his tillage, or even to grant him an abode at the scene of his crime.[18] But even in this aggravation of the curse, we still see the mercy which turns the curse into a blessing; for it was no doubt an incentive to those mechanical arts which were first practiced by the family of Cain.

Cain received his doom in the same hardened spirit of impenitence, filling up the measure of his unbelief by the cry, "My iniquity is too great to be forgiven."[19] While lamenting his expulsion from the abodes of men and from the face of God, his great fear is for his life, lest men should slay him. To quiet this fear, God gave him a special sign that he should not be slain (for such seems to be the true meaning of the "mark set on Cain"),[20] and pronounced a sevenfold punishment on any one who should kill him. With his person thus protected, he was driven from his home, as "a fugitive and a vagabond in the earth."[21]

§ 6. Cain directed his steps to the east of Eden, and settled in the land of *Nod*, that is, *banishment*.[22] He became the ancestor of a race, whose history is recorded in a very striking

[14] John viii. 44.
[15] Gen. iv. 9.
[16] Gen. iv. 10.
[17] Rev. vi. 10.
[18] Gen. iv. 12.
[19] Gen. iv. 13.
[20] Probably in the same way as signs were afterward given to Noah (Gen. ix. 13), Moses (Ex. iii. 2, 12), Elijah (1 Kings xix. 11), and Hezekiah (Is. xxxviii. 7, 8.)
[21] Gen. iv. 14.
[22] There have been various conjectures as to the position of the land of *Nod;* but all that we know is, that it was east of Eden, which throws us back to the previous settlement of the position of Eden itself. The maintenance of intercourse between the Cainites and Sethites proves that the former did not wander very far.

contrast with that of the chosen race of Seth. The two genealogies, when placed side by side, are as follows:—

ADAM.

Cain.	Seth.
Enoch (Chanoch).	Enos.
Irad.	Cainan.
Mehujael.	Mahalaleel.
Methusael.	Jared.
Adah = Lamech = Zillah.	Enoch (Chanoch).
Jabal. Jubal. (of Adah) Tubal Cain. Naamah. (of Zillah)	Methuselah.
	Lamech.
	Noah.

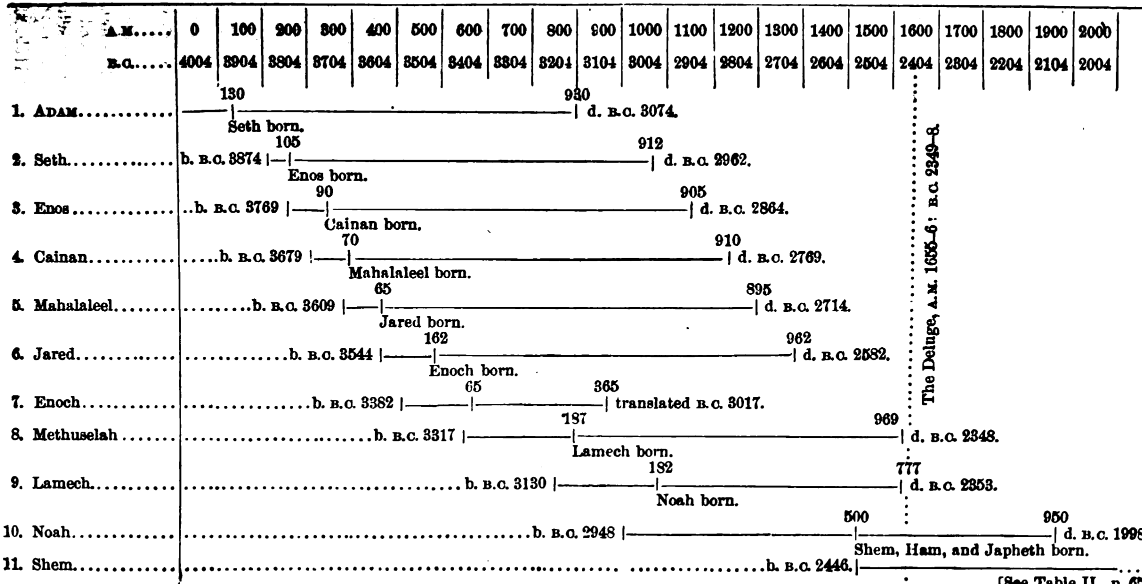
The resemblances in the names of the two families seem a natural consequence of the use of significant names at a time when language had acquired no great variety; and in both cases several of the names have a sense natural at that age, *increase* and *possession*. The different number of generations suggests that the period between the children of Lamech and the flood was occupied with the development of the inventions ascribed to them, by their unnamed descendants. The only personal facts of their history are, the foundation by Cain of the first city, which he named after his son *Enoch;* the polygamy of Lamech; and the occupations of his sons, of whom Jabal was the first nomad herdsman, Jubal the inventor of musical instruments, both stringed and wind, and Tubal-Cain the first smith. It deserves notice also, that Lamech's address to his wives[23] is the earliest example of poetry; it forms three couplets of parallel clauses.[24] The great contrast, however, between the two races, is in their social and moral condition.[25]

§ 7. Dismissing the family of Cain, the narrative traces the line of the chosen race.

The following is their genealogy, arranged so as to show how far they were contemporary (see p. 35).

[23] Gen. iv. 23-24. [24] See *Notes and Illustrations* (B).
[25] See *Notes and Illustrations* (C).

TABLE I.—GENEALOGY OF THE ANTEDILUVIAN PATRIARCHS.



The new son, who was given to Eve "instead of Abel, whom Cain slew," was hence named SETH (properly *Sheth*,[26] i. e., *appointed*).[27] The list of his race is headed with a remarkable phrase. Adam was made *in the likeness of God;* and he begat a son *in his own likeness*, after his image.[28] Adam handed down to Seth and his descendants the promise of mercy, faith in which became the distinction of God's children. This seems to be the meaning of the statement that, in the days and in the family of Seth, "men began to call upon the name of Jehovah."[29] For the "*name*" of any great personage is the symbol of allegiance to him—"jurare in *nomen*" —and so it is used repeatedly in the Old Testament of the name of God, and in the New continually of the name of Christ, "the name which is above every name," at which "every knee shall bow and every tongue confess." From the very beginning, then, of the race whose history is traced in Scripture, God was never without the public recognition of His name and cause by true worshipers, and such we find first in the family of Seth, in contrast to that of Cain.

§ 8. Of ENOS (*man* or *multitude*), CAINAN (*possession*), MAHALALEEL (*praise of God*),[30] and JARED (or *Jered*, *descent*), no particulars are recorded.[31] But "ENOCH, the seventh from Adam," stands conspicuous among the race of Seth. After the statement, emphatically repeated, that he "walked with God," we are told, "he was not, for God took him."[32] The former phrase is also applied to Noah, among the antediluvian patriarchs,[33] and is often used to describe a life of close communion with God, or, in one word, godliness. The apostle explains it, that "he pleased God," and traces Enoch's piety to his faith in God, as the only true God and the hearer of prayer, for "without faith it is impossible to please Him: for he that cometh to God must believe that He is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him."[34]

But Enoch's life was not all spent in quiet meditation; he "walked with God" in the path of active duty and the courageous maintenance of the cause of God amid an ungodly race. This we learn from the Apostle Jude, who describes

[26] Gen. iv. 25.

[27] Ewald explains the name as *seedling* or *germ*, with reference to the words, "God hath appointed me another *seed*, instead of Abel, whom Cain slew."

[28] Gen. v. 1-3. [29] Gen. iv. 26.

[30] In the LXX. this name is the same as that of Mehujael in the Cainite race (Μαλελεήλ).

[31] Gen. v. 9-20.

[32] Gen. v. 22, 44. The name, properly *Chanoch*, is interpreted by Philo "thy grace," by modern scholars, *initiated*.

[33] Gen. vi. 9. [34] Heb. xi. 5, 6.

the antediluvian world as already infected with those vices which came to a head in the days of Noah, which are ever the curse of advanced civilization, and which will again mark the last age of the world. Against these sins Enoch prophesied, and warned their perpetrators of the coming of the Lord to execute judgment upon them. He stands conspicuous, therefore, as the FIRST OF THE PROPHETS.[35]

Enoch's faith was rewarded by a special favor in the mode of his departure from the world. "He walked with God" till "he was not, for God had taken him." The men to whom he prophesied missed him, perhaps at the very moment they were planning his death :—"he was not found, because God had translated him."[36] The apostle who uses this phrase leaves no doubt as to its meaning: "by faith Enoch was translated *that he should not see death*."[37] This distinction was shared by Elijah alone of all the human race; and we may probably infer that, as in his case, so in Enoch's, the miracle was a testimony to the divine mission of the prophet, as well as a reward of the piety of the man.[38]

§ 9. METHUSELAH (*a man of arms*), the son of Enoch, is noted as having reached the greatest age of any man. He was contemporary with Adam for 243 years, and with Noah for 600. It is interesting to observe that he died in the very year of the Deluge.[39] Was he "a righteous man taken away from the coming evil," or, having lapsed into wickedness, did he perish with them that believed not? We are allowed to suppose the former, from the probability that he would have been saved in the ark, with the rest of Noah's family, had he

[35] Jude 14, 15. Respecting the so-called "Book of Enoch," see *Notes and Illustrations* (D).

[36] Heb. xi. 5.

[37] Enoch is not mentioned elsewhere in the Old Testament; but in Ecclesiasticus he is brought forward as one of the peculiar glories of the Jews. "Upon the earth there was no man created like Enoch: for he was taken from the earth" (Ecclus. xlix. 14). "Enoch pleased the Lord, and was translated [into Paradise, Vulg.], being a pattern of repentance" (Ecclus. xliv. 16).

[38] Both the Latin and Greek fathers commonly coupled Enoch and Elijah as historic witnesses of the possibility of a resurrection of the body and of a true human existence in glory; and the voice of early ecclesiastical tradition is almost unanimous in regarding them as "the two witnesses" (Rev. xi. 3ff.) who should fall before "the beast," and afterward be raised to heaven before the great judgment. In this way was removed the difficulty which was supposed to attach to their translation: for thus it was made clear that they would at least discharge the common debt of a sinful humanity from which they are not exempted by their glorious removal from the earth.

[39] This is according to the common chronology. The LXX. places his death six years earlier.

been still alive. His son LAMECH (properly *Lemech*),[40] the father of Noah, died five years before the deluge.

[40] Derived from a word signifying *a strong young man.* Both his name and his father's seem to bear witness to the state of violence which preceded the flood, and they form a contrast with the *rest* breathed after in the name of Noah.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

(A.) SCRIPTURE CHRONOLOGY.

INDEPENDENTLY of scientific evidence, the following are our *data* for determining the chronological relations of primeval history to the Christian era.

1. From the *Creation to the Deluge*, the generations of the patriarchs form our only guide. These, however, are given differently in different copies of the Scriptures; the sum being, in the LXX. 606 years longer, and in the Samaritan Pentateuch 349 years shorter, than in the received Hebrew text. The ancient chronologers give further variations.

2. From the *Deluge to the death of Joseph*, and thence to the *Exodus*, the patriarchal years are again our chief guide; but other data are obtained from various statements respecting the interval from the call of Abraham to the giving of the law and the sojourning of the Israelites in Egypt (Gen. xv. 13; Exod. xii. 41; Acts vii. 6; Gal. iii. 17). The main point in dispute here is whether 430 years was the whole period from the call of Abraham to the Exodus, or only the time of the sojourning of the Israelites in Egypt.

3. *From the Exodus to the building of Solomon's Temple*, the interval is positively stated in the received Hebrew text, as 480 years (1 K. vi. 1). But the reading is disputed; it is alleged to be inconsistent with the 450 years assigned by St. Paul to the Judges (Acts xiii. 20); and the longer period is made out by adding together the numbers given in the *Book of Judges*. Some chronologers, on the other hand, compute from the many genealogies which we have for this period.

4. *From the building of the Temple to its Destruction and the Captivity of Zedekiah*, we have the annals of the kings of Israel and Judah. Here the difficulties are so slight, that the principal chronologers only differ by 15 years in nearly 500.

5. THE EPOCH OF THE DESTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE is fixed by a concurrence of proofs, from sacred and profane history, with only a variation of one, or at the most two years, between B.C. 588 and 586. Clinton's date is June, B.C. 587. From this epoch we obtain for the building of Solomon's Temple the date of about B.C. 1012.*

From this point the reckoning backward is of course affected by the

* The highest computation, that of Hales makes the date B.C. 1027.

differences already noticed. Out of these have arisen three leading systems of chronology.

1. The *Rabbinical*, a system handed down traditionally by the Jewish doctors, places the Creation 244 years later than our received chronology, in B.C. 3750, and the Exodus in B.C. 1314. This leaves from the Exodus to the building of the Temple an interval of only 300 years, a term calculated chiefly from the genealogies, and only reconciled with the numbers given in the Book of Judges by the most arbitrary alterations. Genealogies, however, are no safe basis for chronology, especially when, as can be proved in many cases, links are omitted in their statement. When we come to examine them closely, we find that many are broken without being in consequence *technically* defective as Hebrew genealogies. A modern pedigree thus broken would be defective, but the principle of these genealogies must have been different. A notable instance is that of the genealogy of our Saviour given by St. Matthew. In this genealogy Joram is immediately followed by Ozias, as if his son—Ahaziah, Joash, and Amaziah being omitted.* In Ezra's genealogy (Ezra vii. 1–5) there is a similar omission, which in so famous a line can scarcely be attributed to the carelessness of a copyist. There are also examples of a man being called the son of a remote ancestor in a statement of a genealogical form.† We can not therefore venture to use the Hebrew genealogical lists to compute intervals of time, except where we can prove each descent to be immediate. But even if we can do this, we have still to be sure that we can determine the average length of each generation.

2. The *Short* or *Received Chronology* is that which has been generally followed in the West since the time of Jerome, and has been adopted in the margin of the authorized English version, according to the system of its ablest advocate, Archbishop Ussher. Its leading data are, first, the adoption of the numbers of the Hebrew text for the patriarchal genealogies; secondly, the reckoning of the 430 years from the call of Abraham to the Exodus; and, lastly, the adhering to the 480 years for the period from the Exodus to the building of the Temple. As we are only giving a general account of these different systems, and not attempting their full discussion, we can not now explain how the last datum is reconciled with the 450 years assigned by St. Paul to the Judges, or with the numbers obtained from their annals. The great chronologer Petavius is in substantial agreement with Ussher; but, for reasons which can not now be stated, he places the Exodus and the call of Abraham each forty years earlier, the Deluge and the Creation each twenty years later, than Ussher.

We have given Ussher's dates in the text of this work, as those most commonly received; but for the reasons already mentioned, we believe that the Jewish genealogies are no safe basis for chronology, and that it is there fore impossible to assign any real dates to the Creation and the patriarchal history.

3. The *Long Chronology* has been, in recent times, the most formidable

* Matt. i. 8. That this is not an accidental omission of a copyist is evident from the specification of the number of generations from Abraham to David, from David to the Babylonish Captivity, and thence to Christ, in each case fourteen generations. Probably these missing names were purposely left out to make the number for the interval equal to that of the other intervals, such an omission being obvious, and not liable to cause error.

† Gen. xxxix. 5, compared with xxviii. 5; 1 Chr. xxvi. 24; 1 Kings xix. 16, compared with 2 Kings ix. 2, 14.

competitor of the short system. Its leading advocates are Hales, Jackson, and Des Vignolles. With some minor differences, they agree in adopting the Septuagint numbers for the ages of the patriarchs, and the long interval from the Exodus to the building of the Temple. Their arguments for the former view are very ably answered by Clinton, who adopts the short period from the Creation to the call of Abraham, and the 430 years on to the Exodus, but reckons 612 years from thence to the foundation of the Temple.

The following table exhibits the principal dates as given by the leading modern chronologers:—

	Short System.			Long System.	
	Ussher. B.C.	Petavius. B.C.	Clinton. B.C.	Hales. B.C.	Jackson. B.C.
Creation	4004	3983	4138	5411	5426
Flood	2349	2327	2482	3155	3170
Call of Abraham	1921	1961	2055	2078	2023
Exodus	1491	1531	1625	1648	1593
Foundation of Temple	1012	1012	1013	1027	1014
Destruction of Temple	588	589	587	586	586

(B.) THE SONG OF LAMECH.

The remarkable poem which Lamech uttered has not yet been explained quite satisfactorily. It is the only extant specimen of antediluvian poetry; it came down, perhaps as a popular song, to the generation for whom Moses wrote, and he inserts it in its proper place in his history. It may be rendered:—

> Adah and Zillah! hear my voice,
> Ye wives of Lamech! give ear unto my speech;
> For a man had I slain for smiting me,
> And a youth for wounding me,
> Surely sevenfold shall Cain be avenged,
> But Lamech seventy and seven.

Jerome relates as a tradition of his predecessors and of the Jews, that Cain was accidentally slain by Lamech in the seventh generation from Adam. Luther considers the occasion of the poem to be the deliberate murder of Cain by Lamech. Herder regards it as Lamech's song of exultation on the invention of the sword by his son Tubal-Cain, in the possession of which he foresaw a great advantage to himself and his family over any enemies. This interpretation appears, on the whole, to be the best that has been suggested.

(C.) THE CAINITE RACE.

The social condition of the Cainites is prominently brought forward in the history. Cain himself was an agriculturalist, Abel a shepherd: the successors of the latter are represented by the Sethites and the progenitors of the Hebrew race in later times, among whom a pastoral life was always held in high honor, from the simplicity and devotional habits which it engendered; the successes of the former are depicted as the reverse in all these respects. Cain founded the first city; Lamech instituted polygamy; Jabal introduced the nomadic life; Jubal invented musical instruments; Tubal-Cain was the first smith; Lamech's language takes the stately tone of poetry; and even the names of the women, Naamah (*pleasant*), Zillah (*shadow*), Adah (*ornamental*), seem to bespeak an advanced state of civilization. But along with this, there was violence and godlessness; Cain and

Lamech furnish proof of the former, while the concluding words of Gen. iv. 26 imply the latter.

The contrast established between the Cainites and the Sethites appears to have reference solely to the social and religious condition of the two races. On the one side there is pictured a high state of civilization, unsanctified by religion, and productive of luxury and violence; on the other side, a state of simplicity which afforded no material for history beyond the declaration "then began men to call upon the name of the Lord." The historian thus accounts for the progressive degeneration of the religious condition of man, the evil gaining a predominance over the good by its alliance with worldly power and knowledge, and producing the state of things which necessitated the flood.

(D.) BOOK OF ENOCH.

This book is one of the most important remains of early apocalyptic literature. The history of the book is remarkable. The first trace of its existence is generally found in the Epistle of St. Jude (14, 15; cf. Enoch i. 9); but the words of the Apostle leave it uncertain whether he derived his quotation from tradition or from writing, though the wide spread of the book in the second century seems almost decisive in favor of the latter supposition. Considerable fragments are preserved in the *Chronographia* of Georgius Syncellus (c. 792 A.D.), and these, with the scanty notices of earlier writers, constituted the sole remains of the book known in Europe till the close of the last century. Meanwhile, however, a report was current that the entire book was preserved in Abyssinia; and at length, in 1773, Bruce brought with him on his return from Egypt three MSS. containing the complete Ethiopic translation.

The Ethiopic translation was made from the Greek, and probably toward the middle or close of the fourth century. The general coincidence of the translation with the patristic quotations of corresponding passages shows satisfactorily that the text from which it was derived was the same as that current in the early Church. But it is still uncertain whether the Greek text was the original, or itself a translation from the Hebrew.

In its present shape the book consists of a series of revelations supposed to have been given to Enoch and Noah, which extend to the most varied aspects of nature and life, and are designed to offer a comprehensive vindication of the action of Providence.

Notwithstanding the quotation in St. Jude, and the wide circulation of the book itself, the apocalypse of Enoch was uniformly and distinctly separated from the canonical scriptures.



Mount Ararat.

CHAPTER IV.

THE TIMES OF NOAH AND THE DELUGE. A.D. 1056–2006. B.C. 2948–1998.

§ 1. Significance of Noah's name. § 2. State of the Antediluvian World—The Sethite and Cainite races intermixed—Their progeny and the *Nephilim.* § 3. Interval of divine forbearance: God's resolve to destroy the world. § 4. But to preserve the race of man for a new dispensation—Noah and his family—The Ark prepared. § 5. Noah enters the Ark. § 6. The Flood: its duration and subsidence. § 7. Question of a universal or partial Flood—In any case universal so far as man was concerned. § 8. Noah leaves the Ark—His sacrifice and God's blessing—The *Noachic precepts.* § 9. The Covenant with Noah: *God's covenant of forbearance.* § 10. Noah's blessing on Shem and Japheth and curse on Ham. § 11. His death.

§ 1. THE name of NOAH is very significant. It means *rest*, or *comfort*, and his father gave it by prophetic inspiration, saying—"This shall comfort us concerning our work and toil of our hands, because of the ground which the Lord hath cursed."[1] These words seem to express a deeper weariness than that arising from the primal curse, from which indeed the age of Noah brought no deliverance. But it did bring

[1] Gen. v. 29.

the comfort of rest from the wickedness which had now reached its greatest height.

§ 2. The brief history of the world before the flood may fairly be filled up, to some extent, from our knowledge of human nature. We have seen the race of Cain inventing the implements of industry and art; and we can have no doubt that their inventions were adopted by the progeny of Seth. During the 1656 years before the Flood (or, by the chronology of the LXX., 2262), and when the experience of individuals embraced nearly 1000 years, vast strides must have been made in knowledge and civilization. Arts and sciences may have reached a ripeness, of which the record, from its scantiness, conveys no adequate conception. The destruction caused by the flood must have obliterated a thousand discoveries, and left men to recover again by slow and patient steps the ground they had lost. But the race of Seth also became infected with the vices of the Cainites. This seems to be the only reasonable sense of the intercourse between "the sons of God" (*sons of the Elohim*) and "the daughters of men"[2] (*daughters of the Adam*). We may put aside all fancies borrowed from heathen mythology respecting the union of superhuman beings with mortal woman, and assume that both parties were of the human race. The family of Seth, who preserved their faith in God, and the family of Cain, who lived only for this world, had hitherto kept distinct; but now a mingling of the two races took place which resulted in the thorough corruption of the former, who falling away, plunged into the deepest abyss of wickedness. We are also told that this union produced a stock conspicuous for physical strength and courage; and this is a well-known result of the intermixture of different races. Here it is a frequent mistake to confound these "mighty men of old, men of renown," with the "giants" (Heb. *Nephilim*), from whom they are expressly distinguished.[3]

On the whole, it seems that the antediluvian world had reached a desperate pitch of wickedness, the climax of which was attained by the fusion of the two races. The marked features of this wickedness were lust and brutal outrage.

[2] Gen. vi. 1, 2.

[3] Gen. vi. 4. The word *Nephilim* is used in one other passage (Numb. xiii. 33) as the name of a tribe of Canaanites; and as these were men of vast stature, the LXX. made the *Nephilim* of Noah's days giants also. But the word itself has no such meaning. It signifies either *fallen ones*, or *those who fall on others*, apostates or men of violence; and we can not be far wrong in believing the *Nephilim* to have been both.

The fearful picture of depravity drawn by Peter and Jude evidently refers to the antediluvian age as a pattern of the wickedness of the last days which shall again make the world ripe for destruction.[4]

§ 3. An interval of divine forbearance only brought this wickedness to its height. "Jehovah said, My spirit shall not always strive with (or *remain* or *rule in*) man (the *Adam*); for that they are but flesh, and their days shall be an hundred and twenty years."[5] In the somewhat obscure brevity of this speech, it is difficult to determine the force of each word; but the general sense seems to be: "I will take away from man the life I at first gave him, since he has corrupted himself to mere flesh, and I will limit his time on earth to one hundred and twenty years." That the period thus defined was a space for repentance, seems clear from the context. The opinion, that it marks out the future length of human life, does not at all agree with the duration of the lives of the post-diluvian patriarchs.

Meanwhile "God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination (or purpose) of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually. *And it repented Jehovah that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved Him at His heart.*"[6] This very striking language is an example of the figure called *anthropomorphism*, by which the thoughts and acts of God are described in language which would be appropriate to a man in like circumstances. Such a mode of expression is the only condition on which human language can be applied to God. He resolved to destroy the existing race of living creatures, as if putting an end to an experiment which had failed. "The earth was corrupt before God, and the earth was filled with violence. And God looked upon the earth, and behold it was corrupt, for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth."[7] Measures of amelioration would not meet the case. It was necessary (to use an expressive phrase) "to make a clean sweep" of the existing race, if there were to be any hope of better things among another. For the destruction contemplated was neither total nor final; and in these respects the Deluge is distinguished from the last conflagration.

§ 4. The family chosen for this experiment was that of Noah. "Noah found grace in the eyes of the Lord."[8] He is described as "a just man, and perfect (upright or sincere)

[4] 2 Peter ii. iii.; Jude 14, 15.
[5] Gen. vi. 3.
[6] Gen vi. 7.
[7] Gen. vi. 11, 12.
[8] Gen. vi. 8.

in his generations" (*i. e.*, among his contemporaries); and, like Enoch, he "walked with God."[9] Like Enoch, too, he testified against the prevailing wickedness, for he is called "a preacher of righteousness."[10] He had three sons — Shem, Ham, and Japheth, as they are named in order of precedence;[11] but Japheth seems to have been the eldest, and Shem the youngest.[12] Their birth is placed at the 500th year of Noah's life (Gen. v. 32). This seems to refer to the eldest son; for Shem was born two years later.[13] About this time, perhaps at the beginning of the 120 years of delay, God revealed His design to Noah, bidding him to prepare an "ark" to save his family from the coming flood, with the races of animals needful for them, and promising to establish a new covenant with his race.[14]

Like Abel and Enoch, Noah believed God, and so acted. "By *faith* Noah, being warned of God of things not seen as yet, moved with fear (or being wary), prepared an ark to the saving of his house; whereby he condemned the world, and became heir of the righteousness which is by faith."[15] Doubtless Noah continued his "preaching of righteousness," especially as occasions arose from the scoffing curiosity of those who watched his work; but that work preached louder still. And so "the long suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was preparing."[16] But it waited in vain. The unheeded warning, as is usual, only plunged men into greater carelessness. They went on, "eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, until the day that Noah entered into the ark; and knew not till the flood came and took them all away."[17]

§ 5. At the beginning of the six hundredth year of Noah's life the ark was completed; and on the tenth day of the second month of that year he entered into it, by God's command, with his wife, his three sons, and their wives—eight persons in all—who were saved from the flood, and, in a figure, baptized by its waters to a separation from the polluted life of the old world and the beginning of a new course.[18] They took with them the food they would require, which was as yet of a vegetable nature. They also took two (a pair) of every animal; but of clean animals (for the use of sacrifice had already established this distinction) they took seven; by which is generally understood three pairs

[9] Gen. vi. 9. [10] 2 Peter ii. 5.
[11] Gen. v. 32; vi. 10.
[12] Gen. ix. 24; x. 21.
[13] Gen. xi. 10. [14] Gen. vi. 13-21.
[15] Heb. xi. 7. [16] 1 Peter iii. 20.
[17] Matt. xxiv. 38, 39; Luke xvii 27.
[18] 1 Pet. iii. 21.

to continue the race, and one male for sacrifice. They took seven days to enter the ark,[19] and then "Jehovah shut Noah in."[20]

§ 6. On the same day, namely, the seventeenth day of the second month of the 600th year of Noah's life, the Flood began. Its physical causes are described simply as *phenomena*, in figurative language: "The fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened."[21] The narrative is vivid and forcible, though entirely wanting in that sort of description which in a modern historian or poet would have occupied the largest space. We see nothing of the death-struggle; we hear not the cry of despair; we are not called upon to witness the frantic agony of husband and wife, and parent and child, as they fled in terror before the rising waters. Nor is a word said of the sadness of the one righteous man who, safe himself, looked upon the destruction which he could not avert. But one impression is left upon the mind with peculiar vividness, from the very simplicity of the narrative, and it is that of utter desolation. "All flesh died that moveth upon the earth, both of fowl, and of cattle, and of beast, and of every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth, and every man. .... They were destroyed from the earth, and Noah only remained alive, and they that were with him in the ark."[22] The vast expanse of water appeared unbroken, save by that floating home of all that were left alive, for 150 days, or five months.

Meanwhile God had not forgotten Noah and those that were with him in the ark.[23] On the seventeenth day of the seventh month of the 600th year of Noah's life, the subsiding waters left the ark aground upon the mountains of Ararat.[24] More than two months were still required to uncover the tops of the mountains, which appeared on the 1st day of the tenth month. Noah waited still forty days (to the eleventh day of the eleventh month) before he opened the window of the ark. He sent out a raven, which flew to and fro, probably on the mountain-tops, but did not return into the ark. After seven days more (the eighteenth day) he sent forth a dove, which found no resting-place, and returned to the ark. In another seven days (the twenty-fifth) she was sent out again, and returned with an olive-leaf in her bill, the sign that even the low trees were uncovered, and the type for after ages of peace and rest. After seven days more (the second

[19] Respecting the ark, see *Notes and Illustrations* (A).

[20] Gen. vii. 16.

[21] Gen. vii. 11, 12.

[22] Gen. vii. 21–23.

[23] Gen. viii. 1.

[24] See *Notes and Illustrations* (C), ARARAT.

of the twelfth month), the dove was sent out again, and proved by not returning that the waters had finally subsided. These periods of seven days clearly point to the division of time into weeks.

§ 7. Whether the Flood was universal or partial has given rise to much controversy; but there can be no doubt that it was universal, so far as man was concerned: we mean that it extended to all *the then known world.* The literal truth of the narration obliges us to believe that *the whole human race,* except eight persons, perished by the waters of the Flood. In the New Testament our Lord gives the sanction of His own authority to the historical truth of the narrative,[25] declaring that the state of the world at His second coming shall be such as it was in the days of Noah. St. Peter speaks of the "long suffering of God," which "waited in the days of Noah while the ark was a preparing, wherein few, that is, eight souls, were saved by water," and sees in the waters of the Flood by which the ark was borne up a type of baptism, by which the Church is separated from the world. And again, in his Second Epistle,[26] he cites it as an instance of the righteous judgment of God who spared not the old world. But the language of the Book of Genesis does not compel us to suppose that the whole surface of the globe was actually covered with water, if the evidence of geology requires us to adopt the hypothesis of a partial deluge. It is natural to suppose that the writer, when he speaks of "all flesh," "all in whose nostrils was the breath of life," refers only to his own locality. This sort of language is common enough in the Bible when only a small part of the globe is intended. Thus, for instance, it is said that "*all countries* came into Egypt to Joseph to buy corn;" and that "a decree went out from Cæsar Augustus that *all the world* should be taxed." In these and many similar passages the expressions of the writer are obviously not to be taken in an exactly literal sense. Even the apparently very distinct phrase "*all* the high hills that were *under the whole heaven* were covered," may be matched by another precisely similar, where it is said that God would put the fear and the dread of Israel upon *every nation under heaven.*

The truth of the biblical narrative is confirmed by the numerous traditions of other nations, which have preserved the memory of a great and destructive flood, from which but a small part of mankind escaped. They seem to point back to

[25] Matt. xxiv. 37; Luke xvii. 26. [26] 2 Pet. ii. 5.

a common centre, whence they were carried by the different families of man, as they wandered east and west.[27]

§ 8. But to return to the biblical narrative. Noah at length removed the covering of the ark, and beheld the newly-uncovered earth, on the first day of the 601st year of his age.[28] On the twenty-seventh day of the second month the earth was dry, and Noah went out of the ark by the command of God, with all the creatures.[29] His first act was to build an altar and offer a sacrifice of every clean beast and bird. This act of piety called forth the promise from God that He would not again curse the earth on account of man, nor destroy it as He had done; but that He would forbear with man's innate tendency to evil, and continue the existing course of nature until the appointed end of the world.[30] He repeated to Noah and his sons the blessing pronounced on Adam and Eve, that they should "be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth," and that the inferior creatures should be subject to them.[31] To this He added the use of animals for food.[32] But the eating their blood was forbidden, because the blood is the life; and, lest the needful shedding of their blood should lead to deeds of blood, a new law was enacted against murder. The horror of the crime was clearly stated on the two grounds of the common brotherhood of man, which makes every murder a fratricide, and of the creation of man in God's image. The first murderer had been driven out as a vagabond and fugitive; but his life was sacred. Now, however, the penalty was changed, and the law laid down—"He that sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed."[33] This law amounts to giving the civil magistrate the "power of the sword;"[34] and hence we may consider *three new precepts* to have been given to Noah, in addition to the laws of the Sabbath and of marriage, which were revealed to Adam—namely, the abstinence from blood, the prohibition of murder, and the recognition of the civil authority The Jews reckoned seven "Noachic precepts" as antecedent to the Jewish Law, and therefore binding upon proselytes. The remaining four are the laws against idolatry and blasphemy, incest and theft. These have all survived the Jewish dispensation, except the law of abstinence from blood, and even this was imposed by the Apostles upon Gentile converts to Christianity.[35] The Greek Church kept to the precept against eating blood after the Latin Church had abandoned

[27] On the traditions of the Deluge, see *Notes and Illustrations* (B).
[28] Gen. viii 13. [29] Gen. viii. 14–19.
[30] Gen. viii. 20–22. [31] Gen. ix. 1, 2.
[32] Gen. ix. 3, 4. [33] Gen. ix. 5, 6.
[34] Rom. xiii. 4. [35] Acts xv. 20.

it; and the question of its temporary nature can hardly be considered as settled.

§ 9. In addition to these promises and precepts, God made with Noah a COVENANT[36] — that is, one of these *agreements* by which He had condescended again and again to bind Himself toward man; not more sacred with Him than a simple promise, but more satisfying to the weakness of our faith.[37] Of these covenants, that made with Noah on behalf of his descendants is the first; and it may be called the *Covenant of God's forbearance*, under which man lives to the end of time. It repeated the promise that the world should not be again destroyed by a flood; and it was ratified by the beautiful sign of the rainbow in the cloud, a *natural* phenomenon suited to the *natural laws* of whose permanence it was the token.[38] It is important for us not to suffer our relations to Adam as our first father, or to Abraham as the father of the faithful, to overshadow our part in God's covenant with Noah as the ancestor of the existing human race.

§ 10. Noah soon gave proof that his new race was still a fallen one, by yielding to a degrading vice. Intoxication was doubtless practiced by the profligate race who "ate and *drank*" before the Flood; but it would seem to have been a new thing with Noah. He began his new life as a husbandman; and living in a land (Armenia) which is still most favorable for the vine, he planted a vineyard, made himself drunk in his tent, and suffered the degrading consequences which always, in some shape or other, attend the quenching of reason in wine, by a shameful exposure of himself in the presence of his sons.[39] And now they began to show those differences of character, which have severed even the families chosen by God in every age. Ham told his father's shame to Shem and Japheth, who hastened to conceal it even from their own eyes.[40] On coming to himself, Noah vented his feelings in words which are unquestionably prophetic of the destinies of the three races that descended from his sons. For in the primitive state of society, the government was strictly *patriarchal*. The patriarch—that is, the head of the race for the time being—had over his children and theirs the full power of the later *king;* he was their *priest;* and thus we have seen Noah offering sacrifices; and, among those who preserved the true religion, he was a *prophet* also.[41] With such authority, then, did Noah pro-

[36] Gen. ix. 8-11.
[37] See Heb vi. 13, 16–18.
[38] Gen. ix. 12 17. [39] Gen. ix. 20,21.
[40] Gen. ix. 22, 23.
[41] *On the patriarchal government*, see the conclusion of Book II.

nounce on his undutiful son the curse that, in the person of one of his own children, he should be a slave to his brother:

> "Cursed be Canaan [the youngest son of Ham]:
> A slave of slaves shall he be to his brethren;"

while to Shem and Japheth he gave the respective blessings already symbolized by their names, *Shem* (the *name*, chosen above all others) and Japheth (*enlargement*)—to the former that Jehovah should be his God in some special sense; to the latter, that he should be "enlarged" with worldly power, and should ultimately share the blessings of the family of Shem:

> "Blessed be Jehovah, God of Shem,
> And let Canaan be their slave!
> May God enlarge Japheth,
> And let him dwell in the tents of Shem,
> And let Canaan be their slave!"

Thus early in the world's history was the lesson taught practically, which the law afterward expressly enunciated, that God visits the sins of the fathers upon the children. The subsequent history of Canaan shows, in the clearest manner possible, the fulfillment of the curse. When Israel took possession of his land, he became the slave of Shem: when Tyre fell before the arms of Alexander, and Carthage succumbed to her Roman conquerors, he became the slave of Japheth: and we also hear the echo of Noah's curse in Hannibal's *Agnosco fortunam Carthaginis*, when the head of Hasdrubal his brother was thrown contemptuously into the Punic lines.

The blessing on Shem was fulfilled in that history of the chosen race which forms the especial subject of the Old Testament. The blessing on Japheth, the ancestor of the great European nations, is illustrated by every age of their annals, and especially by religious history. All this will be more clearly seen when the divisions of the three races are understood.

§ 11. Noah lived for 350 years after the Flood, and died at the age of 950, just half-way, according to the common chronology, between the Creation and the Christian era.[42] He survived the fifth and eighth of his descendants, *Peleg* and *Reu;* he was for 128 years contemporary with *Terah*, the father of *Abraham;* and died only two years before the birth of Abraham himself (A.M. 2006, B.C. 1998). Looking back

[42] Gen. ix. 28, 29.

ward, we find that he was born only 126 years after the death of *Adam*, and fourteen years after that of *Seth*. He was contemporary with *Enos* for 84 years, and with the remaining six antediluvian patriarchs (except Enoch) for centuries. We give these computations not as a matter of curiosity, but to show by how few steps, and yet by how many contemporary teachers, the traditions of primeval history may have been handed down—from Adam to Noah, and from Noah to Abraham, and, we might add, from Abraham to Moses. (See the Tables of the Patriarchs, pp. 57, 65.)

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

(A.) NOAH'S ARK.

The precise meaning of the Hebrew word (*têbâh*), translated *ark*, is uncertain. The word occurs only in Gen. vi.-viii. and in Ex. ii. 3. In all probability it is to the old Egyptian that we are to look for its original form. Bunsen, in his vocabulary, gives *tba*, "a chest," *tpt*, "a boat," and in the Copt. Vers. of Exod. ii. 3, 5, *thebi* is the rendering of *têbáh*. This "chest," or "boat," was to be made of gopher (*i.e.*, cypress) wood, a kind of timber which, both for its lightness and its durability, was employed by the Phœnicians for building their vessels. The planks of the ark, after being put together, were to be protected by a coating of pitch, or rather bitumen, which was to be laid on both inside and outside, as the most effectual means of making it water-tight, and perhaps also as a protection against the attacks of marine animals. The ark was to consist of a number of "nests" or small compartments, with a view no doubt to the convenient distribution of the different animals and their food. These were to be arranged in three tiers, one above another; "with lower, second, and third (stories) shalt thou make it." Means were also to be provided for letting light into the ark. In the A.V. we read, "A *window* shalt thou make to the ark, and in a cubit shalt thou finish it above"—words, which it must be confessed convey no very intelligible idea. The original, however, is obscure, and has been differently interpreted. What the "window" or "light-hole" was, is very puzzling. It was to be at the top of the ark apparently. If the words "unto a cu bit shalt thou finish it *above*," refer to the window and not to the ark itself, they seem to imply that this aperture or skylight extended to the breadth of a cubit the whole length of the roof. But if so, it could not have been merely an open slit, for that would have admitted the rain. Are we, then, to suppose that some transparent, or at least translucent, substance was employed? It would almost seem so. A different word is used in chap. viii. 6, where it is said that Noah opened the window of the

ark. There the word is *challôn*, which frequently occurs elsewhere in the same sense. Supposing, then, the *tsôhar* to be, as we have said, a skylight, or series of skylights running the whole length of the ark, the *challôn* might very well be a single compartment of the larger window which could be opened at will. But besides the window there was to be a door. This was to be placed in the side of the ark. Of the shape of the ark nothing is said; but its dimensions are given. It was to be 300 cubits in length, 50 in breadth, and 30 in height. Taking 21 inches for the cubit, the ark would be 525 feet in length, 87 feet 6 inches in breadth, and 52 feet 6 inches in height. This is very considerably larger than the largest British man-of-war. It should be remembered that this huge structure was only intended to float on the water, and was not in the proper sense of the word a ship. It had neither mast, sail, nor rudder; it was in fact nothing but an enormous floating house, or oblong box rather. Two objects only were aimed at in its construction: the one that it should have ample stowage, and the other that it should be able to keep steady upon the water.

(B.) TRADITIONS OF THE DELUGE.

The traditions which come nearest to the biblical account are those of the nations of Western Asia. Foremost among these is the Chaldæan. It is preserved in a fragment of Berosus, and is as follows: "In the time of Xisuthrus happened a great Deluge, the history of which is thus described. The Deity Kronos appeared to him in a vision, and warned him there would be a flood by which mankind would be destroyed. He therefore enjoined him to build a vessel, and to take with him into it his friends and relations: and to put on board food and drink, together with different animals, birds, and quadrupeds; and as soon as he had made all arrangements, to commit himself to the deep. . . . Whereupon, not being disobedient (to the heavenly vision), he built a vessel five stadia in length, and two in breadth. Into this he put every thing which he had prepared, and embarked in it with his wife, his children, and his personal friends. After the flood had been upon the earth and was in time abated, Xisuthrus sent out some birds from the vessel, which not finding any food, nor any place where they could rest, returned thither. After an interval of some days, Xisuthrus sent out the birds a second time, and now they returned to the ship with mud on their feet. A third time he repeated the experiment, and then they returned no more: whence Xisuthrus judged that the earth was visible above the waters; and accordingly he made an opening in the vessel (?), and seeing that it was stranded upon the site of a certain mountain, he quitted it, with his wife and daughter and the pilot. Having then paid his adoration to the earth, and having built an altar and offered sacrifices to the gods, he, together with those who had left the vessel with him, disappeared." Other notices of a flood may be found (*a*) in the Phœnician mythology, where the victory of Pontus (the sea) over Demarous (the earth) is mentioned: (*b*) in the Sibylline Oracles, partly borrowed, no doubt, from the biblical narrative, and partly perhaps from some Babylonian story. To these must be added (*c*) the Phrygian story of King Annakos or Nannakos (Enoch), in Iconium, who reached an age of more than 300 years, foretold the Flood,

and wept and prayed for his people, seeing the destruction that was coming upon them. Very curious, as showing what deep root this tradition must have taken in the country, is the fact that so late as the time of Septimius Severus, a medal was struck at Apamea, on which the Flood is com-



Coin of Apamea, in Phrygia, representing the Deluge.

memorated. This medal represents a kind of square vessel floating in the water. Through an opening in it are seen two persons, a man and a woman. Upon the top of this chest or ark is perched a bird, while another flies toward it carrying a branch between its feet. Before the vessel are represented the same pair as having just quitted it, and got upon the dry land. Singularly enough, too, on some specimens of this medal the letters NΩ, or NΩE, have been found on the vessel, as in the annexed cut. As belonging to this cycle of tradition must be reckoned also (1) the Syrian, related by Lucian, and connected with a huge chasm in the earth near Hierapolis, into which the waters of the Flood are supposed to have drained: and (2), the Armenian, quoted by Josephus, from Nicolaus Damascenus, who flourished about the age of Augustus. He says: "There is above Minyas in the land of Armenia, a great mountain, which is called Baris [*i. e.*, a ship], to which it is said that many persons fled at the time of the Deluge, and so were saved; and that one in particular was carried thither upon an ark, and was landed upon its summit; and that the remains of the vessel's planks and timbers were long preserved upon the mountain."

A second cycle of traditions is that of Eastern Asia. To this belong the Persian, Chinese, and Indian. The Persian is mixed up with its cosmogony, and hence loses any thing like an historical aspect. The Chinese story is, in many respects, singularly like the biblical. Fáh-he, the reputed author of Chinese civilization, is said to have escaped from the waters of the Deluge. He reappears as the first man at the production of a renovated world, attended by seven companions—his wife, his three sons, and three daughters, by whose intermarriage the whole circle of the universe is finally completed. The Indian tradition appears in various forms. Of these, the one which most remarkably agrees with the biblical account is that contained in the Mahábhárata. We are there told that Brahma announces to Manu the approach of the Deluge, and bids him build a ship and put in it all kinds of seeds, together with the seven Rishis, or holy beings. The Flood begins and covers the whole earth. Brahma himself appears in the form of a horned fish, and the vessel being made fast to him, he draws it for many years, and finally lands on the loftiest summit of Mount Himarat (*i. e.*, the Himalaya). Then, by the command of God, the ship is made fast, and in memory of the event the mountain is called Naubandhana (i. e., *ship-binding*). By the favor of Brahma, Manu, after the Flood, creates the new race of mankind, which are hence termed Manudsha, i. e., born of Manu.

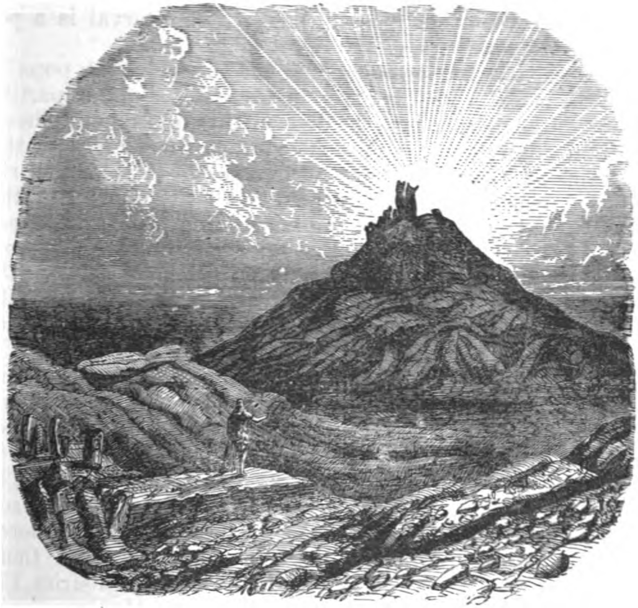
The account of the Flood in the Koran is drawn, apparently, partly from biblical and partly from Persian sources. In the main, no doubt, it follows the narrative in Genesis, but dwells at length on the testimony of Noah to the unbelieving. Another peculiarity of this version is, that Noah calls in vain to one of his sons to enter into the ark; he refuses in the hope of escaping to a mountain, and is drowned before his father's eyes.

A third cycle of traditions is to be found among the American nations. These, as might be expected, show occasionally some marks of resemblance to the Asiatic legends. "The Noah, Xisuthrus or Manu, of the Mexican nations," says A. von Humboldt, "is termed Coxcox, Teo-Cipactli, or Tezpi. He saved himself with his wife Xochiquetzatl in a bark, or, according to other traditions, on a raft. The painting represents Coxcox in the midst of the water waiting for a bark. The mountain, the summit of which rises above the waters, is the peak of Colhuacan, the Ararat of the Mexicans. At the foot of the mountain are the heads of Coxcox and his wife." A peculiarity of many of these American Indian traditions must be noted, and that is, that the Flood, according to them, usually took place in the time of the First Man, who, together with his family, escape.

One more cycle of traditions must be mentioned—that, namely, of the Hellenic race. Hellas had two versions of a flood, one associated with Ogyges, and the other, in a far more elaborate form, with Deucalion, which is familiar to us from the well-known story of Ovid.

(C.) ARARAT.

WE are told that the ark "rested upon the mountains of Ararat" (Gen. viii. 4), meaning the mountains of Armenia, for Ararat in biblical geography (2 K. xix. 37; Jer. li. 27) is not the name of a mountain, but of a district—the central region, to which the name of Araratia is assigned by the native geographer Moses of Chorene. This being the case, we are not called upon to decide a point which the sacred writer himself leaves undecided, namely, the particular mountain on which the ark rested. But nothing is more natural than that the scene of the event should in due course of time be transferred to the loftiest of the mountains of Armenia, and that the name of Ararat should be specially affixed to that one: accordingly all the associations connected with the ark now centre in the magnificent mountain which the native Armenians name *Macis*, and the Turks *Aghri-Tágh*. This is the culminating point of the central range of Armenia, the Abus of the ancients. It rises majestically out of the valley of the Araxes to an elevation of 17,260 feet above the level of the sea, and about 14,350 above the valley, and terminates in a double conical peak, the lower or Lesser Ararat being about 400 feet below the other. The mountain is very steep, as implied in the Turkish name, and the summit is covered with eternal snow. Until recently it was believed to be inaccessible, but the summit was gained by Parrot in 1829, and the ascent has been effected since his time.



Temple of Birs-Nimrûd at Borsippa. (See p. 64.)

CHAPTER V.

THE PARTITION OF THE NATIONS. FROM THE DELUGE TO THE BIRTH OF ABRAHAM. A.M. 1656–2008. B.C. 2348–1996.

§ 1. The peopling of the earth. § 2. Tripartite division of the nations from a centre in Armenia. § 3. Interpretation of the record in Genesis x. § 4. The three great families—i. Of Japheth—ii. Of Shem—iii. Of Ham. § 5. The city and tower of Babel. § 6. The confusion of tongues and dispersion from Babel. § 7. Nimrod's empire. § 8. The Post-diluvian patriarchs.

§ 1. The history of Noah's children divides itself into two branches; the general peopling of the earth by the descendants of his three sons, and the particular line of the chosen family. The former subject is briefly dismissed, but with notices full of interest;[1] and the latter is pursued down to Abraham, on whose migration to Canaan we again come in

[1] Gen. x.

contact with the other races of men. The interval is a period, in round numbers, of 400 years.[2]

§ 2. Two facts are prominent in the outline of the population of the world, which is given in *Genesis* x.:—the tripartite division of the nations into the descendants of Japheth, Shem, and Ham; and the original centre of all these races in the mountains of Armenia, where Noah came forth from the ark. That the record is meant to include all the peoples of the known world, is clear from the concluding words: "These are the families of the sons of Noah, after their generations, in their *nations*, and *by these were the nations divided in the earth* after the flood."[3] Now if we turn to the results of ethnological science, remembering that the science itself is quite recent, we must be struck with the points of agreement.

First, as to the locality. The highlands of Armenia are admirably adapted to be the central spot whence the streams of population should pour forth on all sides of the world. They are equidistant from the Caspian and Euxine seas in the N., and from the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf in the S. Around those seas the earliest settlements of civilized man were made, and they became the high roads of commerce and colonization. Armenia had communication with them by means of the rivers which rise in its central district, the Euphrates opening the path to Syria and the Mediterranean in one direction, as well as to the Persian Gulf in the other; the Tigris leading down to Assyria and Susiana; the Araxes and Cyrus descending to the Caspian, the latter also furnishing ready access to the Euxine by the commercial route which connected its valley with that of the Phasis. The researches of science point to that region as the primitive seat of these races. Physiologists are now generally agreed on the common origin of the human race, and they find its noblest type in the regions south of the Caucasus. Again, the safest guide to the affinities of nations is found in the comparative study of their languages: and two great families of these have been clearly established, with a general correspondence to the races of Japheth and of Shem, while the little that is known of the original languages of Palestine, Egypt, Ethiopia, and Libya, is consistent with their forming a third family, corresponding to the race of Ham.[4]

§ 3. The identification of the names mentioned in *Genesis* x.

[2] To Abraham's birth rather less, to his call rather more, than 400 years.

[3] Gen. x. 32.

[4] This whole subject, however, is still under discussion; and perhaps the original *Noachic Language* should be sought for more carefully.

TABLE OF THE NATIONS DESCENDED FROM THE SONS OF NOAH.

NOAH.

- **Japheth.**
  - **Gomer.**
    - Ashkenaz.
    - Riphath.
    - Togarmah.
  - **Magog.**
  - **Madai.**
  - **Javan.**
    - Elishah.
    - Tarshish.
    - Kittim.
    - Dodanim.
  - **Tubal.**
  - **Meshech.**
  - **Tiras.**

  "*By these were the isles of the Gentiles divided,*" etc. (Gen. x. 5).

- **Ham.**
  - **Cush.**
    - NIMROD.
    - Seba.
    - Havilah.
    - Sabtah.
    - Sabtechah.
    - Raamah.
      - Sheba.
      - Dedan.

    (Gen. x. 8–12).
  - **Mizraim.**
    - Ludim.
    - Anamim.
    - Lehabim.
    - Naphtuhim.
    - Pathrusim.
    - Caphtorim.
    - Casluhim.
      - Philistim.
  - **Phut.**
  - **Canaan.**
    - Sidon.
    - Heth.
    - Jebusite.
    - Amorite.
    - Girgashite.
    - Hivite.
    - Arkite.
    - Sinite.
    - Arvadite.
    - Temarite.
    - Hamathite.

    "*Afterward were the families of the Canaanites spread abroad.*" *Their borders are defined.*

- **Shem (father of all the children of Eber).**
  - **Elam.**
  - **Ashur.**
  - **Arphaxad.**
    - Salah.
      - Eber.
        - Peleg. "*For in his days was the earth divided.*"
          - Reu.
            - Serug.
              - Nahor.
                - Terah.
                  - **Abram.**
        - Joktan.
          - Almodad.
          - Sheleph.
          - Hazarmaveth.
          - Jerah.
          - Hadoram.
          - Uzal.
          - Diklah.
          - Obal.
          - Abimael.
          - Sheba.
          - Ophir.
          - Havilah.
          - Jobab.

          "*Their dwelling was from Mesha, as thou goest unto Sephar, a mount of the East.*"
  - **Lud.**
  - **Aram.**
    - Uz.
    - Hul.
    - Gether.
    - Mash.

is attended with considerable difficulties. First, there is a question respecting the extent of the world over which these nations must be looked for: but as the account is one of the *first* peopling of the earth after the Flood,[5] the space to which it refers must be comparatively small; and it belongs to later history to trace the further diffusion of the nations. Again, some names, which would be well known in their native or classical forms, seem unfamiliar to us in the Hebrew. The same names, too, appear among different races, as will be seen by comparing the Hamite and Shemite peoples of Arabia (see the Table, columns 3 and 7) with each other and with the descendants of Abraham by Keturah (*the Keturaïte Arabs*).[6] Such cases are satisfactorily explained by assuming that, when a people of one race settled in a country previously occupied by another, either expelling or subduing or coalescing with the former inhabitants, the new race are called by the already established *geographical* name of the older, just as the English received the name of Britons, and the mixed races of the three European peninsulas are called Spaniards, Italians, and Greeks.

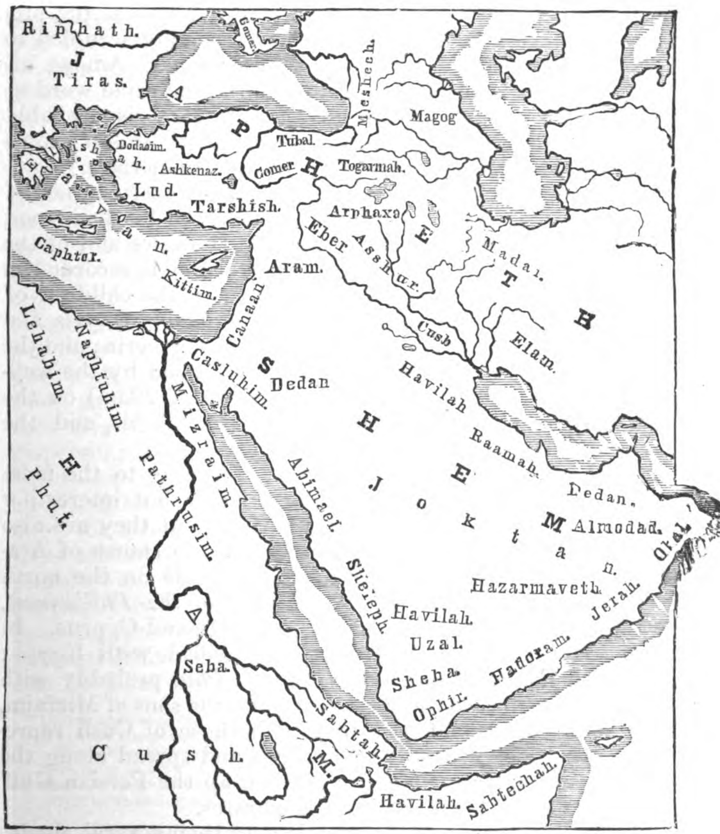
The chief stumbling-block, however, is found in the mixture of individual with national names. Now this is really of little consequence, since, with a few exceptions, as that of Nimrod,[7] the purpose is clearly to exhibit the affinities of *nations*. The record is *ethnographical* rather than *genealogical.* This is clear from the *plural* forms of some of the names (for example, all the descendants of *Mizraim*), and from the ethnic form of others, as those of the children of *Canaan*, nearly all of which are simply *geographical.* The genealogical form is preserved in the first generation after the sons of Noah, and is then virtually abandoned for a mere list of the nations descended from each of these progenitors. But in the line of the patriarchs from Shem to Abraham the genealogical form is strictly preserved, since the object is to trace a *personal* descent.

On the other hand, the identification is greatly aided, first, by the geographical explanations given in the record itself;[8] next, by the well-known names occurring among the less known; while on these latter much light is thrown by subsequent allusions in the prophetical as well as the historical books of the Old Testament.

§ 4. The annexed map exhibits a probable view of the leading peoples. The three great races extend over three nearly parallel zones inclining from north-west to south-east;

[5] Gen. x. 32. [6] Gen. xxv. [7] Gen. x. 8, 9. [8] Gen. x. 5, 10-12, 19, 30.

but they were also intermingled in a way which the map could not conveniently represent.



Map of the Distribution of the Human Race, according to the 10th chap. of Genesis

i. The territories of JAPHETH lie chiefly on the coasts of the Mediterranean, in Europe and Asia Minor, "the isles of the Gentiles;"[9] but they also reach across Armenia and along the north-eastern edge of the Tigris and Euphrates valley over Media and Persia. The race spread westward and northward over Europe, and at the other end as far as India.

[9] Gen. x. 5.

embracing the great Indo-European family of languages. This wide diffusion was prophetically indicated by the very name, Japheth[10] (*enlarged*), and by the blessing of his father Noah.[11] In Greek mythology the Titan JAPETUS is the progenitor of the human race, and Milton has not scrupled to call his son Prometheus "Japhet's wiser son." Among his children *Javan* is, in its old Hebrew form, the same word as the Greek *Ion;* and of his progeny, *Tarshish* is probably identified with the people of Southern Spain, *Madai* probably represents the *Medes*, and *Gomer* the Cimmerians.[12]

ii. The race of SHEM occupied the south-western corner of Asia, including the peninsula of Arabia. Of his five sons, *Arphaxad* is the progenitor both of the Hebrews and of the Arabs and other kindred tribes, whose origin is recorded in the Book of Genesis. North of them were the children of *Aram* (which signifies *high*), in the highlands of Syria and Mesopotamia. *Asshur* evidently represents Assyria; and the eastern and western extremities were occupied by the well-known nations of the Elymæans (children of *Elam*) on the south-eastern margin of the valley of the Tigris, and the Lydians (children of *Lud*) in Asia Minor.

iii. The race of HAM (the *swarthy*, according to the most probable etymology) presents very difficult but interesting problems. Their chief seat was in Africa, but they are also found mingled with the Semitic races on the shores of Arabia, and on the Tigris and Euphrates, while on the north they extended into Palestine (the land of the *Philistines*), Asia Minor, and the larger islands, as Crete and Cyprus. In Africa, *Mizraim* is most certainly identified with Egypt; *Cush* with Ethiopia, above Egypt; and *Phut* probably with the inland peoples to the west. Among the sons of Mizraim, the *Lubim* correspond to Libya; and those of Cush represent tribes which crossed the Red Sea and spread along the southern and eastern shores of Arabia, up the Persian Gulf and the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates.

§ 5. The dispersion of these nations to their several abodes only began a considerable time after the Deluge. It was in the days of Peleg, the fifth from Noah, that the earth was divided.[13] Men never leave their abodes in masses except un-

[10] Gesenius and others derive the name from the root *to be fair*, in allusion to the light complexion of the Japhetic races.

[11] Gen. ix 27.

[12] For the further discussion of each name, see the several articles in the *Dictionary of the Bible*.

[13] Gen. x. 25. This *may* refer only to the division of the race of Eber into Hebrews, sons of Peleg, and Arabs, sons of Joktan.

der the pressure of necessity or compulsion; and that pressure was supplied by the interposition of God to defeat a daring scheme, by which men aimed to make themselves independent of Him. "The whole earth was as yet of one language and of one speech," when "as they journeyed eastward they found a plain in the land of Shinar, and they dwelt there."[14] That Shinar means Babylonia, admits of no doubt; but who were the people that journeyed eastward to it? Were they one of the three races of Noah's sons, and if so, which? Or was it a migration of the great body of Noah's offspring from the rugged highlands of Armenia, in search of a better soil and climate? The latter seems the more probable, though there is a difficulty about bringing the Japhetic race into this region. They discovered the art of making brick from the argillaceous soil, and cementing it with the mineral bitumen or asphalt. Soon that idea sprung up in their minds, which has been the dream of man in every age—an universal empire, with a mighty city for its capital. In the blindness of their pride, they fancied that, when thus banded together, they might defy God himself and defeat His wise design of dispersing them over the earth. "Come," said they, "let us build us a *city*, and a citadel with its top (reaching) to heaven;[15] and let us make us a *name*, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth."[16] God saw the danger of their scheme, and willed that no such power should be ever established. The attempt has since been made thrice on that very spot by Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus, and Alexander. It has been repeated in the empire of the Romans, and in its attempted revival by Charlemagne and Napoleon; but in each case God has come down to confound the scheme:—

"Heroes and kings, obey the charm,
Withdraw the proud, high-reaching arm;
There is an oath on high,
That ne'er on brow of mortal birth
Shall blend again the crowns of earth,
Nor in according cry.

"Her many voices mingled own
One tyrant lord, one idol throne:
But to His triumph soon
He shall descend, who rules above,
And the pure language [17] of his love
All tongues of men shall tune."[18]

§ 6. The means by which the design was defeated was a "*Confusion of speech*" among the builders, caused by the

[14] Gen. xi. 1, 2.

[15] It is almost incredible that this hyperbolic description of the height of the citadel should have suggested the ludicrous idea of a *tower* of *refuge* (ignoring the *city*), which would outtop a flood deep enough to drown Ararat, and stand firm amid such an inundation on the alluvial soil of Babylonia! The Babel builders, fools as they were in their estimate of God's power, were not so childish as this would imply.

[16] Gen. xi. 4.

[17] Zeph. iii. 9.

[18] Keble, *Christian Year*, Monday in Whitsun week.

direct power of God, "that they might not understand one another's speech."[19] This confusion of speech has generally been itself confounded with the origin of the different languages of men. The Scripture narrative simply says that the confusion was such as to make them leave off working together, and that then "Jehovah scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth: and they left off to build the city."[20] We are not told in what the confusion consisted, nor what elements the different peoples carried away with them in their dispersion. Certainly it seems to be implied that some of the most striking differences which mark the various families of languages were then suddenly caused by God's immediate act, and that the builders separated because they could no longer understand each other; but it does not follow that languages were then formed as they exist now, and the comparative grammarian may trace up the beautiful laws which show the very opposite of *confusion*, without fearing to contradict the true sense of the Scripture narrative.

From the *confusion* (*Babel*) *of tongues*, the city received the name of *Babel*, and is renowned under the Greek form of *Babylon*. It is supposed that the tower was afterward completed. Similar edifices were used in other cities of the region as citadels, temples, and observatories, and the ruins at Borsippa, called *Birs-Nimrûd*, (Nimrod's mound), may be taken as a type of such structures.[21]

§ 7. The early importance of Babylonia and Assyria is testified by the notice of their capitals, and in the account of the division of the nations, Nimrod, the son of Cush, founded the first great military despotism on record. The "mighty hunter"[22] made men his game; for the phrase, in its connection, seems a great symbol of violence and rapine. His capital was Babylon, but he founded also three other cities in the plain of Shinar, namely, Erech, Accad, and Calneh.[23] Thence he extended his empire northward along the course of the Tigris over Assyria,[24] where he founded a second group of capitals, Nineveh, Rehoboth, Calah, and Resen.[25] The

[19] Gen. xi. 7. [20] Gen. xi. 7–9.

[21] See *Notes and Illustrations*.

[22] Gen. x. 9.

[23] Gen. x. 10; Erech may be identified with *Warka*, situated near the left bank of the Euphrates, about eighty miles S.E. of Babylon; Accad, with the remains at *Akker-kuf*, near *Baghdad*; Calneh with the classical *Ctesiphon*.

[24] Gen. x. 11. This passage should probably be read as in the margin of our version—"He (Nimrod) went out into Assyria."

[25] The identification of these places is not yet satisfactorily settled. The

Assyrians were Shemites; and accordingly we see here the race of Ham subduing that of Shem, but only for a time, for the history of these monarchies fulfilled the prophecy of Noah, that Ham should be subject to both his brothers. Still more strikingly was this true of the posterity of CANAAN (the youngest son of Ham), who settled in Palestine and became the great enemies of the chosen race.

Our present information does not permit us to identify Nimrod with any personage known to us either from inscriptions or from classical writers. Ninus and Belus are representative titles rather than personal names, and are but equivalent terms for "the lord," who was regarded as the founder of the empires of Nineveh and Babylon. We have no reason on this account to doubt the personal existence of Nimrod, for the events with which he is connected fall within the shadows of a remote antiquity. His name still survives in tradition, and to him the modern Arabs ascribe all the great works of ancient times, such as the *Birs-Nimrûd* near Babylon, *Tel Nimrûd* near *Baghdad*, the dam of *Suhr el Nimrûd* across the Tigris below *Mosul*, and the well-known mound of *Nimrûd* in the same neighhorhood.

§ 8. From this general account of the origin of the nations, the sacred narrative turns to the genealogy of the *Post-diluvian Patriarchs*, in ten generations from Shem to Abraham. The synchronical table on page 65 shows the relative duration of their lives; and it is continued to the birth of Moses, to show the synchronisms more clearly. The only remaining point requiring notice is the decrease in the duration of life after Eber, the common head of the Hebrew and Arab races.

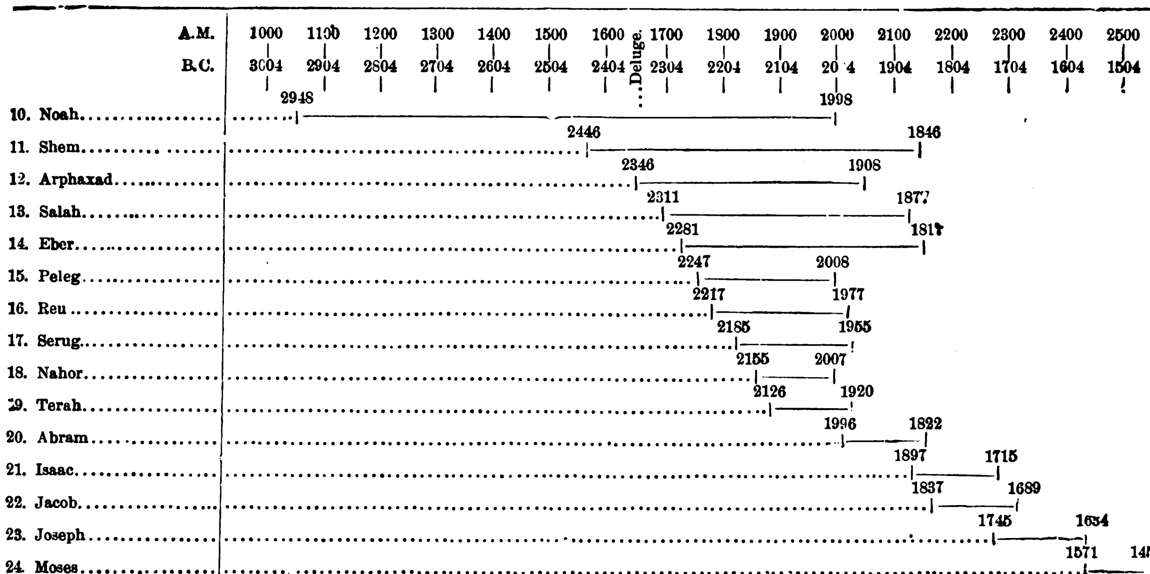
mounds opposite *Mosul*, named *Koyunjik*, and *Nebbi Yunus*, no doubt represent Nineveh, or a portion of it. If Calah be identified with *Kalah-Shergat*, as the name suggests, then *Nimrûd* would naturally represent the "great" city of Resen, which, according to the Bible, was between Calah and Nineveh. Rehoboth or Rehoboth Ir can not be fixed at any place: the name describes the "broad, open streets" of an Oriental town.

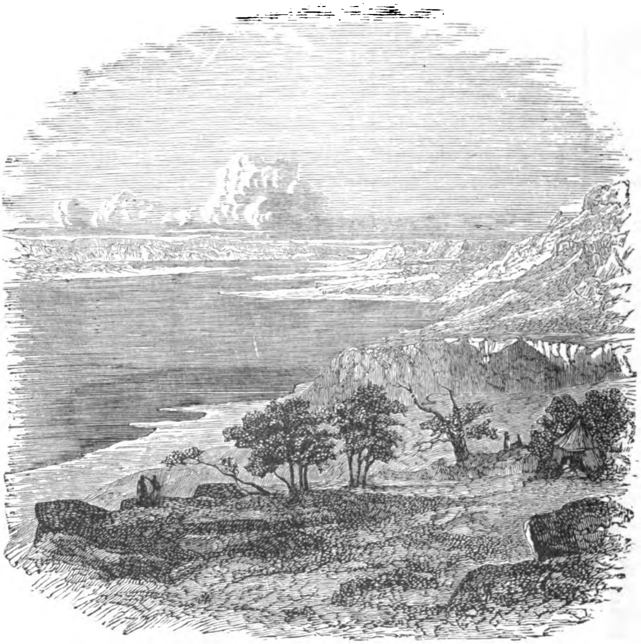
NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

THE TOWER OF BABEL.

When the Jews were carried captive into Babylonia, they were struck with the vast magnitude and peculiar character of certain of the Babylonian temples, in one or other of which they thought to recognize the very tower itself. The predominant opinion was in favor of the great temple of Nebo at Borsippa, the modern *Birs-Nimrûd*, although the distance of that place from Babylon is an insuperable difficulty in the way of the identification. There are in reality no real grounds either for identifying the tower with the Temple of Belus, or for supposing that any remains of it long survived the check which the builders received (Gen. xi. 8). But the *Birs-Nimrûd*, though it can not be the tower of Babel itself, may well be taken to show the probable shape and character of the edifice. This building appears to have been a sort of oblique pyramid, built in seven receding stages. "Upon a platform of crude brick, raised a few feet above the level of the alluvial plain, was built of burnt brick the first or basement stage—an exact square, 272 feet each way, and 26 feet in perpendicular height. Upon this stage was erected a second, 230 feet each way, and likewise 26 feet high; which, however, was not placed exactly in the middle of the first, but considerably nearer to the south-western end, which constituted the back of the building. The other stages were arranged similarly—the third being 188 feet, and again 26 feet high; the fourth 146 feet square, and 15 feet high; the fifth 104 feet square, and the same height as the fourth; the sixth 62 feet square, and again the same height; and the seventh 20 feet square, and once more the same height. On the seventh stage there was probably placed the ark or tabernacle, which seems to have been again 15 feet high, and must have nearly, if not entirely, covered the top of the seventh story. The entire original height, allowing three feet for the platform, would thus have been 156 feet, or, without the platform, 153 feet. The whole formed a sort of oblique pyramid, the gentler slope facing the N.E. and the steeper inclining to the S.W. On the N.E. side was the grand entrance, and here stood the vestibule, a separate building, the débris from which, having joined those from the temple itself, fill up the intermediate space, and very remarkably prolong the mound in this direction" (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. i. pp. 582–3). The *Birs* temple, which was called the "Temple of the Seven Spheres," was ornamented with the planetary colors, but this was most likely a peculiarity.

TABLE II.—POST-DILUVIAN PATRIARCHS. See p. 35.





The Dead Sea. View from *Ain Jidy*, looking South.

BOOK II.

FROM THE BIRTH OF ABRAHAM TO THE DEATH OF JOSEPH, OR THE PROBATION OF THE CHOSEN FAMILY. A.M. 2008-2369. B.C. 1996-1635.

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORY AND CALL OF ABRAM TO HIS 99TH YEAR, AND THE CHANGE OF HIS NAME. A.M. 2008–2369. B.C. 1996–1635.

§ 1. God's choice of a family. § 2. Genealogy of Terah—Birth of Abram. § 3. First call of Abram at Ur—Removal to Haran—Death of Terah. § 4. Abram's second call—His journey to Canaan and abode at Sichem. § 5. His removal to Bethel—Retreat to Egypt, and return to Bethel. § 6. His separation from Lot, and abode at Mamre, near Hebron—The third giving of the promise. § 7. The War of Sodom—Abram's rescue of Lot—MELCHIZEDEK. § 8. The promise of a son—The *faith of Abraham*—The COVENANT made with him—Promise re-

specting his descendants and their land. § 9. Hagar the Egyptian—Birth of Ishmael. § 10. Completion of the promise—The names of Abram and Sarai changed—Covenant of Circumcision—The birth of Isaac foretold.

§ 1. In that course of God's dealing with man which is traced in the sacred narrative, a new step was taken by *the choice of a* FAMILY from which the promised seed of the woman was to spring, and which should meanwhile preserve the knowledge and worship of the true God. Jehovah, in the revelation of himself to man, retires, so to speak, from the whole compass of the race of Noah into the inner circle of the family of Abraham. It was a step required by the state of the world, which had relapsed into idolatry and profaneness before the death of Noah. This is clear from the story of the building of Babel, and it is implied in the subsequent history. Joshua expressly says that the family of Terah were idolaters.[1] We can not, however, regard the rabbinical stories of Abraham's early contests with idolatry as more than curious and amusing.

§ 2. The patriarch whom God made the head of his chosen family was born only two years after the death of Noah (B.C. 1996):—

"Uno avulso non deficit alter."

His father was TERAH, the ninth of the patriarchs from Shem and the nineteenth from Adam (inclusive). His genealogy, which the subsequent history requires to be most clearly understood, is exhibited in the annexed table (page 68). It is the more important to include the whole family of Terah in our view, as the call of God came to Abram while he was still living in the house of his father, to whose whole family, therefore, the call may be considered as in some sense addressed, and by all of whom it was in some degree obeyed.

In the list of the post-diluvian patriarchs it is stated that Terah, at the age of 70 (B.C. 2056), begat three sons, Abram, Nahor, and Haran.[2] This is the order of dignity, as subsequently determined; but there can be little doubt that Haran was the eldest of the three, since both Nahor and Abram married his daughters; and Abram seems to have been the youngest, since he was born sixty years after the date just given; for he was seventy-five years old when his father died in Haran at the age of 205.[3] His name AB-RAM (*father of*

[1] Josh. xxiv. 2.

[2] Gen. xi. 26.

[3] That is, if we assume the numbers of the Hebrew text to be correct (Gen. xi. 32, compared with Gen. xii. 4).

Genealogy of the Family of Terah, Father of Abram.

18 (From Adam). Nahor.

19. Terah.

- **Haran.**
  - Lot (By his 2 daughters.)
    - Ammon.
    - Moab.
  - Milcah, m. her uncle Nahor.
  - Sarai or Iscah, m. her uncle Abram.
- **Milcah = Nahor = Reumah.**
  - (By Milcah:)
    - Huz (*whence* JOB)
    - Buz (*whence* Elihu),
    - Kemuel (*whence* Aram, or Ram, Job xxxii. 2),
    - Chesed (*whence* Chasdim, *i. e.* Chaldees),
    - Hazo,
    - Pildash,
    - Jidlaph.
    - Bethuel.
      - Laban.
        - Leah and Rachel, the wives of Jacob.
      - Rebekah, married Isaac.
  - (By Reumah:) Teba. Gaham. Thabath. Maacah.
- **(By Hagar.) —— 20. ABRAM = Sarai (aft. Sarah). —— (By Keturah.)**
  (aft. Abraham).
  - (By Hagar:) Ishmael.
    - Nebajoth (and his sister Bashemath, who married Esau), Kedar, Abdeel, Mibsam, Mishma, Dumah, Massah, Hadar, Tema, Jetur, Naphish, Kedemah: the 12 princes of the Ishmaelite and other Arabs who dwelt E. of the Israelites and Edomites (*Gen.* xxv. 13.)
  - (By Sarai:) 21. ISAAC = Rebekah.
    - Esau or Edom married,
      1. Adah, d. of Elon, a Hittite.
         - Eliphaz,
           - Teman (*whence* Eliphaz, *Job* iii.), Omar, Zepho, Gatam, Kenaz, (Also, by Timnah, Amalek).
      2. Aholibamah, or Judith, d. of Anah, s. of Seir the Horite (*whence* Mt. Seir became Edom),
         - Jeush, Jaalam, Korah,
      3. Bashemath, d. of Ishmael.
         - Reuel,
           - Nahath. Zerah Shammeh, Mizzah,

      (The 12 *dukes* or sheikhs of the 12 Edomite tribes, to whom Amalek is sometimes added, *Gen.* xxxvi. For details, and on the difficulty about the wives of Esau, *see* the names in the *Dict. of the Bible*).
    - 22. JACOB.
      - Twelve sons and one daughter (*see* their separate geneology.
  - (By Keturah:) Zimran, Jokshan, Medan, Midian, Ishbak, Shuah, (The six tribes of the Keturaite Arabs, who dwelt right across the peninsula S. of the Ishmaelites.) Sub tribes—(1.) Fr. *Jokshan:* Sheba, Dedan (*whence* Asshurim, Letushim, Leummim). (2.) Fr. *Midian:* Ephah, Epher, Hanoch, Abidah, Eldaah (*Gen.* xxv. 1–4). Comp. the Table on p. 65.

elevation, i. e., *exalted father*), was prophetic of his calling to be the ancestor of a race chosen for an exalted destiny; but it was afterward changed into the more significant name of AB-RAHAM (*father of a multitude*, see § 10).

§ 3. Terah had already lost his eldest son, Haran, whose son LOT became his heir, when God called Abram to depart into a land that he would show him.[4] This first call came to him while the family still dwelt in the very ancient city of "UR of the Chaldees." This is expressly stated by St. Stephen,[5] whose speech before the Sanhedrim is of the highest authority, were it only for his profound scriptural learning.[6] Their original abode at Ur has been identified by the most ancient traditions with the city of Orfah, in the highlands of Mesopotamia (Aram), which unite the table-land of Armenia to the valley of the Euphrates (Padan-Aram). In later ages it was called Edessa, and was celebrated as the capital of Abgarus or Acbarus, who was said to have received the letter and portrait of our Saviour.[7] Quitting Ur, the chosen family migrated southward, and took up their residence at Haran, more properly called in the New Testament Charran, east of the Euphrates, "the flood" which divided the old home of the family from the new land of promise.[8] The name is still preserved in the village of *Haran*, which stands on the river *Belilk*, a small affluent of the Euphrates.[9]

[4] Gen. xii. 1. [5] Acts vii. 2.

[6] See Acts vi. 10. In Gen. xi. the genealogy of the post-diluvian patriarchs is brought down to the migration and death of Terah before entering on the history of God's call to Abraham; but this is explained by the pluperfect in ver. 1 of chap. xii.

[7] "Two physical features must have secured *Orfah*, from the earliest times, as a nucleus for the civilization of those regions. One is a high-crested crag, the natural fortifications of the crested citadel. . . . The other is an abundant spring, issuing in a pool of transparent clearness, and embosomed in a mass of luxuriant verdure, which, amid the dull brown desert all around, makes, and must always have made, this spot an oasis, a paradise, in the Chaldæan wilderness. Round this sacred pool, 'The Beautiful Spring Callirrhoe,' as it was called by the Greek writers, gather the modern traditions of the Patriarch." Stanley, *Jewish Church*, part i. p. 7. But in opposition to the most ancient traditions, many modern writers have fixed the site of Ur at a very different position, in the extreme south of Chaldæa, at *Mugheir*, not very far above—and probably in the time of Abraham actually upon—the head of the Persian Gulf. Among the ruins which are now seen at the spot, are the remains of one of the great temples, of a model similar to that of Babel, dedicated to the Moon, to whom the city was sacred. Rawlinson's *Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World*, vol. i. chap. i. and viii.

[8] Gen. xi. 31; Acts vii. 4. The non-expression of the Hebrew guttural in our version causes a false resemblance between the Patriarch Haran (*h* soft) and the place Haran (*h* guttural).

[9] The place is celebrated among the Romans, under the name of

Here Terah died after a residence of some years (as is clear from Gen. xii. 5); and here, charmed probably by the fertility of the country, and claiming the right of a first choice, Nahor settled. We shall find his family here in the next two generations, bearing a character suited to the motive thus suggested.[10]

§ 4. Meanwhile, and, as it seems, immediately on his father's death (B.C. 1921), and probably in consequence of a repetition of the Divine call, Abram proceeded on his journey with his wife Sarai and his nephew Lot. The "separation from his kindred"[11] may refer to Nahor, or even to other branches of his father's house left behind in Ur; for Terah may have had other children besides the three who are specially mentioned on account of the subsequent relations of their descendants.

Abram's future abode was described by Jehovah simply as "a land that I will show thee;" and so "he went out, not knowing whither he went." This was the first great proof of that unwavering *faith* which added to his two other names of *Father* the title of *Father of the Faithful.*[12] He was now seventy-five years old; and this is the period usually assigned to the CALL OF ABRAHAM; though it was, in fact, the *second step* of his career. In tracing these stages, it is important to observe the special form of *promise* and *blessing* of which each was the occasion. The *first* of these involves the germ of all the rest, though as yet but vaguely stated:—"I will make of thee *a great nation*, and *I will bless thee*, and make thy *name great*, and *thou shalt be a blessing* [to others]: and *I will bless them that bless thee*, and curse him that curseth thee, and *in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed.*"[13] The last words already involve the crowning blessing of the Old Covenant, the *Promise of the Messiah*, and that to *the Gentiles*, "all families of the earth."[14]

Abram had now to leave Mesopotamia, and to cross the "Great River," the Euphrates. This separated him entirely from his old home, and hence the Canaanites gave to him the name of the "Hebrew"—the man who had *crossed* the river

Charræ, as being near the scene of the defeat of Crassus. It retained to a late time the worship of the Chaldæan deities, while the neighboring Edessa was the chief seat of Christianity in these parts. A recent writer places Haran near Damascus. See *Notes and Illustrations* (A).

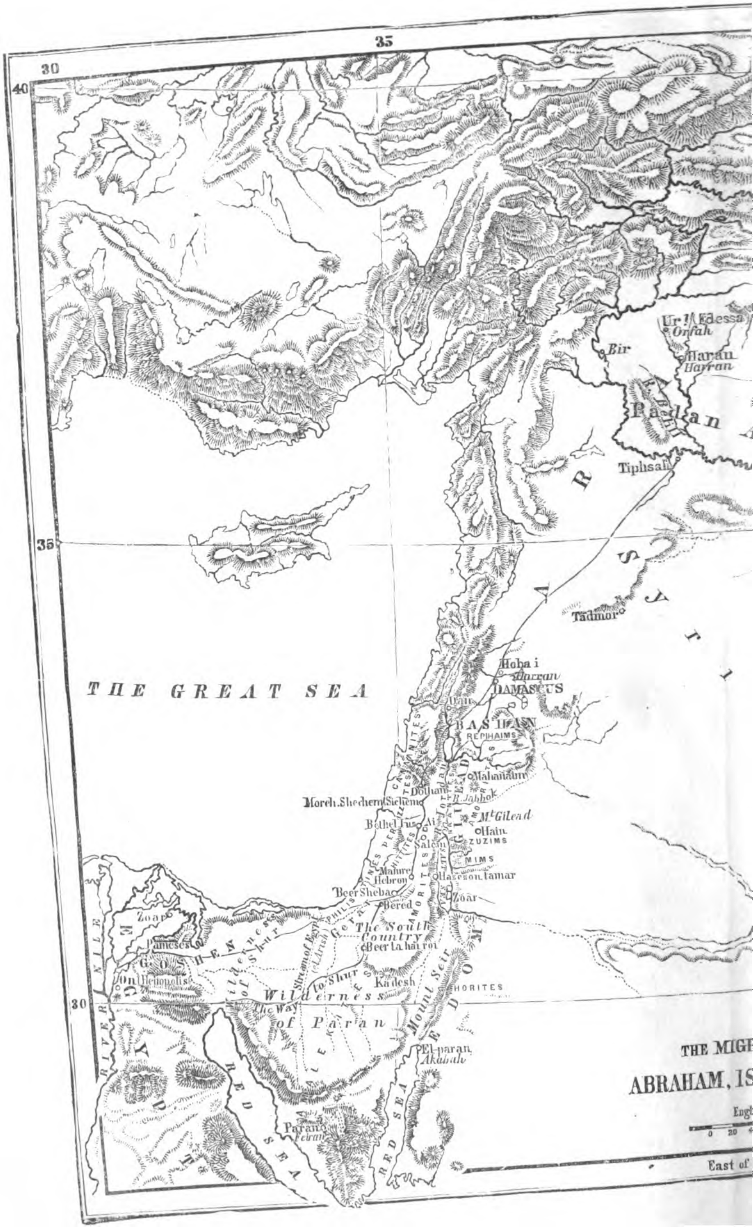
[10] Gen. xxiv. 10, xxvii. 43: the *Haran* of the latter passage is the *city of Nahor* of the former.

[11] Gen. xii. 1.

[12] Heb. xi. 8; Rom. iv. 11, 12, 16; Gal. iii. 7, 9.

[13] Gen. xii. 2, 3.

[14] Psalm lxxii. 17; Acts iii. 25; Gal. iii. 8.


THE GREAT SEA
DAMASCUS
BASHAN
REPHAIMS
Mahanaim
Dothan
Moreh.Shechem
Sichem
R. Jabbok
Mt Gilead
Bethel
Ai
Salem
Ham
ZUZIMS
MIMS
Mamre
Hebron
Hazezon tamar
Beer Sheba
Bered
Zoar
The South Country
Beer la hai roi
Kadesh
Wilderness
The Way of Paran
Mount Seir
HORITES
El-paran
Akabah
RED SEA
RIVER NILE
Heliopolis
On
Paran
Feiran
Tadmor
Tiphsah
Bir
Ur
Edessa
Orfah
Haran
Harran
Hobah
Harran
Dan
THE MIGR
ABRAHAM, IS
East of
Engl
30
35
40
0 20



CASPIAN SEA
MESOPOTAMIA
NINEVEH
Kalah Sherkat
Ur of the Persians
Tigris
River Euphrates
Baghdad
BABYLON
CHALDÆA
Shinar
Erech (Warka)
Ellasar
Senkereh
Ur ?
Mugheir
Desert
PERSIAN GULF
ATIONS OF
AAC. & JACOB
Miles
Greenwich
45
40
35
30

—the emigrant from Mesopotamia.[15] He now passed through the great Syrian desert; and, though his route is not mentioned in the sacred narrative, we may credit the tradition (see p. 74) that he tarried at Damascus, since Eliezer, "the steward of his house," was a native of that place. Quitting Damascus, Abram crossed the Jordan, and entering the HOLY LAND, passed into the *valley of Shechem* or *Sichem.* His resting-place was marked, like other memorable localities, by an oak or a grove of oaks ("the oak or oaks of Moreh," rather than "the *plain* of Moreh," as in our version), near "the place of Sichem," between Mounts Ebal and Gerizim.[16] Here God appeared to him again, and gave him the *second promise*, of the possession of the land by his seed; and here Abram built the first of those altars to JEHOVAH, which the patriarchs erected wherever they pitched their tents. Thus SICHEM became his *first halting-place* in the Holy Land.

§ 5. It is uncertain whether "the place of Sichem" was yet marked by the city which afterward took its name from the Amorite Shechem, the contemporary of Jacob.[17] But it is distinctly stated that "the Canaanite was then (*i. e.*, already) in the land," having probably driven out an earlier population.[18] They would view with no friendly eye the tents of the patriarch, surrounded by his flocks and herds; and Abram seems neither to have had the power nor the inclination to resort, like Jacob, to "his sword and his bow." He removed southward to a place which lay afterward on the northern border of the kingdom of Judah, on the heights which skirt the Jordan, between BETHEL (then called Luz) on the west, and AI[19] on the east, where he built another al-

[15] Gen. xiv. 13, "Abram the Hebrew," in LXX. ὁ περάτης.

[16] Gen. xii. 6. The Hebrew *Elon* seems to signify the *oak*, and not, as some maintain, the *terebinth* (*Pistacia terebinthus*). See *Dict. of the Bible*, art. *Oak*. It is also a question whether *Moreh* is strictly a proper name. The LXX. has ἡ δρῦς ἡ ὑψηλή. It probably derived its name from some ancient chieftain, like the oak of Mamre.

[17] The city of Shechem, signifying "shoulder," "ridge," like *dorsum* in Latin, was situated on the saddle or shoulder of the heights, which divide the waters that flow to the Mediterranean on the west and the Jordan on the east. Its present name *Nâblus* is a corruption of "Neapolis," which succeeded the more ancient Shechem.

[18] Gen. xii. 6. For an account of the Canaanites then in the land, see *Notes and Illustrations* (B).

[19] This is the well-known city whose fall is related in *Joshua*. The form *Hai*, in Gen. xii. 8 and xiii. 3, arises from the retention of the definite article by our translators. Bethel is the place so conspicuous in the history of Jacob, who gave it the name (the *House of God*. See chap. viii. § 5).

tar, and called on the name of Jehovah. This was his *second halting-place* in the Holy Land.

Abram's abode in this mountain region secured him from the Canaanites, who occupied the more fertile plains below, but it afforded only scanty pasture for his cattle. He therefore went on continually southward, till the pressure of famine drove him out of the promised land into Egypt.[20] The great subject of the history of Egypt, in relation to the family of Abraham, will be noticed afterward.[21] It is enough here to observe that the mighty kingdom of the Pharaohs had already been long established in Lower Egypt. In this crisis the faith of Abram failed. To protect his wife from the license of a despot, he stooped to that mean form of deceit, which is true in word but false in fact. He caused Sarai to pass as his sister, a term used in Hebrew, as in many other languages, for a niece, which she really was. The trick defeated itself. Sarai, as an unmarried woman, was taken to the harem of the king, who heaped wealth and honors upon Abram. Warned of his mistake by plagues sent upon him and his household, the king restored Sarai to her husband, with a rebuke for his deceit, and sent him out of Egypt with all the wealth he had acquired, for he was now "very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold."[22] Abram travelled back through the south of Palestine to his old encampment near Bethel, where he again established the worship of Jehovah.

§ 6. He now began to feel the evils of prosperity. The land could not support his own cattle and Lot's. Their herdmen quarelled, and Lot probably put forward his rights as head of the family. Abram's faith did not fail this time. Remembering that he was "the heir of better promises," he gave the choice of present good to Lot. Their encampment looked westward on the rugged hills of Judæa and eastward on the fertile plain of the Jordan about Sodom, "well watered everywhere, as the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt" he had only lately quitted. Even from that distance, through the clear air of Palestine, can be distinctly discovered the long and thick masses of vegetation which fringe the numerous streams that descend from the hills on either side to meet the central stream in its tropical depths. It was exactly the prospect to tempt a man who had no fixed purpose of his own, who had not like Abram obeyed a stern inward call of duty. So Lot left his uncle on the barren hills of Bethel, and chose all the precinct of the

[20] Gen. xii. 9, 10. [21] See note at the end of Book II. [22] Gen. xii. 11–xiii. 4

Jordan, and journeyed east. Abram received his reward in a *third blessing and promise* from Jehovah, who bade him lift up his eyes and scan the whole land on every side, for it should be the possession of his seed, and they should be unnumbered as the dust of the earth. Abram now removed to the *oaks of Mamre*,[23] near HEBRON, in the centre of the hills of the south, and there built an altar. This was his *third resting-place* in the Holy Land, and Mamre became his usual abode.[24]

§ 7. Lot had meanwhile pitched his tent in a memorable spot. The plain of the lower Jordan was then occupied by the five "cities of the plain." Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboiim, and Bela (afterward called Zoar), formed a *Pentapolis*, each with its own king, Sodom being the chief. Their wickedness was such that Sodom has given its name to a sin of which "it is a shame even to speak," but which was committed not "in secret."[25] Lot's worldliness had not quite stifled his piety, and "his righteous soul was vexed with their filthy conversation."

While thus tempted, he became involved in another danger. The confederacy of the five cities was tributary to a great empire, which had already been established in Western Asia under Chedorlaomer, king of Elam.[26] In the thir-

[23] Named after an Amorite prince, with whom, and his brothers Eschol and Aner, Abram formed a league (Gen. xiv. 13).

[24] Gen. xiii. 5–18. Hebron was originally called Kirjath-Arba (Gen. xxiii. 2), that is, "the city of Arba," from Arba, the father of Anak, and progenitor of the giant Anakim (Josh. xxi. 11, xv. 13, 14.) It is situated about twenty miles south of Jerusalem, and the same distance north of Beersheba. It became the burial-place of Abraham and his family in the cave of Machpelah (see below, p. 88); and from this circumstance it is revered by the Mohammedans, who call the city *El-Khalil*, "the Friend," *i. e.*, of God, the name which they give to Abraham.

[25] Gen. xiii. 13, xviii. 20, xix. 5; Deut. xxiii. 17; Rom. i. 27; 2 Pet. ii. 7, 8.

[26] *Elam*, the *Elymaïs* of the Greeks, was properly the mountainous region on the eastern margin of the plain of Chaldæa; but in a wider sense it included Susiana. This region, with the plains below, was early occupied by a Cushite race, from which Chaldæa seems to have received a dynasty of conquerors. Chedorlaomer, if not the first, was one of the earliest kings of this Elamitic dynasty. His name has not yet been discovered with any certainty on the Chaldæan monuments. Sir Henry Rawlinson interprets it as Kudurlagamer (the *Servant of Lagamer*, a Susianian deity), which closely resembles the form in the LXX. Chodollogomor. Chedorlaomer and his three allies are supposed to represent the four races which lived together under the Chaldæan Empire—"the nations," of which Tidal was king, being the old Scythic or Turanian population; "Amraphel, king of Shinar," the head of the Semitic nation, settled of old at Babylon, and now subject to Chaldæa; "Arioch, king of Ellasar," or Laisa, the leader of an Aryan tribe; while Che-

teenth year of their subjection they revolted, and Chedorlaomer marched against them with three allied kings.[27] After conquering the nations to the east and south, the four kings invaded the territories of the five, and joined battle with them in the vale of Siddim, which was full of pits of bitumen. Among these the forces of the cities were entangled and defeated; the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah fell; and the rest fled to the mountains, while Sodom and Gomorrah were spoiled, and Lot and his goods were carried off.[28] The news was brought to Abram, who, with his Amorite allies, and 318 men of his own household, sallied forth from Mamre, and overtook the victors at the sources of the Jordan, where Laish (Dan) afterward stood. Dividing his band, he fell upon them by night, disordered no doubt after their success, pursued their routed forces to Hobah, north (the "left hand") of Damascus,[29] and rescued Lot, with all the spoil, but refused to accept any part of it from the new king of Sodom, who came out to meet him at SHAVEH, or the KING'S DALE.

The return of this expedition was marked by one of the most memorable prophetic incidents in Abram's career. MELCHIZEDEK, king of Salem, the priest of the "Most High God," also came to meet him, bringing bread and wine, and blessed him in the name of the Most High God, and Abram gave him tithes of all the spoil.[30] There is something surprising and mysterious in the first appearance of Melchizedek, and in the subsequent references to him. Bearing a title which Jews in after ages would recognize as designating their own sovereign, bearing gifts which recall to Christians the Lord's Supper, this Canaanite crosses for a moment the path of Abram, and is unhesitatingly recognized as a person of higher spiritual rank than the friend of God. Disappear-

dorlaomer himself belonged to the dominant Cushite race (Rawlinson, *Five Great Monarchies*, vol. i. p. 203).

[27] Gen. xiv. 1 5. [28] Gen. xiv. 5-12.

[29] Gen. xiv. 13-16. Josephus mentions a tradition concerning Abraham which he takes from Nicolaus of Damascus:—"Abraham reigned at Damascus, being a foreigner. . . . . And his name is still famous in the country; and there is shown a village called from him *The Habitation of Abraham*" (*Ant.* i. 7, § 2). It is remarkable that in the village of *Burzeh*, three miles north of Damascus, there is a *wely* held in high veneration by the Mohammedans, and called after the name of the patriarch, *Masjad Ibrahim*, "the prayer-place of Abraham." The tradition attached to it is that here Abraham offered thanks to God after the total discomfiture of the Eastern kings. Behind the *wely* is a cleft in the rock, in which another tradition represents the patriarch as *taking refuge* on one occasion from the giant Nimrod. It is remarkable that the word *Hobah* signifies "a hiding-place." The Jews of Damascus affirm that the village of *Jôbar*, not far from Burzeh, is the Hobah of Scripture

[30] Gen. xiv. 18-20.

ing as suddenly as he came in, he is lost to the sacred writings for a thousand years; and then a few emphatic words for another moment bring him into sight as a type of the coming Lord of David. Once more, after another thousand years, the Hebrew Christians are taught to see in him a proof that it was the consistent purpose of God to abolish the Levitical priesthood. His person, his office, his relation to Christ, and the seat of his sovereignty, have given rise to innumerable discussions, which even now can scarcely be considered as settled.

That Melchizedek was both a king and priest, is quite in accordance with the patriarchal state of society; but his priesthood seems to have a dignity above that of the ordinary head of a family. That he was "the priest of the Most High God," implies a relic of the true worship outside of the chosen family, such as we find long after in the story of the prophet Balaam.

The extraordinary reverence paid to him by Abram, and apparently by the king of Sodom, completes all our positive knowledge respecting his person and office. Tradition and fancy have found in him Shem or some other patriarch; an angel; and even a personification of the Son of God, a view which is a gross confusion of type and antitype.[31]

This event completes the first period of Abraham's life, in which the *temporal blessing* of his race was clearly revealed.

§ 8. The *second period* opens with a *fourth* visit of Jehovah's word to Abram, to assure him of His blessing and protection. His faith had begun again to waver. With unbounded promises of the number and blessedness of his offspring, he was yet childless; with vast wealth, he had no heir but his steward and slave, Eliezer of Damascus. And now God vouchsafed to him a plainer and more solemn revelation,

[31] The "order of Melchizedek," in Ps. cx. 4, is explained by some to mean "manner"—likeness in official dignity—a king and priest. The relation between Melchizedek and Christ as type and antitype is made in the Epistle to the Hebrews to consist in the following particulars. Each was a priest (1), not of the Levitical tribe; (2), superior to Abraham; (3), whose beginning and end are unknown; (4), who is not only a priest, but also a king of righteousness (*melchi-zedek*) and peace (*salem*). To these points of agreement, noted by the Apostle, human ingenuity has added others, which, however, stand in need of the evidence of either an inspired writer or an eye-witness, before they can be received as facts and applied to establish any doctrine. Some Jewish writers have held the opinion that Melchizedek was the writer, and Abram the subject of Ps. cx. On the very difficult question of the locality of *Salem*, the city of Melchizedek, and *Shareh*, where the king of Sodom, and apparently Melchizedek also, met Abram, see *Notes and Illustrations* (C).

which was made the more emphatic by the threefold form of a *promise*, a *sign*, and a *covenant*. The *promise* was that his own son should be his heir. The *sign* was given by a view of the clear sky of an Eastern night, studded with stars, which Jehovah bade Abram to count, if he would tell the number of his posterity. And then "ABRAM BELIEVED JEHOVAH; AND IT WAS COUNTED TO HIM FOR RIGHTEOUSNESS."[32] This was the crisis of his religious life, and of that of his spiritual children. With the moral submission of the will, which is the essence of faith, he *trusted God for what was beyond the scope of his reason.*[33] The test of his faith was as simple as that of Adam's obedience; the belief of God's word that he would have a son after the natural limit of age; but the principle was the same as in faith's highest flights. "He *staggered not* at the promise of God through unbelief, but was strong in faith, giving glory to God, and being fully persuaded that what He had promised He was able also to perform. And *therefore* it was imputed to him for righteousness."[34]

This promise was ratified by a new COVENANT, in which Abram stood to God in the relation of the Father of the Faithful, just as Noah, in the covenant made with him, stood for all his race.[35] The forms with which this new covenant was made are minutely related; and they seem to agree with the customs then observed in covenants between man and man.

Those forms are alluded to in the phrase, "Jehovah *cut* a covenant with Abram."[36] A victim (or more) was slain in sacrifice, and equally divided, and the parts being placed over against each other, the contracting parties passed down between them. The ceremony clearly signified the equality of the contract, its religious character, and the penalty due to its violation. Each part of the ceremony was observed in this case; where God's presence was indicated by the fire that passed between the pieces of the victims sacrificed, and Abram had already passed between them.[37]

The promise was as specific as it was solemn. It included—

i. The bondage of the Hebrews in a strange land for 400 years.[38]

[32] Gen. xv. 1-6.

[33] These remarks apply both to this promise and its repetition (see § 10).

[34] Rom. iv. 20, 21; Heb. xi. 11, 12.

[35] It may be observed that in both cases a *sign* also was given, the *rainbow* to Noah, the *stars* to Abram.

[36] Gen. xv. 18.

[37] Gen. xv. 17; comp. Heb. ix. 16, 17: "Where there is a covenant, the death of the covenant victim must needs be carried out; for a covenant is confirmed over dead [victims"].

[38] Gen. xv. 13. The chronological question here involved is discussed in the History of the Exodus. ch. xi.

ii. Their delivery, with great wealth, and amid judgments on their oppressors.[39]

iii. Their return to the promised land in the fourth generation, when the iniquity of its inhabitants should be full.[40]

The boundaries of their possessions in that land were strictly defined, "from the river of Egypt[41] unto the great river, the river Euphrates," to which the kingdom of David and Solomon actually reached.[42] The definition is still more clearly made by the enumeration of the Canaanitish tribes that occupied the land.[43]

At a later period, when the covenant was renewed, the sign of *circumcision* was added to it.[44]

§ 9. To wait patiently for the fulfillment of the promise, in spite of natural obstacles, was too much, if not for the faith of Abram, at least for that of Sarai. Being herself barren, she gave Abram her handmaid Hagar, an Egyptian, for his concubine; and Hagar bore him a son.[45] But, before the child was born, the insolence of Hagar provoked the jealousy of Sarai, whose ill-treatment of her handmaiden drove her to flee into the wilderness of Kadesh, south-east of Abram's abode.[46] Here the "angel of the Lord" appeared to her, and, while bidding her to return and submit to her mistress, he encouraged her by the promise of a numerous offspring. In memory of God's hearing her cry of distress, He bade her name the coming child ISHMAEL (*that is, God shall hear*), and he foretold his character and destiny in words which to this day describe the Bedouin Arabs who are descended from him:—"He will be a wild man; his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him: and he shall dwell *in the face of all his brethren*," that is, to the *east* of the kindred tribes sprung from Abraham.[47]

On this occasion we have the first of those distinctive names which were given to Jehovah in remembrance of special divine interpositions. Hagar said, "*Thou God seest me*,"

[39] Gen. xv. 14. [40] Gen. xv. 17.

[41] This is either the brook *El-Arish*, which divides Egypt from Palestine, or it may mean the eastern margin of the Nile Valley. The Nile itself can not be a boundary, for its valley forms the unique land of Egypt.

[42] Gen. xv. 18. [43] Gen. xv. 19–21.

[44] Gen. xvii. 1. See § 10.

[45] Gen. xvi. 1–3.

[46] Gen. xvi. 4–6. The question of the locality of Kadesh will arise again, in connection with the Wanderings in the Wilderness. See chap. xiii.

[47] The Hebrews and Arabs named the cardinal points from the position of the body when the *face* was turned to the east; the *back*, therefore, denoted the *west*, the *right hand* the *south*, and the *left hand* the *north*. Thus the Mediterranean was called the *hinder* sea, and to the present day Syria is *Esh-sham*, the *left hand;* and North-western Arabia *El-Yemen*, the *right hand*.

and she named the well by which she had sat *Beer-lahai-roi*, that is, *The Well of him that liveth and seeth me.*[48]

§ 10. The birth of Ishmael took place when Abram was eighty-six years old (B.C. 1910);[49] but he had to wait fourteen years still for the true fulfillment of the promise of an heir. The event was preceded by new revelations. In Abram's ninety-ninth year (B.C. 1898), Jehovah, appearing to him by the name of EL-SHADDAI (*God Almighty*), renewed the covenant with him in the new character of "*Father of many Nations*," in sign thereof he changed his name from AB-RAM (*exalted father*) to AB-RAHAM (*father of a multitude*).[50] The promise was now repeated to Abraham, more clearly than ever, *on behalf of his posterity*:—"I will be a God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee."[51] As a sign of this inclusion of children in the covenant, God enjoined the rite of *circumcision*, which became henceforth the *condition* of the covenant on the part of those with whom God made it.[52] The uncircumcised was cut off from all its benefits, "he hath broken my covenant," while the stranger who received circumcision was admitted to them;[53] and the head of the family was commanded to extend the rite to every male in his household, servants as well as children.[54] It was to be performed on children the eighth day after birth, and on slaves when they were purchased; and all the family of Abraham were at once thus brought within the covenant.

The dignity of Sarai, as the mother of the promised seed, was marked by the change of her name to SARAH (*princess*),[55] and it was declared that she should "become nations; and kings of the people should be of her."[56] Her son was to be named ISAAC (*laughter*), from the utterance of his father's feelings on the announcement.[57] With him and his seed the covenant was to be continued in the new character of an "*everlasting* covenant," thus marking the distinction between its eternal and temporal blessings. The latter blessings were assured to Ishmael, in answer to Abraham's earnest prayer;

[48] Gen. xvi. 7–14.

[49] Gen. xvi. 15, 16.

[50] Gen. xvii. 1–5. [51] Gen. xvii. 7, 8.

[52] Gen. xvii. 9–14.

[53] The precise position of circumcised proselytes will be explained afterward.

[54] Gen. xvii. 12, 13.

[55] The meaning of the name *Sarai* is uncertain. St. Jerome's explanation is, that the change was from *Sara-i*, *my* princess, as a phrase of courtesy, to *Sarah*, princess, absolutely.

[56] Gen. xvii. 16.

[57] Gen. xvii. 17. Rosenmüller has observed from the meaning of the root, that this was not merely the laugh of joy, but of hysterical emotion. It is not to be confounded with Sarah's laugh of incredulity (xviii. 12), to which, however, the name may also allude; for the mean-

but the covenant was "*established* with Isaac." He is emphatically called the *child of the promise* and Ishmael the *child of the flesh* by the Apostle Paul, who carries out the contrast in a very remarkable passage.[58]

Ishmael's share in the temproal promise was confirmed by his circumcision;[59] and the rite is still observed by the Arabs and other Semitic races. It was also practiced by the ancient Egyptians, who affirmed that "the Syrians in Palestine" had learned it from them. They used it for physical reasons only, and it is consistent with God's manner of symbolic teaching that a rite already existing should have been adopted in a new religious sense; but we must not hastily accept the statement that it was thus borrowed.[60]

ing of divinely chosen words is very pregnant.

[58] Gen. xvii. 18, 21; Gal. iv. 21, 31.

[59] Gen. xix. 25.

[60] Herod. ii. 104. See the *Dictionary of the Bible, s.v.*

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

(A.) HARAN.

THE ingenious theory, maintained by Dr. Beke in various communications to the *Athenæun*,* that Haran is to be identified with a small village, which still bears the name, about four hours' journey E. of Damascus, seems irreconcilable with its position in Mesopotamia; for the attempt to make the Abana and Pharpar the "two rivers" of Aram-Naharaim, and so to explain that country, for the occasion, as the territory of Damascus, can hardly be considered successful. It is, however, a very interesting fact, that Damascus was already a city in the time of Abraham, who probably visited it in his journey, as Eliezer, the "steward of his house," was a native of that place (Gen. xv. 2). It has been adduced as an argument for Dr. Beke's view that Josephus does not mention Haran, though he says much of the residence of Abraham at Damascus. The strongest point, however, is the seven days' journey of Laban from Haran to Gilead, a time suitable to Damascus, but too short for the 350 miles from the Euphrates. This would naturally seem decisive to a traveller, going over the ground himself; but biblical critics have learned by this time with what caution arguments from numbers should be received, especially against a preponderance of other evidence. The identity of the name, and the features of the localities, tell equally in favor of both sites.

* Nov. 23, 1861; Feb. 1, 15, March 1, 29, May 24, 1862. For the letters of Sir H. Rawlinson and others, in favor of the Mesopotamian Haran, see the "Athenæum," Nov. 30, Dec. 7, 1861; March 22, April 6, 19, May 24, 1862.

(B.) THE CANAANITES.

The Canaanites, who inhabited the Holy Land when Abraham entered it, were the descendants of Canaan,

the fourth son of Ham (Gen. x. 6, 15–19). The word Canaanite, which properly signifies *low*, was used in a broader and a narrow sense, signifying (1), the people who inhabited the whole country; (2), a tribe which inhabited a particular locality of it. In its broader meaning seven nations are usually indicated.

1. The CANAANITES, the *lowlanders*, inhabited the plain on the lower Jordan and that on the sea-shore (Gen. x. 18, 20; Num. xiii. 29; Josh. xi. 3). These plains were the richest and most important parts of the country, and it is not unlikely that this was one of the reasons for the name of "Canaanite" being applied as a general name to the inhabitants of the land.

2. The PERIZZITES seem, next to the Canaanites, to have been the most important tribe, as "the Canaanite and the Perizzite" are frequently mentioned together, to the exclusion of the other tribes, as the inhabitants of the land (Gen. xiii. 7, xxxiv. 30; Judg. i. 4, 5). In Judg. i. 4, 5, they are placed in the southern part of the Holy Land, and in Josh. xvi. 15–18, they occupy, with the Rephaim, or giants, the "forest country" in the western flanks of Mount Carmel.

3. The HITTITES, or children of Heth, a small tribe at Hebron, of whom Abraham purchased the Cave of Machpelah (Genesis xxiii. 7–18). They are represented as a peaceful people, and thus Abraham, though he chose his allies in war from the Amorites, goes to the Hittites for his grave.

4. The AMORITES, *mountaineers*, a warlike tribe, occupied first the barrier heights west of the Dead Sea, at the place which afterward bore the name of En-gedi, stretching westward toward Hebron (Gen. xiv. 13; comp. xiii. 18). They afterward crossed the Jordan, and inhabited the rich tract, bounded by the Jabbok on the north, the Arnon on the south, Jordan on the west, and "the wilderness" on the east (Judg. xi. 21, 22). This was, perhaps in the most special sense, the "land of the Amorites" (Num. xxi. 31; Josh. xii. 2, 3, xiii. 9; Judg. xi. 21, 22); but their possessions are distinctly stated to have extended to the very feet of Hermon (Deut. iii. 8, iv. 48), embracing "all Gilead and all Bashan" (iii. 10), with the Jordan valley on the east of the river (iv. 49), and forming together the land of the "two kings of the Amorites," Sihon and Og (Deut. xxxi. 4; Josh. ii. 10, ix. 10, xxiv. 12).

5. The HIVITES are first mentioned at the time of Jacob's return to the Holy Land, where they occupied Shechem (Gen. xxxiv. 2). At the time of the conquest by Joshua they were living on the northern confines of Western Palestine—"under Hermon, in the land of Mizpeh" (Josh. xi. 3)—"in Mount Lebanon, from Mount Baal-Hermon to the entering in of Hamath" (Judg. iii. 3).

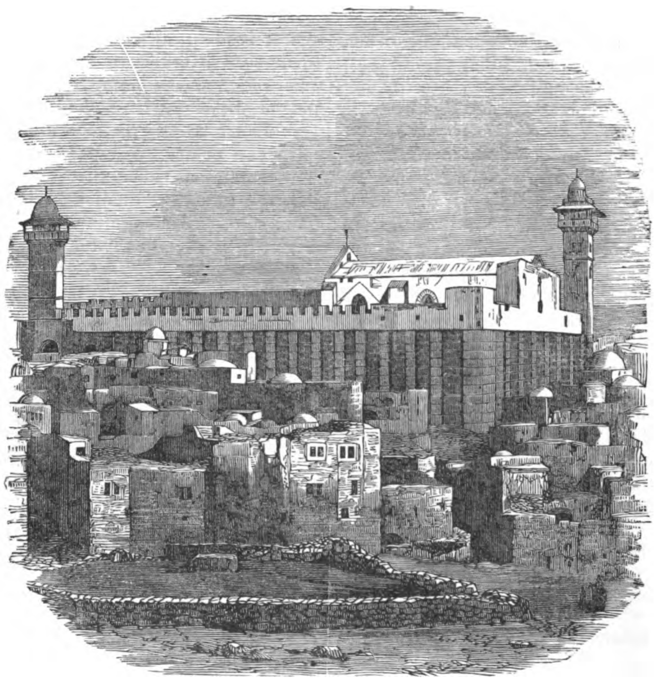
6. The JEBUSITES, a mountain tribe, inhabiting Jebus (Jerusalem), where they continued to dwell with the children of Judah and Benjamin to a late date (Num. xiii. 29; Josh. xi. 3, xv. 8, 63; Judg. i. 21, xix. 11).

7. The GIRGASHITES, whose position is quite uncertain (Gen. x. 16, xv. 21; Josh. iii. 10, xxiv. 11).

(C.) SALEM AND SHAVEH.

A fruitful source of discussion has been found in the site of Salem and Shaveh, which certainly lay in Abram's road from Hobah to the plain of Mamre, and which are assumed to be near to each other. The various theories may be briefly enumerated as follows:—(1), Salem is supposed to have occupied in Abraham's time the ground on which afterward Je-

bus and then Jerusalem stood; and Shaveh to be the valley east of Jerusalem, through which the Kidron flows. This opinion is supported by the facts that Jerusalem is called Salem in Psalm lxxvi. 2, and that Josephus (*Ant.* i. 10, § 2) and the Targums distinctly assert their identity: that the king's dale (2 Sam. xviii. 18), identified in Gen. xiv. 17 with Shaveh, is placed by Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 10, § 3), and by mediæval and modern tradition in the immediate neighborhood of Jerusalem; that the name of a later king of Jerusalem, Adonizedek (Josh. x. 1), sounds like that of a legitimate successor of Melchizedek: and that Jewish writers claim Zedek = righteousness, as a name of Jerusalem. (2) Jerome denies that Salem is Jerusalem, and asserts that it is identical with a town near Scythopolis or Bethshan, which in his time retained the name of Salem, and in which some extensive ruins were shown as the remains of Melchizedek's palace. He supports this view by quoting Gen. xiv. 18, where, however, the translation is questionable; compare the mention of Salem in Judith iv. 4, and in John iii. 23. (3), Stanley (*S. & P.* 237, 8) is of opinion that there is every probability that Mount Gerizim is the place where Melchizedek, the priest of the Most High, met Abram. (4), Ewald denies positively that it is Jerusalem, and says that it must be north of Jerusalem on the other side of Jordan. There, too, Dean Stanley thinks that the king's dale was situate, near the spot where Absalom fell.



Mosque at Hebron.

CHAPTER VII.

ABRAHAM AND ISAAC. FROM THE CHANGE OF ABRAHAM'S NAME TO HIS DEATH. A.M. 2107–2182. B.C. 1897–1822.

§ 1. New relation of Abraham to God — Divine visit to him at Mamre. § 2. Destruction of the cities of the plain—Rescue of Lot—Moab and Ammon. § 3. Abraham at Beersheba—His relations with Abimelech. § 4. Birth of Isaac—Expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael. § 5. Offering of Isaac on the mountain of Moriah. § 6. Death of Sarah—The burying-place of Machpelah. § 7. Marriage of Isaac and Rebekah. § 8. Birth of Esau and Jacob. § 9. Death and burial of Abraham—Death of Ishmael. § 10. Traditions respecting Abraham.

§ 1. Abraham, from the time when by this new name he received the full divine revelation and covenant, is presented to us in a higher character than before. The more open and familiar intercourse which he enjoys with Jehovah marks him as peculiarly "the friend of God." Of this we have an

example in Genesis xviii. As Abraham sat at his tent door, under the oak of Mamre, he became aware of the presence of "three *men*,"[1] for such they seemed to him; and the same language is continually employed for the appearances of celestial beings in human form.[2]

Afterward the chief speaker is denoted, first by the mere pronoun, which is often used when God is meant,[3] and then by the name of JEHOVAH. Doubtless he was the "Angel of Jehovah," the "Word of God," through whom God spake to the fathers, and who, when dwelling upon earth in the actual incarnation which such appearances prefigured, declared, "Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day: and he saw it, and was glad."[4] It is simplest to regard the other two as attendant angels; and it appears, from the sequel, that while the chief of the three (Jehovah himself) remained behind in converse with Abraham, and then "went his way" to execute judgment upon Sodom,[5] the other two were sent forward to rescue Lot.

Abraham offered to the "three men" that hospitality which is commemorated in the apostolic precept:—"Be not forgetful to entertain strangers, for thereby some have entertained angels unawares."[6] He soon learnt the dignity of his visitors, when they inquired after Sarah, and rebuked her incredulity by repeating the promise that she should bear Abraham a son, and fixing the time for its fulfillment. They then departed, with their faces toward Sodom; and as Abraham brought them on the way, he was favored—in consideration of his character as the head of the chosen family, to whom he was to teach God's righteous ways—with a revelation of the judgment coming upon Sodom and Gomorrah for their sins. Thus was the truth revealed to the believing children of Abraham in every age, that God does execute judgment upon sinners, even in this life. But the patriarch's faith grasped at another truth, the privilege of intercession for such sinners.

Then follows that wondrous pleading, in which he who was "but dust and ashes," taking on himself to speak with God, obtained the pardon of the guilty cities, if but fifty, then if forty-five, and so on down to only ten, righteous men were found in them, and might have prevailed if he had continued to plead, for the sake of the *one* really there; for such

[1] Gen. xviii. 2.
[2] See, for example, Judges xiii. 10, 11; Acts i. 10; Rev. xxi. 17.
[3] Gen. xviii. 10.
[4] John viii. 56.
[5] See Gen. xviii. 17–23, compared with xix. 1, 24.
[6] Heb. xiii. 2; compare Gen. xix. 1–3.

seems the necessary complement of this great lesson that "men ought always to pray, and not to faint."[7]

§ 2. Meanwhile the two angels went on their mission to Sodom, whose people gave them a reception which filled up the measure of their sins.[8] Even the sons-in-law of Lot despised their warning; and Lot himself was reluctantly dragged, with his wife and two daughters, from the devoted city. Even then, he could not quite tear himself from the scene where his worldly prosperity had been purchased by constant vexation of spirit, and he pleaded that one of the five cities might be preserved as his abode, because it was but a little one, whence the city, before named *Bela*, was called *Zoar*, that is, *little*.[9] The sun was risen when Lot entered Zoar, and the people of Sodom and Gomorrah, with the two smaller cities of Admah and Zeboiim, which shared their fate,[10] had begun another day of wanton revelry,[11] when the heavens were overcast, and "Jehovah rained down upon them brimstone and fire from Jehovah out of heaven; and he overthrew those cities, and all the plain, and all the inhabitants of the cities, and that which grew upon the ground."[12]

The plain in which the cities stood, hitherto fruitful "as the garden of Jehovah," became henceforth a scene of perfect desolation.[13] Our Lord himself, and the apostles Peter and Jude, have clearly taught the lasting lesson which is involved in the judgment; that it is a type of the final destruction by fire of a world which will have reached a wickedness like that of Sodom and Gomorrah.[14] A more special warning to those who, when once separated from an ungodly world, desire to turn back, is enforced by the fate of Lot's wife, who when she looked back from behind him, became *a pillar of salt*.[15] Lot himself, though saved from Sodom, fell, like Noah after the Deluge, into vile intoxication, of which his own daughter took advantage to indulge the incestuous passion, from which sprang the races of *Moab* and *Ammon*.[16]

§ 3. After a long residence at Mamre, Abraham once more set forth upon his wanderings, turning toward "the south country, and dwelled between Kadesh and Shur, and sojourn-

[7] Luke xviii. 1; James v. 16.

[8] Gen. xix. 4–11.

[9] Gen. xix. 17–22; comp. xiii. 10, xiv. 2.

[10] Gen. xix. 25; comp. Gen. xiii. 10, xiv. 2; Deut. xxix. 23.

[11] Luke xvii. 29.

[12] Gen. xix. 24, 25; comp. Deut. xxix. 23; Isaiah xiii. 19; Jer. xx. 16, l. 40; Ezek. xvi. 49, 50; Hos. xi. 8; Amos iv. 11; Zeph. ii. 9.

[13] On the destruction of the cities of the Plain, see *Notes and Illustrations* (A).

[14] Luke xvii. 29; 2 Peter ii. 6; Jude 7.

[15] Gen. xix. 26; Luke xvii. 32.

[16] Gen. xix. 30–38. On MOAB and

ed in Gerar." Here he and his descendants dwelt for a long time at Beersheba, at the south-western extremity of the maritime plain, upon the borders of the desert. This was Abraham's *fourth resting-place* in the Holy Land. It continued till the latest times to be the southern boundary of the Holy Land, so that from Dan to Beersheba became the established formula to indicate the whole country. In this district the Philistines had already begun to form settlements, and a warlike king of this race, whose hereditary name was Abimelech (*Father-King*), reigned in the valley of Gerar. Here the deceit which Abraham had put upon Pharaoh, by calling Sarah his sister, was acted again, and with the like result. The repeated occurrence of such an event, which will meet us again in the history of Isaac, can surprise no one acquainted with Oriental manners; but it would have been indeed surprising if the author of any but a genuine narrative had exposed himself to a charge so obvious as that which has been founded on its repetition. The independent truth of each story is confirmed by the natural touches of variety; such as, in the case before us, Abimelech's keen but gentle satire in recommending Sarah to buy a veil with the thousand pieces of silver which he gave to her husband. We may also observe the traces of the knowledge of the true God among Abimelech and his servants.[17]

A dispute subsequently arose between Abraham and Abimelech respecting a well in the neighborhood, marking "the importance which, in the migratory land of the East, was and is always attached to the possession of water." This dispute led to a treaty between Abraham and Abimelech, which gave to the well the name of "Beer-sheba," or *the well of the oath*, "because there they sware both of them." Here also "Abraham planted a grove, and called on the name of Jehovah, the *everlasting God*;" in opposition doubtless to the deified heroes of the surrounding heathen.[18]

§ 4. It was during Abraham's abode at Beersheba that his hopes were crowned by the birth of his son Isaac, when he

Ammon, see *Notes and Illustrations* (B).

[17] Gen. xx.: throughout this and the following chapter, the name of God is constantly *Elohim*, not Jehovah.

[18] Gen. xxi. 22–23. There are at present on the spot two principal wells and five smaller ones. They are among the first objects encountered on the entrance into Palestine from the south, and being highly characteristic of the life of the Bible, never fail to call forth the enthusiasm of the traveller. The two principal wells lie just a hundred yards apart. The larger of the two, which lies to the east, is 12½ feet diam., and at the time of Dr. Robinson's visit was 44½ feet to the surface of the water. The other well

himself was a hundred years old.[19] At the "great feast" made in celebration of the weaning, "Sarah saw the son of Hagar the Egyptian, which she had born unto Abraham, mocking," and urged Abraham to cast out him and his mother. The patriarch, comforted by God's renewed promise that of Ishmael He would make a nation, sent them both away, and they departed and wandered in the wilderness of Beersheba. Here the water being spent in the bottle, Hagar cast her son under one of the desert shrubs, and went away a little distance, "for she said, Let me not see the death of the child," and wept. "And God heard the voice of the lad, and the angel of the Lord called to Hagar out of heaven," renewed the promise already thrice given, "I will make him a great nation," and "opened her eyes, and she saw a well of water." Thus miraculously saved from perishing by thirst, "God was with the lad; and he grew, and dwelt in the wilderness; and became an archer." It is doubtful whether the wanderers halted by the well, or at once continued their way to "the wilderness of Paran," where he dwelt, and where "his mother took him a wife out of the land of Egypt."[20]

§ 5. Henceforward the story of Abraham is intertwined with that of Isaac, of whom it was said, "In Isaac shall thy seed be called."[21] The plan of the sacred narrative passes over every detail that does not bear upon the history of the covenant itself, and carries us on to a period when Isaac had reached the age of intelligence. A tradition preserved by Josephus makes Isaac twenty-five years old at the time of the crowning trial of Abraham's faith;[22] and we certainly gather from the Scripture narrative that he was an intelligent and willing party to the sacrifice of his life at the command of God. It is impossible to repeat this story, the most perfect specimen of simple and pathetic narrative, in any other words than those of the sacred writer. "And it came to pass after these things, that God did tempt Abraham, and said unto him, Abraham. And he said, Behold, here I am. And he said, Take now thy son, thine only son Isaac, whom thou lovest, and get thee into the land of Moriah; and offer

is 5 feet diam., and was 42 feet to the water. The curb-stones round the mouth of both wells are worn into deep grooves by the action of the ropes of so many centuries. Round the larger well there are nine, and round the smaller five large stone troughs — some much worn and broken, others nearly entire, lying at a distance of 10 or 12 feet from the edge of the well.

[19] Gen. xxi. 1-7.

[20] Gen. xxi. 9-21.

[21] Gen. xxi. 12; comp. Rom. ix. 7, 8; Heb. xi. 18.

[22] Joseph. *Ant.* i. 13, § 2.

him there for a burnt-offering upon one of the mountains which I will tell thee of. And Abraham rose up early in the morning, and saddled his ass, and took two of his young men with him, and Isaac his son, and clave the wood for the burnt-offering, and rose up, and went unto the place of which God had told him. Then on the third day Abraham lifted up his eyes, and saw the place afar off. And Abraham said unto his young men, Abide ye here with the ass; and I and the lad will go yonder and worship, and come again to you. And Abraham took the wood of the burnt-offering, and laid it upon Isaac his son; and he took the fire in his hand, and a knife; and they went both of them together. And Isaac spake unto Abraham his father, and said, My father: and he said, Here am I, my son. And he said, Behold the fire and the wood; but where is the lamb for a burnt-offering? And Abraham said, My son, God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt-offering: so they went both of them together. And they came to the place which God had told him of; and Abraham built an altar there, and laid the wood in order; and bound Isaac his son, and laid him on the altar upon the wood. And Abraham stretched forth his hand, and took the knife to slay his son. And the angel of the LORD called unto him out of heaven, and said, Abraham, Abraham. And he said, Here am I. And he said, Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do thou any thing unto him: for now I know that thou fearest God, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, from me. And Abraham lifted up his eyes, and looked, and, behold, behind him a ram caught in a thicket by his horns: and Abraham went and took the ram, and offered him up for a burnt-offering in the stead of his son. And Abraham called the name of that place Jehovah-jireh: as it is said to this day, In the mount of the LORD it shall be seen."[23]

The *primary doctrines* taught are those of *sacrifice* and *substitution*, as the means appointed by God for taking away sin; and, as co-ordinate with these, the need of the *obedience of faith*, on the part of man, to receive the benefit.[24] A confusion is often made between Isaac and the victim actually offered. Isaac himself is generally viewed as a type of the Son of God, offered for the sins of men; but Isaac, himself one of the sinful race for whom atonement was to be made —Isaac, who did not actually suffer death—was no fit type of Him who "*was slain*, the *just* for the unjust." But the

[23] Gen. xxii. 1–14. [24] Heb. xi. 17.

animal, not of the human race, which God provided and Abraham offered, was, in the whole history of sacrifice, the recognized type of "the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world." Isaac is the type of *humanity itself*, devoted to death for sin, and submitting to the sentence. Once more the covenant is renewed in its special blessing to the descendants of Abraham, and in its full spiritual extension to all families of the earth, as the reward of his obedience; and now, for the first time, God confirmed it with an oath.[25]

§ 6. The next event recorded in Abraham's life is the *death of Sarah*, at the age of 127, at Hebron; so that Abraham must have returned from Beersheba to his old home.[26] This led to an interesting transaction between the patriarch and the people of the land in which he was a sojourner. God had "given him none inheritance in the land, no not so much as to set his foot on."[27] He had used it to pitch his tent and feed his flocks on, but not a foot of it was actually his *property*. But now the sanctity of the sepulchre demanded that his burying-place should be his own; and he makes a bargain with Ephron the Hittite, in the presence of all the people of the city, in the course of which he behaves, and is treated by them, like a generous and mighty prince. Courteously refusing both the use of their sepulchres, and the offer of a place for his own as a gift, he buys for its full value of four hundred skekels' weight of silver, "current money with the merchant,"[28] the *Cave of Machpelah* (or the *Double Cave*), close to the oak of Mamre, with the field in which it stood. Here he buried Sarah; here he was buried by his sons Isaac and Ishmael; there they buried Isaac and Rebekah his wife, Jacob and his wife Leah, and perhaps Joseph.[29] The sepulchre still exists under the Mosque of Hebron, and was first permitted to be seen by Europeans since the Crusades, when it was visited by the Prince of Wales in 1862.[30]

§ 7. After the burial of Sarah Abraham appears to have returned to Beersheba. His last care was for the marriage

[25] Gen. xxii. 15–18; Psalm cv. 9; Luke i. 73; and especially Heb. vi. 13, 14. The sacrifice is said to have taken place upon a mountain in "the land of Moriah;" but whether this was the hill in Jerusalem on which the Temple afterward stood, or Mount Gerizim, is discussed in *Notes and Illustrations* (C).

[26] Gen. xxiii. 1, 2. [27] Acts vii. 5.

[28] This is the first mention of money in the history of the world, but it was uncoined.

[29] Gen. xxv. 9, 10, xxxv. 29, xlix. 31, l. 13.

[30] For an account of this visit, see Stanley's *Lectures on the Jewish Church*, part i., App. II. Hebron is held by the Mussulmans to be the fourth of the Holy Places, Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem being the other three.

of his son Isaac to a wife of his own kindred, and not to one of the daughters of the Canaanites. His oldest servant undertook the journey to Haran, in Mesopotamia, where Nahor, the brother of Abraham, had settled, and a sign from God indicated the person he sought in Rebekah, the daughter of Bethuel, son of Nahor.[31] The whole narrative is a vivid picture of pastoral life, and of the simple customs then used in making a marriage contract, not without characteristic touches of the tendency to avarice in the family of Bethuel, and particularly in his son Laban.[32] The scene of Isaac's meeting with Rebekah seems to exhibit his character as that of quiet pious contemplation.[33] He was 40 years old when he married, and his residence was by the well of *Lahai-roi*, in the extreme south of Palestine.[34]

§ 8. It was not till twenty years later that Rebekah, whose barrenness was removed through the prayers of Isaac, bore twin sons, Esau (*hairy*) or Edom (the *Red*) and Jacob (the *Supplanter*), whose future destiny was prophetically signified by the strange incidents which accompanied their birth. Their struggle in the womb portended the deadly animosity of the two nations that were to spring from them; and the grasp of the younger on the elder's heel betokened that craft in taking advantage of his brother which answered to his name. Their physical appearance was as different as their characters afterward proved: the ruddy and hairy Esau became a rough, wild hunter, the smooth Jacob a quiet denizen of the tent. These differences of character were fostered by the foolish partiality of their parents, the great curse of all family life:—"Isaac loved Esau, because he did eat of his venison: but Rebekah loved Jacob."[35]

§ 9. It was after the marriage of Isaac that Abraham formed a new union with *Keturah*, by whom he became the father of the *Keturaïte Arabs.* Keturah seems to have been only a concubine, and her sons were sent away eastward, enriched with presents, as Ishmael had been during Abraham's life, lest the inheritance of Isaac should be disputed. To him Abraham gave all his great wealth, and died apparently at Beersheba "in a good old age, an old man, and full of years," his age being 175. His sons Isaac and Ishmael met at his funeral, and buried him in the Cave of Machpelah.[36] Ishmael survived him just 50 years; and died at the age of 137.[37]

[31] Gen. xxiv. See the *Genealogy* on p. 68.

[32] Gen. xxiv. 30. [33] Gen. xxiv. 63.

[34] Gen. xxv. 62, xxvi. 11, 20.

[35] Gen. xxv. 21–28.

[36] Gen. xxv. 1–10. [37] Gen. xxv. 17.

§ 10. The traditions respecting Abraham, which Josephus adds to the scriptural narrative, are merely such as exalt his knowledge and wisdom, making him the teacher of monotheism to the Chaldæans, and of astronomy and mathematics to the Egyptians. He quotes however Nicolaus of Damascus,[38] as ascribing to him the conquest and government of Damascus on his way to Canaan, and stating that the tradition of his habitation was still preserved there.[39]

The Arab traditions are partly ante-Mohammedan, relating mainly to the Kaabah (or sacred house) of Mecca, which Abraham and his son "Ismail" are said to have rebuilt for the fourth time over the sacred black stone. But in great measure they are taken from the Koran, which has itself borrowed from the Old Testament, and from the Rabbinical traditions. Of the latter the most remarkable is the story of his having destroyed the idols which Terah not only worshiped, but also manufactured, and having been cast by Nimrod into a fiery furnace, which turned into a pleasant meadow. But the name of Abraham appears to be commonly remembered in tradition through a very large portion of Asia, and the title "El-Khalîl," "the Friend" (of God),[40] is that by which he is usually spoken of by the Arabs.

[38] Nicolaus was a contemporary and favorite of Herod the Great and Augustus.

[39] Jos. *Ant.* i. c. 7, § 2; Gen. xv. 2.

[40] See 2 Chr. xx. 7; Is. xli. 8; Jam. ii. 23.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

(A.) THE DESTRUCTION OF THE CITIES OF THE PLAIN.

It was formerly supposed that the overthrow of Sodom and the other cities of the Plain was caused by the convulsion which formed the Dead Sea. But, as Dean Stanley observes:—

"The only expression which seems to imply that the rise of the Dead Sea was in historical times, is that contained in Gen. xiv. 3—'The vale of Siddim, which is the Salt Sea.' But this phrase may merely mean that the region in question bore both names; as in the similar expressions (vs. 7 and 17)—'En Mishpat, which is Kadesh;' 'Shaveh, which is the king's dale.' It should, however, be observed that the word 'emek,' translated 'vale,' is usually employed for a long broad valley, such as in this connection would naturally mean the whole length of the Dead Sea" (Stanley, *S. and P.* 289, note).

But in no other passage of the narrative, nor in any of the later passages in which the destruction of the cities is referred to in Scripture, is

there the slightest hint that the cities were submerged by the lake. Moreover, the changes which occurred when the limestone strata of Syria were spilt by that vast fissure which forms the Jordan valley and the basin of the Salt Lake, must have taken place at a time long anterior to the period of Abraham.

Sodom and the cities of the Plain are usually placed at the south end of the Dead Sea; but Mr. Grove has brought forward good reasons for believing that they stood at its northern end. See *Dictionary of the Bible*, article *Sodom*.

(B.) MOABITES AND AMMONITES.

The Moabites were descended from Moab, the son of Lot's eldest daughter, and the Ammonites from Ben-Ammi, the son of his youngest daughter (Gen. xix. 37, 38). The near relation between the two peoples indicated in the story of their origin continued throughout their existence (comp. Judg. x. 6; 2 Chr. xx. 1; Zeph. ii. 8, etc.). Indeed, so close was their union, and so near their identity, that each would appear to be occasionally spoken of under the name of the other.

Zoar was the cradle of the race of Lot. From this centre the brother-tribes spread themselves. The Ammonites, whose disposition seems throughout to have been more roving and unsettled, went to the north-east. The Moabites, whose habits were more settled and peaceful, remained nearer their original seat.

1. THE MOABITES.

This people originally dwelt on the eastern side of the Dead Sea, extending as far north as the mountain of Gilead, from which country they expelled the *Emims*, the original inhabitants (Deut. ii. 11). But they themselves were afterward driven southward by the warlike Amorites, who had crossed the Jordan, and were confined to the country south of the river Arnon, which formed their northern boundary (Num. xxi. 13; Judg. xi. 18).

The territory occupied by Moab at the period of its greatest extent, before the invasion of the Amorites, divided itself naturally into three distinct and independent portions. Each of these portions appears to have had its name by which it is almost invariably designated. (1), The enclosed corner or canton south of the Arnon was the "field of Moab" (Ruth i. 1, 2, 6, etc.). (2), The more open rolling country north of the Arnon, opposite Jericho, and up to the hills of Gilead, was the "land of Moab" (Deut. i. 5, xxxiii. 49, etc.). (3), The sunk district in the tropical depths of the Jordan valley, taking its name from that of the great valley itself—the Arabah—was the Arboth-Moab, the dry regions—in the A. V. very incorrectly rendered the "plains of Moab" (Num. xxii. 1, etc.). The Israelites, in entering the promised land, did not pass through the Moabites (1 Judg. xi. 18), but conquered the Amorites, who occupied the country from which the Moabites had been so lately expelled.

After the conquest of Canaan the relations of Moab with Israel were of a mixed character. With the tribe of Benjamin, whose possessions at their eastern end were separated from those of Moab only by the Jordan, they had at least one severe struggle, in union with their kindred the Ammonites (Judg. iii. 12–30). The feud continued with true Oriental pertinacity to the time of Saul. Of his slaughter of the Ammonites we have full details in 1 Sam. xi., and among his other conquests Moab is especial-

ly mentioned (1 Sam. xi. 47). But while such were their relations to the tribe of Benjamin, the story of Ruth, on the other hand, testifies to the existence of a friendly intercourse between Moab and Bethlehem, one of the towns of Judah. By his descent from Ruth, David may be said to have had Moabite blood in his veins. The relationship was sufficient to warrant his visiting the land, and committing his parents to the protection of the king of Moab, when hard pressed by Saul (1 Sam. xxii. 3, 4). But here all friendly relations stop forever. The next time the name is mentioned is in the account of David's war, who made them tributary (2 Sam. viii. 2; 1 Chr. xviii. 2). At the disruption of the kingdom, Moab seems to have fallen to the northern realm. At the death of Ahab, eighty years later, the Moabites threw off the yoke (1 K. i. 1, iii. 4). They afterward fought against the united forces of Israel, Judah, and Edom, but were defeated with great loss (2 K. iii.; 2 Chr. xx. i.). Isaiah (xv. xvi. xxv. 10–12) predicts the utter annihilation of Moab; but it is unnecessary to follow their history farther.

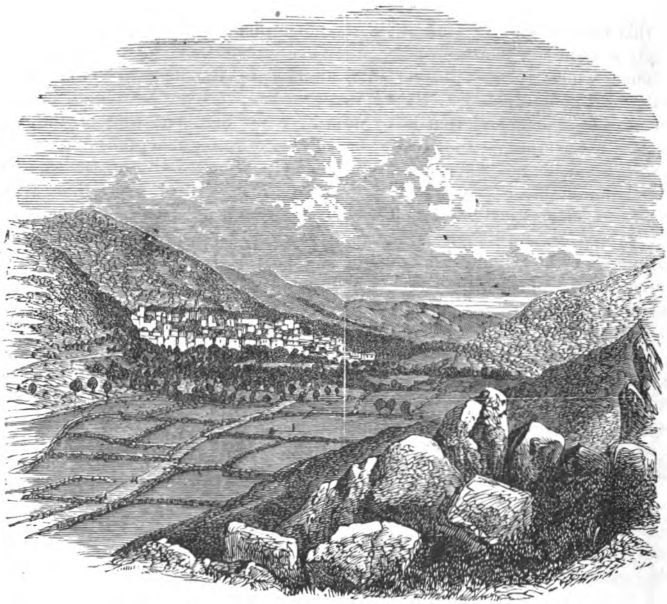
II. THE AMMONITES.

Unlike Moab, the precise position of the territory of the Ammonites is not ascertainable. In the earliest mention of them (Deut. ii. 20) they are said to have destroyed the Rephaim, whom they called the Zamzummim, and to have dwelt in their place, Jabbok being their border (Num. xxi. 24; Deut. ii. 37, iii. 16). "Land" or "country" is, however, but rarely ascribed to them, nor is there any reference to those habits and circumstances of civilization, which so constantly recur in the allusions to Moab (Is. xv. xvi; Jer. xlviii.). On the contrary, we find everywhere traces of the fierce habits of marauders in their incursions (1 Sam. xi. 2; Am. i. 13), and a very high degree of crafty cruelty to their foes (Jer. xli. 6, 7; Jud. vii. 11, 12). The hatred in which the Ammonites were held by Israel is stated to have arisen partly from their opposition, or, rather, their denial of assistance (Deut. xxiii. 4) to the Israelites on their approach to Canaan. But it evidently sprang mainly from their share in the affair of Balaam (Deut. xxiii. 4; Neh. xiii. 1). But whatever its origin, it is certain that the animosity continued in force to the latest date. Subdued by Jephthah (Judg. xi. 33), and scattered with great slaughter by Saul (1 Sam. xi. 11), they enjoyed under his successor a short respite, probably the result of the connection of Moab with David (1 Sam. xxii. 3) and David's town, Bethlehem. But this was soon brought to a close by the shameful treatment to which their king subjected the friendly messengers of David (2 Sam. x. 1; 1 Chr. xix. 1), and for which he destroyed their city and inflicted on them the severest blows (2 Sam. xii; 1 Chr. xx.).

(C.) PLACE OF ISAAC'S SACRIFICE.

This sacrifice took place in "one of the mountains" in the land of Moriah (Gen. xxii. 2). What the name of the mountain was we are not told; but it was a conspicuous one, visible from "afar off" (ver. 4). Nor does the narrative afford any data for ascertaining its position. A tradition which first appears in a definite shape in Josephus, and is now almost universally accepted, asserts that the "Mount Moriah" in 2 Chron. iii. 1, the eminence in Jerusalem on which Solomon built his temple, was the very spot of the sacrifice of Isaac. But the single occurrence of the name

in this one passage of Chronicles is surely not enough to establish a coincidence, which, if we consider it, is little short of miraculous. Except in the case of Salem, and that is by no means ascertained — the name of Abraham does not appear once in connection with Jerusalem or the later royal or ecclesiastical glories of Israel. Moreover, Jerusalem is incompatible with the circumstances of the narrative of Genesis xxii. To name only two instances—(1), The Temple mount can not be spoken of as a conspicuous eminence. It is not visible till the traveller is close upon it at the southern edge of the valley of Hinnom, from whence he looks down upon it as on a lower eminence. (2), If Salem was Jerusalem, then the trial of Abraham's faith, instead of taking place in the lonely and desolate spot implied by the narrative, where not even fire was to be obtained, and where no help but that of the Almighty was nigh, actually took place under the very walls of the city of Melchizedek. But, while there is no trace, except in the single passage quoted, of Moriah being attached to any part of Jerusalem—on the other hand, in the slightly different form of MOREH (Gen. xii. 6), it did exist attached to the town and the neighborhood of Shechem, the spot of Abram's first residence in Palestine. The sacrifice probably took place upon the lofty hill of Gerizim overlooking the town of Shechem, as the Samaritans have always asserted.



The town and valley of *Nâblus*, the ancient Shechem, from the south-western flank of Mount Ebal. The mountain on the left is Gerizim.

CHAPTER VIII.

ISAAC AND JACOB. FROM THE DEATH OF ABRAHAM TO THE DEATH OF ISAAC. A.M. 2182–2288. B.C. 1822–1716.

§ 1. Isaac at Lahai-roi. Esau sells his birthright. § 2. Isaac and Abimelech at Gerar. § 3. The blessings of Jacob and Esau. § 4. Moral aspect of the transaction. § 5. Jacob's danger from Esau, and flight to Padan-aram. § 6. His marriage to Leah and Rachel—His family. § 7. His service with Laban—His prosperity and departure—Mahanaim. § 8. His prayer and wrestling at Peniel. § 9. His meeting with Esau—Abode at Shechem, and removal southward. § 10. Death of Rachel—Jacob at Mamre—Death and burial of Isaac.

§ 1. After the death of Abraham, Isaac continued to dwell by the well of Lahai-roi, blessed by God. Here an event occurred, which fixed the destinies of his sons. Esau, returning from hunting in a famished state, saw Jacob preparing some red pottage of lentils, and quickly asked for "some of that red, red."[1] His impatience was natural, for food is not readily

[1] Gen. xxv. 30.

procured in an Eastern tent, and takes time to prepare. Jacob seized the occasion to obtain Esau's birthright as the price of the meal; and Esau consented with a levity which is marked by the closing words of the narrative—"thus Esau *despised* his birthright."[2] For this the Apostle calls him "a *profane* person, who for one morsel of food sold his birthright," and marks him as the pattern of those who sacrifice eternity for a moment's sensual enjoyment.[3] The justice of this judgment appears from considering what the birthright was, which he sold at such a price. Esau was, by right of birth, the head of the family, its prophet, priest, and king; and no man can renounce such privileges, except as a sacrifice required by God, without "despising" God who gave them. But more than this: he was the head of the *chosen* family; on him devolved the blessing of Abraham, that "in his seed all families of the earth should be blessed;" and, in despising his birthright, he put himself out of the sacred family, and so became a "*profane* person." His sin must not be overlooked in our indignation at the fraud of Jacob, which, as we shall see presently, brought its own retribution as well as its own gain.

§ 2. Driven from Lahai-roi by a famine, Isaac was forbidden by God to go down to Egypt, and was commanded to remain in the land. At the same time the promise was renewed to him. He betook himself to his father's old residence at Beersheba; and here he practiced the same deceit of which his father had been guilty, by giving out that his wife was his sister. The falsehood was discovered; but the remonstrance of Abimelech (apparently the son of Abraham's contemporary) was followed by special protection and respect both from king and people. Isaac now made an advance beyond the pastoral life—"He sowed in that land, and received in the same year an hundred-fold: and Jehovah blessed him." His prosperity roused the envy of the Philistines, who had filled up the wells dug by Abraham, as a pre-

[2] "Therefore was his name called EDOM," *i.e.*, *Red* (Gen. xxv. 30). The red lentil is still a favorite article of food in the East; it is a small kind, the seeds of which, after being decorticated, are commonly sold in the bazars of India. Dr. Robinson, who partook of lentils, says he "found them very palatable, and could well conceive that to a weary hunter, faint with hunger, they would be quite a dainty (*Bib. Res.* i. 246). Dr. Kitto also says that he has often partaken of red pottage, prepared by seething the lentils in water, and then adding a little suet to give them a flavor; and that he found it better food than a stranger would imagine; "the mess," he adds, "had the redness which gained for it the name of *adom*" (*Pict. Bib.*, Gen. xxv. 30, 34).

[3] Heb. xii. 16.

caution (it should seem) against his return. At length Abimelech desired Isaac to leave his country; and he retired along the valley of Gerar, digging his father's wells anew, and restoring their former names. Two wells so dug were disputed with him by the herdmen of Abimelech, and at once yielded by Isaac, who gave the wells the names of *Ezek* (*contention*) and *Sitnah* (*hatred*). His peaceful conduct not only secured him the quiet possession of a third well, which he named *Rehoboth* (*room*), but brought him a visit from Abimelech, who made a treaty with Isaac at a newly-discovered well, which was hence called *Shebah* (*the oath*), and which gave its name a second time to Beersheba (*the well of the oath*). There is no reason to consider this as different from Abraham's Beersheba.

§ 3. This tranquil course of Isaac's life, which presents a marked contrast to the varied incidents of Abraham's career, was vexed by the disobedience of Esau, who, at the age of forty married two Hittite wives, thus introducing heathen alliances into the chosen family.[4] But a greater family trial was in store for Isaac. The approach of his hundredth year and the infirmity of his sight[5] warned him to perform the solemn act by which, as prophet as well as father, he was to hand down the blessing of Abraham to another generation. Of course he designed for Esau the blessing which, once given, was the authoritative and irrevocable act of the patriarchal power; and he desired Esau to prepare a feast of venison for the occasion. Esau was not likely to confess the sale of his birthright, nor could Jacob venture openly to claim the benefit of his trick. Whether Rebekah knew of that transaction, or whether moved by partiality only, she came to the aid of her favorite son, and devised the stratagem by which Jacob obtained his father's blessing. This chapter gives another example of the matchless power and beauty of the sacred narrative, in the quiet statement of the facts; the preparation of the scheme step by step; the suspicious scrutiny of Isaac; the persistent fraud with which Jacob baffles the passionate appeal made even after the blessing has been given—"Art thou my very son Esau?"—the horror of Isaac and the despair of Esau when his return discovers the fraud; the weeping of the strong man, and his passionate demand—"Hast thou not reserved a blessing for me?" Like Ishmael, he received a temporal blessing, the fatness of the

[4] Gen. xxvi. 34, 35; see the genealogical table and note thereon (page 68).

[5] We mark here the shortening of life: this is the first example of the infirmities of old age.

earth and the dew of heaven, the warrior's sword, qualified by subjection to his brother, whose yoke, however, he was at some time to break. The prophecy was fulfilled in the prosperity of the Idumæans, their martial prowess, and their constant conflicts with the Israelites, by whom they were subdued under David, over whom they triumphed at the Babylonian Captivity, and to whom they at last gave a king in the person of Herod the Great.[6] But all this was no compensation for the loss of the higher and spiritual blessing which fell to the lot of Jacob, and which involved, in addition to all temporal prosperity, a dominion so universal that it could only be fulfilled by the kingdom of Messiah.[7]

§ 4. The *moral aspect* of the transaction is plain to those who are willing to see that the Bible represents the patriarchs as "men compassed with infirmity," favored by the grace of God, but not at all endowed with sinless perfection. It is just this, in fact, that makes their lives a moral lesson for us. Examples have occurred in the lives of Abraham and Isaac; but the whole career of Jacob is the history of a growing moral discipline. God is not honored by glossing over the patriarch's great faults of character, which were corrected by the discipline of severe suffering. We need not withhold indignant censure from Rebekah's cupidity on behalf of her favorite son—so like her family—and the mean deceit to which she tempts him. Nor is Isaac free from the blame of that foolish fondness, which, as is usual with moral weakness, gives occasion to crime in others. What, then, is the difference between them and Esau? Simply this—that they, in their hearts, honored the God whom he despised, though their piety was corrupted by their selfish passions. Jacob valued the blessing which he purchased wrongfully, and sought more wrongfully to secure. But Esau, whose conduct was equally unprincipled in desiring to receive the blessing which was no longer his, was rightly "rejected, when he would have inherited the blessing."[8] His selfish sorrow and resentment could not recall the choice he had made, or stand in the place of genuine repentance. "He found no place for repentance, though he sought for it with tears,"[9] and he is held forth as a great example of unavailing regret for spiritual blessings wantonly thrown away.

§ 5. The true state of Esau's spirit is shown by his resolve

[6] For the history of Edom, see *Notes and Illustrations.*

[7] Gen. xxvii. 28, 29, 37.

[8] Heb. xii. 17

[9] Hebrews, *l. c.*

to kill his brother as soon as his father should die. To avert the danger, Rebekah sent away Jacob to her family at Haran. Isaac approved the plan, as securing a proper marriage for his son, to whom he repeated the blessing of Abraham, and sent him away to Padan-aram.[10] And so the heir of the promises retraced, as a solitary wanderer, with nothing but the staff he carried,[11] the path by which Abraham had traversed Canaan. Proceeding northward, he lighted on a place, the site doubtless of Abraham's encampment near Bethel, where he found some stones, which probably belonged to the altar set up by Abraham, one of which he made his pillow. Thus forlorn, amid the memorials of the covenant, he was visited by God in a dream, which showed him a flight of stairs leading up from earth to the gates of heaven, and trodden by angels, some descending on their errands as "ministering spirits" upon earth, and others ascending to carry their reports to Him, whose "face they ever watch" in dutiful service. This symbol of God's providence was crowned by a vision of Jehovah, and his voice added to the renewal of the covenant a special promise of protection. Jacob awoke, to acknowledge the awful presence of Jehovah, of which he had lain down unconscious, and to dedicate to Him himself and all that God should give him. As a memorial of his vow, he set up his pillow for a monument, consecrating it with oil, and called the place BETH-EL, the *House of God.* The date of this, the turning-point in Jacob's religious life, is fixed by subsequent computations to his 77th year.[12]

§ 6. Jacob's arrival at Padan-aram presents us with a repetition of the pastoral scene, which Abraham's servant had

[10] Gen. xxvii. 41-xxviii. 9. It is here incidentally mentioned that Esau tried to please his father by marrying the daughter of Ishmael.

[11] Gen. xxxii. 10.

[12] Bethel was near the Canaanite city of Luz, but distinct from it. In Josh. xvi. 1, 2, the "city" of Luz and the consecrated "place" in its neighborhood are mentioned as still distinct; and the appropriation of the name of Bethel to the city appears not to have been made till still later, when it was taken by the tribe of Ephraim; after which the name of Luz occurs no more (Judg. i. 22-26). Bethel is mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome in the *Onomasticon*, as twelve miles from Jerusalem on the right hand of the road to Sichem; and here its ruins still lie under the scarcely altered name of *Beitin*. Many travellers have remarked on the "stony" nature of the soil at Bethel, as perfectly in keeping with the narrative of Jacob's slumber there. When on the spot little doubt can be felt as to the localities of this interesting place. The round mount S.E. of Bethel must be the "mountain" on which Abram built the altar, and on which he and Lot stood when they made their division of the land (Gen. xii. 7, xiii. 10). It is still thickly strewn to its top with stones formed by nature for the building of "altar" or sanctuary.

witnessed at the same place.[13] Rachel, the daughter of his uncle Laban, comes with her sheep to the well, like her aunt Rebekah just a century before, and brings him to the house. He engages to serve Laban as a shepherd for wages; for it is not the custom with Orientals for even a relative to eat the bread of idleness. Laban had two daughters, Leah and Rachel, the former with some dullness or weakness of the eyes, but the latter of perfect beauty. Jacob loved Rachel, and engaged to serve for her seven years, which "seemed unto him but a few days, for the love he had to her." When he claimed his reward, Laban, by a trick rendered easy by the forms of an Eastern wedding, where the bride is closely veiled, gave him Leah in place of Rachel, and excused the deceit by the impropriety of marrying the younger sister before the elder; but he gave Jacob Rachel also, on the condition of another seven years' service. During these seven years, Jacob had eleven sons and a daughter, whose births are recorded at length, with the reasons for their significant names, in Gen. xxix. and xxx. Their names are given at the end of this chapter.

§ 7. After the birth of Joseph, Jacob wished to become his own master; but Laban prevailed on him to serve him still, for a part of the produce of his flocks, to be distinguished by certain marks. Jacob's artifice to make the most of his bargain may be regarded as another example of the defective morality of those times; but, as far as Laban was concerned, it was a fair retribution for his attempt to secure a contrary result.[14] Jacob was now commanded in a vision by "the God of Bethel" to return to the land of his birth; and he fled secretly from Laban, who had not concealed his envy, to go back to his father Isaac, after twenty years spent in Laban's service—fourteen for his wives, and six for his cattle. Jacob, having passed the Euphrates, struck across the desert by the great fountain at Palmyra; then traversed the eastern part of the plain of Damascus and the plateau of Bashan, and entered Gilead, which is the range of mountains east of the Jordan, forming the frontier between Palestine and the Assyrian desert.

Laban called his kindred to the pursuit, and overtook Jacob on the third day in Mount Gilead, his anger being increased by the loss of his household gods (*teraphim*), which Rachel had secretly stolen. The theft, which might have caused Jacob to be carried captive, was ingeniously conceal-

[13] Gen. xxix.

[14] Gen. xxx. 35–43.

ed by Rachel, and the interview ended peaceably. Laban, forewarned by God not to injure Jacob, made a covenant with his son-in-law; and a heap of stones was erected as a boundary between them, and called Galeed (*the heap of witness*). "As in later times, the fortress on these heights of Gilead became the frontier post of Israel against the Aramaic tribe that occupied Damascus, so now the same line of heights became the frontier between the nation in its youth and the older Aramaic tribe of Mesopotamia. As now, the confines of two Arab tribes are marked by the rude cairn or pile of stones erected at the boundary of their respective territories, so the pile of stones and the tower or pillar, erected by the two tribes of Jacob and Laban, marked that the natural limit of the range of Gilead should be their actual limit also."[15] Jacob now received a Divine encouragement to meet the new dangers of the land he was entering. His eyes were opened to see a troop of angels, "the host of God," sent for his protection, and forming a second camp beside his own; and he called the name of the place Mahanaim (*the two camps* or *hosts*).[16]

§ 8. His first danger was from the revenge of Esau, who had now become powerful in Mount Seir, the land of Edom. In reply to his conciliatory message, Esau came to meet him with four hundred armed men. Well might Jacob dread his purpose; for though such a retinue might be meant to do him honor, it might also be designed to insure revenge. "Jacob was greatly afraid and distressed."[17] He had now reached the valley of the Jabbok. He divided his people and herds into two bands, that if the first were smitten, the second might escape. Then he turned to God in prayer.[18] "This prayer is first on record; for the intercession of Abraham for Sodom was more of a remonstrance or argument than a prayer. Many prayers had been offered before the time of Jacob; but this is the first of which we have any knowledge. . . . . . It does not seem that there could be a finer model for a special prayer than this, the most ancient of all."[19] To prayer he adds prudence, and sends forward present after present that their reiteration might win his

[15] Stanley's *Jewish Church*, p. 63, 1st series.

[16] Gen. xxiii. 1, 2; comp. Psalm xxxi. 7. A town of this name was afterward built on the spot, and became a place of importance in the time of the monarchy (2 Sam. ii. 9, xvii. 24). Its position is uncertain. There is a village called *Mahneh* east of the Jordan, but its exact site is also not certain.

[17] Gen. xxxii. 7.

[18] Gen. xxxii. 9–12.

[19] Kitto, *Daily Bible Illustrations*.

brother's heart. This done, he rested for the night; but, rising up before the day, he sent forward his wives and children across the ford of the Jabbok, remaining for a while in solitude to prepare his mind for the trial of the day. It was then that "a man" appeared and wrestled with him till the morning rose. This "man" was the "Angel Jehovah," and the conflict was a repetition in *act* of the prayer which we have already seen Jacob offering in *words*. This is clearly stated by the prophet Hosea:[20] "By his strength he had power with God: yea, he had power over the angel, and prevailed: he wept, and made supplication unto him." Though taught his own weakness by the dislocation of his thigh at the angel's touch, he gained the victory by his importunity—"I will not let thee go except thou bless me"—and he received the new name of ISRAEL (*a prince of God*), as a sign that "he had prevailed with God, and should therefore prevail with man."[21] Well knowing with whom he had to do, he called the place Peniel (*the face of God*), "for I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved." The memory of his lameness, which he seems to have carried with him to his grave,[22] was preserved by the custom of the Israelites not to eat of the sinew in the hollow of the thigh. Its moral significance is beautifully expressed by Wesley:

> "Contented now, upon my thigh
> I halt till life's short journey end;
> All helplessness, all weakness, I
> On Thee alone for strength depend;
> Nor have I power from Thee to move,
> Thy nature and thy name is Love."

§ 9. Jacob had descended into the valley of the Jabbok at sunrise, when he saw Esau and his troop. He divided his last and most precious band, placing first the handmaids and their children, then Leah and her children, and Rachel and Joseph last. Advancing before them all, he made his obeisance to Esau, who "ran to meet him, and fell on his neck and kissed him: and they wept." After a cordial interview, Jacob prudently declined his brother's offer to march with him as a guard; and Esau returned to Mount Seir, and we hear no more of him except the genealogy of his descendants, the Edomites.[23]

Jacob pursued his journey westward and halted at Succoth, so called from his having there put up "booths" (*Succoth*) for his cattle, as well as a house for himself. He then

[20] Hosea xii. 3, 4. [21] Gen. xxxii. 28. [22] Gen. xxxii. 31. [23] Gen. xxxvi.

crossed the Jordan, and arrived at Shechem,[24] which had grown since the time of Abraham into a powerful city, and was named after Shechem, the son of Hamor, prince of the Amorites. From them he bought a piece of land, *the first possession of the family in Canaan*, on which he pitched his tent, and built an altar to God, as the giver of his new name, and the God of the race who were ever to bear it—"God, the God of Israel" (*El-elohe-Israel*). The memory of his abode there is still preserved by "Jacob's Well," on the margin of which his divine Son taught the woman of Sychar (Shechem) a better worship than that of sacred places.

He was soon involved in a conflict with the Shechemites, through their violence to Dinah, and the treacherous revenge of Simeon and Levi, which afterward brought on them their father's curse.[25] The city of Shechem was taken; but Jacob deemed it prudent to avoid the revenge of the Canaanites by retiring from the neighborhood. It seems probable that he returned afterward and rescued "from the Amorites with his sword and his bow" the piece of land he had before purchased, and which he left, as a special inheritance, to Joseph.[26]

§ 10. Meanwhile Jacob returned, by the command of God, to Bethel, and performed the vows which he had there made when he fled from home, and received from God a renewal of the covenant.[27] There Rachel's nurse, Deborah, died, and was buried beneath "the oak of weeping" (*Allon-bachuth*). As he journeyed southward, and was near Ephrath or Ephratah, the ancient name of Bethlehem, Rachel died in giving birth to Jacob's youngest son. The dying mother called him *Ben-oni* (*son of my sorrow*); but the fond father changed his name to BEN-JAMIN (*son of the right hand*). The grave of Rachel was long marked by the pillar which Jacob erected over it; and her memory was associated with the town of Bethlehem.[28] Jacob's next resting-place, near the tower of Edar, was marked by the incest of Reuben, which forfeited his birthright.[29] At length he reached the encampment of his father Isaac, at the old station of Mamre, beside Hebron. Here Isaac died at the age of 180, "old and full of days, and his sons Esau and Jacob buried him."[30] This was thirteen years after Joseph was carried to Egypt; but the whole

[24] In the English version it is said "Jacob came to *Shalem*, a city of Shechem" (Gen. xxxiii. 18); but the sentence ought probably to be rendered "Jacob came safe to the city of Shechem."

[25] Gen. xxxiv. and xlix. 6.

[26] Gen. xlviii. 22; Josh. xvii. 14.

[27] Gen. xxxv.

[28] Jer. xxxi. 15; Matt. ii. 18.

[29] Gen. xxxv. 22; xlix. 4.

[30] Gen. xxxv. 27, 28.

course of that narrative is reserved for the next chapter. The following is the list of Jacob's twelve sons, in their order of precedence, those of his wives ranking before those of their handmaids, with the significonce of their names:[31]

(i.) The *sons of Leah:* Reuben (*see! a son*), Simeon (*hearing*), Levi (*joined*), Judah (*praise*), Issachar (*hire*), Zebulun (*dwelling*).

(ii.) The *sons of Rachel:* Joseph (*adding*), Benjamin (*son of the right hand*).

(iii.) The *sons of Bilhah*, Rachel's handmaid: Dan (*judging*), Naphtali (*my wrestling*).

(iv.) The *sons of Zilpah*, Leah's handmaid: Gad (*a troop*), Asher (*happy*).

Besides Dinah (*judgment*), the daughter of Leah.

[31] Gen. xxxv. 23–26.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

EDOM OR IDUMÆA.

EDOM was previously called *Mount Seir* (*rugged;* Gen. xxxii. 3, xxxvi. 8), from Seir the progenitor of the Horites (Gen. xiv. 6, xxxvi. 20-22). The name Seir was perhaps adopted on account of its being descriptive of the "rugged" character of the territory. The original inhabitants of the country were called *Horites*, from *Hori*, the grandson of Sier (Gen. xxxvi. 20, 22), because that name was descriptive of their habits as "Troglodytes," or "dwellers in caves." Immediately after the death of Isaac, Esau left Canaan and took possession of Mount Seir (Gen. xxxv. 28, xxxvi. 6, 7, 8). When his descendants increased they extirpated the Horites, and adopted their habits as well as their country (Deut. ii. 12; Jer. xlix. 16; Obad. 3, 4).

On the south, Edom reached as far as Elath, which stood at the northern end of the gulf of Elath, and was the sea-port of the Edomites. On the north of Edom lay the territory of Moab, from which it was divided by the "brook Zered" (Deut. ii. 13, 14, 18), probably the modern *Wady-el-Ahsy*, which still divides the provinces of *Kerak* (Moab) and *Jebâl* (Gebalene). But Edom was wholly a mountainous country. "Mount Seir" (Gen. xiv. 6, xxxvi. 8, 9; Deut. i. 2, ii. 1, 5, etc.) and "the Mount of Esau" (Obad. 8, 9, 19, 21), are names often given to it in the Bible, while Josephus and later writers call it *Gebalene* ("the mountainous").

The ancient capital of Edom was Bozrah, the site of which is most probably marked by the village of *Buseireh*, near the northern border, about twenty-five miles south of Kerak (Gen. xxxvi. 33; Is. xxxiv. 6, lxiii. 1; Jer. xlix. 13, 22). But Sela, better known by its Greek name Petra, appears to have been the principal stronghold in the days of Amaziah (B.C. 838; 2 K. xiv. 7). Elath, and its neighbor Ezion-geber, were the sea-ports; and they were captured by king David,

and here Solomon equipped his merchant-fleet (2 Sam. viii. 14; 1 K. ix. 26).

When the kingdom of Israel began to decline, the Edomites not only reconquered their lost cities, but made frequent inroads upon Southern Palestine (2 K. xvi. 6: where *Edomites* and not Syrians (*Arameans*) is evidently the true reading; 2 Chr. xxviii. 17). It was probably on account of these attacks, and of their uniting with the Chaldæans against the Jews, that the Edomites were so fearfully denounced by the later prophets (Ob. 1 sq.; Jer. xlix. 7 sq.; Ezek. xxv. 12 sq., xxxv. 3 sq.). During the Captivity they advanced westward, occupied the whole territory of their brethren the Amalekites (Gen. xxxvi. 12; 1 Sam. xv. 1 sq.; Joseph. *Ant.* ii. 1, § 2), and even took possession of many towns in Southern Palestine, including Hebron. The name Edom, or rather its Greek form, Idumæa, was now given to the country lying between the valley of Arabah and the shores of the Mediterranean. Roman authors sometimes give the name Idumæa to all Palestine, and even call the Jews Idumæans (Virg. *Georg.* iii. 12; Juven. viii. 160; Martial ii. 2.

While Idumæa thus extended westward, Edom Proper was taken possession of by the Nabatheans, an Arabian tribe, descended from Nebaioth, Ishmael's oldest son and Esau's brother-in-law (Gen. xxv. 13; 1 Chr. i. 29; Gen. xxxvi. 3). They took Petra and established themselves there at least three centuries before Christ. This people, leaving off their nomad habits, settled down amid the mountains of Edom, engaged in commerce, and founded the little kingdom called by Roman writers *Arabia Petræa*, which embraced nearly the same territory as the ancient Edom. Some of its monarchs took the name Aretas. One of them was father-in-law of Herod Antipas (Matt. xiv. 3, 4), and it was the same who captured the city of Damascus and held it at the time of Paul's conversion (2 Cor. xi. 32; Acts ix. 25).

When the Jewish power revived under the warlike Asmonean princes, that section of Idumæa which lay south of Palestine fell into their hands. Judas Maccabæus captured Hebron, Marissa, and Ashdod; and John Hyrcanus compelled the inhabitants of the whole region to conform to Jewish law (1 Macc. v. 65, 68). The country was henceforth governed by Jewish prefects; one of these, Antipater, an Idumæan by birth, became, through the friendship of the Roman emperor, procurator of all Judæa, and his son was Herod the Great, "King of the Jews."

Early in the Christian era Edom Proper was included by geographers in Palestine, but in the fifth century a new division was made of the whole country into *Palæstina Prima*, *Secunda*, and *Tertia*. The last embraced Edom and some neighboring provinces, and when it became an ecclesiastical division its metropolis was Petra. In the seventh century the Mohammedan conquest gave a deathblow to the commerce and prosperity of Edom. Under the withering influence of Mohammedan rule the great cities fell to ruin, and the country became a desert. The followers of the false prophet were here, as elsewhere, the instruments in God's hands for the execution of His judgments. "Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, O Mount Seir, I am against thee, and I will make thee desolate. I will lay thy cities waste, and when the whole earth rejoiceth I will make thee desolate . . . I will make Mount Seir most desolate, and cut off from it him that passeth out and him that returneth . . . . I will make thee perpetual desolations, and thy cities shall not return, and ye

shall know that I am the Lord" (Ezek. xxxv. 3, 4, 7, 9, 14).

The Crusaders made several expeditions into Edom, penetrating as far as Petra, to which they gave the name it still bears, *Wady Mûsa*, "Valley of Moses" (*Gesta Dei per Franc.* pp 405, 518, 555, 581). On a commanding height about twelve miles north of Petra they built a strong fortress, called Mons Regalis, now *Shôbek* (*Gesta Dei*, p. 611).



Egyptian Officers of the King's Household. (Wilkinson.)

CHAPTER IX.

JACOB AND HIS SONS. FROM THE SALE OF JOSEPH TO THE DESCENT INTO EGYPT. A.M. 2275–2298. B.C. 1729–1706.

§ 1. Joseph's early life—His two dreams—Hatred of his brethren. § 2. They sell him into Egypt. § 3. Joseph in Potiphar's house. § 4. Imprisonment of Joseph—Pharaoh's cup-bearer and chief cook—Their dreams interpreted by Joseph. § 5. Pharaoh's two dreams—Joseph made ruler of Egypt—His name *Zaphnath-paaneah*—His marriage, and his two sons. § 6. His government of Egypt—The seven years of plenty and the seven years of famine. § 7. Joseph's brethren in Egypt. § 8. God's purpose in Israel's removal to Canaan. § 9. Jacob and his family go down to Egypt—Their numbers. § 10. Their interviews with Pharaoh and settlement in Goshen.

§ 1. We go back over a period of thirteen years from the death of Isaac to the beginning of that narrative of Joseph's life, which may safely be called the most charming in all history. It will guard us against much confusion to bear in mind that the birth of Benjamin and the death of Rachel probably occurred very shortly before Joseph was sold into Egypt. Almost up to this time, therefore, he had been his father's youngest son, and he was now doubly dear to him as the son of his old age and the child of his newly-lost Rachel.[1] Par

[1] Gen. xxxvii. 3.

ental partiality, however, was as injurious in Jacob's family as in any other; and though the character of Joseph is one of the purest that we meet in Scripture, his father's preference tempted him to assume toward his brethren the part of a censor and informer—a course of which the modesty was questionable, and the prudence not at all so, in a youth of seventeen.

It is worthy of notice that the sons of the handmaids, Bilhah and Zilpah, were those whose misconduct Joseph reported to his father. Their lower birth seems to have diminished their self-respect and to have stimulated their envy. When Jacob made for Joseph a special dress,[2] "his brethren hated him, and could not speak peaceably unto him." To increase their hatred, Joseph dreamed two dreams, which even his father, who seems to have discerned their prophetic character,[3] censured his imprudence in repeating. In the first dream his brothers' sheaves of corn bowed down to his, which stood upright in their midst; a most fit type, not only of their submission to him, but of their suing to him for corn in Egypt. The second dream was of wider and higher import. It included his father and his mother, as well as his brethren (now defined as *eleven*), in the reverence done to him;[4] and the emblems chosen leave little doubt that the dream prefigured the homage of all nature to Him, whose sign was the *star* of Bethlehem, and of whom Joseph was one of the clearest types.[5] Joseph's brethren resolved to avert the humiliation by his death, re-enacting the part of Cain toward Abel.[6]

§ 2. It seems that Jacob was now at Hebron, with his father Isaac, while his sons fed his flocks where they could find

[2] This appears to have been a long tunic with sleeves, worn by youths and maidens of the richer class. Its name seems to signify *a tunic reaching to the extremities*. It was worn by David's daughter Tamar, being the dress of the king's daughters that were virgins (2 Sam. xiii. 18, 19). There seems no reason for the LXX. rendering χιτὼν ποικίλος, "a coat of colors," except that it is very likely that such a tunic would be ornamented with colored stripes or embroidered.

[3] Gen. xxxvi. 11; comp. Luke ii. 19-51.

[4] From Joseph's second dream, and his father's rebuke, it might be inferred that Rachel was living at the time that he dreamt it. It is indeed possible that it may have occurred some time before the selling of Joseph, and been interpreted by Jacob of Rachel, who certainly was not alive at its fulfillment, so that it could not apply to her. Yet, if Leah only survived, Jacob might have spoken of her as Joseph's mother. The dream, moreover, indicates eleven brethren besides the father and mother of Joseph: if therefore Benjamin were already born, Rachel must have been dead: the reference is therefore more probably to Leah, who may have been living when Jacob went into Egypt.

[5] See chap. x. § 3, xi.

[6] Gen. xxxvii. 18.

pasture, Joseph being sometimes with his brethren, and sometimes acting as a messenger between them and his father.[7] Thus he was sent from Hebron to Shechem, where the piece of land purchased by Jacob of the Amorites had probably been recovered; but his brethren had gone farther north to Dothan,[8] a place apparently in the neighborhood of Shechem. Thither he followed them on his father's errand of kindness; but the very sight of him at a distance prompted them to conspire to kill him. His life was saved by Reuben, who persuaded them to avoid the actual shedding of Joseph's blood by casting him into an empty pit, whence Reuben intended to take him and restore him to his father. When he came to them, they stripped him of his tunic, cast him into the pit, and coolly sat down to eat bread. Just then an Arab caravan[9] were seen on the high road which leads from Mount Gilead through Dothan to Egypt, carrying to the latter country the spices and gums of the Syrian desert. Judah suggested (Reuben having left them, v. 29) that they might now get rid of their prisoner without the guilt of murder; and so, when the Midianites came near (v. 28), they took Joseph out of the pit and sold him for twenty shekels of silver, the very sum which was, under the Law, the value of a male from five to twenty years old—a type of the sale of Him "whom the children of Israel did value."[10] They carried back his tunic to Jacob dipped in a kid's blood; and though he seems to have had his suspicions, which afterward broke out into reproaches,[11] they imposed on their father the tale that a wild beast had devoured Joseph; and their guilty consciences had to bear the trial of pretending to comfort him, while he refused all comfort.

§ 3. Meanwhile the Midianite merchants carried Joseph to Egypt, and sold him to POTIPHAR, "an officer of Pharaoh, and captain of the guard," more literally *captain of the executioners.*[12]

[7] Gen. xxxvii. 2, 13.

[8] Dothan (probably signifying *two wells*) was known to Eusebius (*Onomasticon*), who places it twelve miles to the N. of Sebaste (Samaria); and here it has been discovered, still bearing its ancient name unimpaired, and situated at the south end of a plain of the richest pasturage, four or five miles S.W. of *Jenin*, and separated only by a swell or two of hills from the plain of Esdraelon. The great road from *Beisân* to Egypt passes near *Dothan.*

[9] In vs. 25 and 28 they are called *Ishmaelites;* in vs. 28 and 36 *Midianites.* The former seems to be a *generic* name, equivalent to Arabs, the latter denoting the tribe to which the merchants actually belonged.

[10] Levit. xxvii. 5; Matt. xxvii. 9.

[11] See chap. xlii. 36:—"Me have ye bereaved of my children."

[12] The name of Potiphar is written

We have now reached the point at which the history of the chosen family interweaves itself with the annals of that mighty kingdom whose monuments, covered with mysterious writings, have in every age excited a curiosity the more intense in proportion to the desire to read in them the records of the sojourn of the Hebrews in the land from the time of Joseph to that of Moses.

Unfortunately for the satisfaction of this curiosity, the Scripture history conceals the names of the kings of Egypt under the general title of Pharaoh, while the monuments give us no direct information concerning Joseph and the Israelites.[13] But though we do not read his name in the hieroglyphics, yet the sculptures and paintings of the ancient Egyptian tombs bring vividly before us the daily life and duties of Joseph. The property of great men is shown to have been managed by scribes, who exercised a most methodical and minute supervision over all the operations of agriculture, gardening, the keeping of live stock, and fishing. Every product was carefully registered to check the dishonesty of the laborers, who in Egypt have always been famous in this respect. Probably in no country was farming ever more systematic. Joseph's previous knowledge of tending flocks, and perhaps of husbandry, and his truthful character, exactly fitted him for the post of overseer.

§ 4. Joseph was seventeen when he was sold into Egypt, and thirty "when he stood before Pharaoh."[14] We are not told what portion of these thirteen years he spent in Potiphar's house. Probably not long, as it was his youthful beauty that tempted his master's wife,[15] whose conduct agrees with the well-known profligacy of the Egyptian women; as her desire for revenge, when Joseph withstood the temptation, is in accordance with the worst parts of our nature—

"Hell has no fury like a woman scorned."

It may have been from a suspicion of her guilt that Potiphar, instead of bringing Joseph before a tribunal, put him in the state prison, which was in his own house. There Potiphar finally left him; for it stands to reason that the

in hieroglyphics PET-PA-RA or PET-P-RA, and signifies "belonging to RA" (the sun). It occurs again, with a slightly different orthography, Poti-pherah, as the name of Joseph's father-in-law, priest or prince of On. It may be remarked that as Ra was the chief divinity of On, or Heliopolis, it is an interesting undesigned coincidence that the latter should bear a name indicating devotion to Ra.

[13] See *Notes and Illustrations* to chap. x. On the History of Egypt.

[14] Gen. xli. 46. [15] Gen. xxxix. 6, 7

"chief of the executioners," who put such confidence in Joseph as to commit other state prisoners to his custody, was not Potiphar himself, but his successor—an indication of the length of Joseph's imprisonment.[16] Probably his treatment was at first severe;[17] but the same blessing that had raised him in the house of Potiphar followed him in the prison, of which the keeper gave him the entire charge, "because Jehovah was with him, and that which he did Jehovah made it to prosper."[18]

Some conspiracy at the court of Pharaoh led to the imprisonment of two of the king's great officers, the chief of the cup-bearers and the chief of the cooks. (The terms *chief butler* and *chief baker* in our version are misleading as to their dignity.) They were committed to the charge of Joseph, whom they too discovered to be specially favored by God, for they asked him to interpret the dreams which forewarned them of their fate, and, in three days, as Joseph predicted, the one was hanged, and the other restored to his office on Pharaoh's birthday.[19]

§ 5. The restored cup-bearer's office about the king's person gave him ample opportunities of fulfilling Joseph's pathetic request to make mention of him to Pharaoh, and his colleague's fate might have warned him against ingratitude. "Yet did not the chief cup-bearer remember Joseph, but forgat him," till after two years, when Pharaoh was disturbed by dreams which none of the scribes or wise men of Egypt could interpret.[20] Then the chief cup-bearer remembered his fault and told Pharaoh of Joseph, who was brought out of prison and set before the king. After bearing witness to the true God, as in the former case, by ascribing all the power of interpretation to Him who had sent the dreams,[21] he explained to Pharaoh their significance, which, to an Egyptain, was most striking. The dream had been twofold, to mark its certain and speedy fulfillment (v. 32). Seven years of an abundance extraordinary even for fruitful Egypt were to be followed by seven years of still more extraordinary dearth. In the first dream, the seven years of plenty were denoted by seven heifers, the sacred symbols of Isis, the goddess of production, which came up out of the river, the great fertilizer of Egypt, whose very soil is well called by Herodotus "the gift of the Nile." These were beautiful and fat, as

[16] Gen. xl. 3, 4.

[17] Psalm cv. 17, 18: "whose feet they hurt with fetters: he was laid in iron."

[18] Gen. xxxix. 23.

[19] Gen. xl.

[20] Gen. xli. 8.

[21] Gen. xl. 8, xli. 16.

they fed on the luxuriant marsh grass by the river's bank; but after them came up seven others, so ill-looking and lean that Pharaoh had never seen the like for badness, which devoured the seven fat kine, and remained as lean as they were before.

The second dream was still plainer. There sprang up a stalk of that branching Egyptian wheat, which now grows in our own fields from seed found in mummy-cases. That seen by Pharaoh had the unusual number of seven ears, full and good, denoting the seven years of plenty. Then there sprang up another stalk, also bearing seven ears, thin and blasted with the east wind, and so mildewed that they infected and consumed the seven good ears. The wise men of Egypt must indeed have been fools not to understand these symbols, which embraced both the animal and vegetable wealth of the land!

Joseph went farther, and counselled Pharaoh to give some discreet person authority over all the land, that he might store up the surplus corn of the seven years of plenty against the seven years of famine. Pharaoh saw that none could be so fit for this office as Joseph himself, "in whom was the Spirit of God." He made him his vicegerent over Egypt, and gave him his own signet, the indisputable mark of royal power.[22] Clothed with fine linen robes, wearing a collar of gold, and riding in the second royal chariot, before which the people were bidden to fall prostrate, Joseph was proclaimed with all the ceremonies which we still see represented on the monuments. He received the Coptic name of ZAPHNATH-PAANEAH (*a revealer of secrets*); and married Asenath, the daughter of Potipherah, priest or prince of On (Heliopolis), who bore him two sons during the seven years of plenty. As a token of the oblivion of his former life, he named his elder son MANASSEH (*forgetting*); and he called the younger EPHRAIM (*double fruitfulness*), in grateful commemoration of his blessings. When Joseph afterward became his father's heir, the double share of the inheritance which fell to him was indicated by each of his sons ranking with the sons of Jacob as the head of a distinct tribe.

§ 6. Joseph's administration of Egypt has been greatly misunderstood. First, as to his conduct during the years of plenty. The vague statement, made in the language of Oriental hyperbole, that "he gathered up all the food of the

[22] The signet was of so much importance with the ancient Egyptian kings that their names (except perhaps in the earliest period) were always enclosed in an oval which represented an elongated signet.

seven years" (v. 48), "as the sand of the sea, very much, until he left numbering" (v. 49), comes after the exacter estimate given in his advice to Pharoah, which makes it clear that "he took up the *fifth part* of the land of Egypt in the seven plenteous years" (v. 34). The ordinary royal impost appears to have been a land-tax of *one-tenth*, and this was just a *double tithe.*

The corn was stored up in each of the cities from the lands of which it was collected; and it was thus secured for orderly distribution in the years of famine. When that season arrived, its consumption was guarded by the same wise policy that had preserved it from being wasted in the years of plenty. The demand was not only from Egypt, but from the neighboring countries, Canaan, and probably parts of Syria, Arabia, and Africa, to which the famine extended, and whose corn was soon exhausted. We may assume that the Egyptians also soon used up their private stores. Joseph then opened all the store-houses and sold unto the Egyptians; "and the famine waxed sore in the land of Egypt. And all[23] countries came into Egypt to buy corn, because the famine was so sore in all lands."

At the end of two years (see Gen. xlv. 6) all the money of the Egyptians and Canaanites had passed into Pharaoh's treasury.[24] At this crisis we do not see how Joseph can be acquitted of raising the despotic authority of his master on the broken fortunes of the people; but yet he made a moderate settlement of the power thus acquired. First the cattle and then the land of the Egyptians became the property of Pharoah, and the people were removed from the country to the cities. They were still permitted, however, to cultivate their lands as tenants under the crown, paying a rent of one-fifth of the produce, and this became the permanent law of the tenure of land in Egypt: but the land of the priests was left in their own possession.[25]

§ 7. The seven years' famine[26] had the most important bearing on the chosen family of Israel. When all the corn in Canaan was exhausted, Jacob sent his sons to buy in Egypt; but he kept back Benjamin "lest mischief should befall him."[27] Probably he would not trust Rachel's remaining child with his brethren. We need not recount that well-

[23] That is, all with which the Israelites had any connection. Gen. xli. 56, 57.

[24] Gen. xlvii. 14.

[25] Gen. xlvii. 15–26.

[26] The whole subject of the famines which are known to have occurred in Egypt is treated further in the *Notes and Illustrations* (A).

[27] Gen. xlii. 4.

known narrative, the most beautiful and touching page of all history, of their two visits to Joseph and his final discovery of himself.[28] It seems hardly necessary to vindicate Joseph from the charge of harshness toward his brethren. We do not think that he went a step farther than was required, in order to gain over them the power which he was ready to use for their good. We rather see in his conduct a faithful imitation of the divine discipline, by which man is restored to favor through suffering just enough to bring him to true repentance.

The short imprisonment of Simeon was but a taste of the sorrow to which he and his brothers had subjected their brother for fourteen years. The getting Benjamin into his power was needful, lest Jacob's fondness should frustrate all his plans. The roughness of his manner was surely not a thing to be complained of, where every step taken was one of kindness, while, in the final scene of recognition, hurried on by Joseph's tenderness of heart, there is not a word of upbraiding or reproach:—"Now therefore be not grieved or angry with yourselves, that ye sold me hither. It was not you that sent me hither, but God."[29] And at the very moment when Joseph kindly saw in his brethren only the unconscious instruments of God's providence, he was serving it almost as unconsciously by his plan for securing his father and brethren a safe and happy settlement in Egypt.

§ 8. For the removal of the chosen family to Egypt was an essential part of the great plan which God had traced out to their father Abraham. The promise had now been given two hundred years,[30] and they had neither possessions nor family alliances in the promised land. But they would soon have sought for both; and the character already manifested by Jacob's sons augured ill for their preserving either purity or piety amid the Canaanites.[31] The chosen race was no longer to be severed from the rejected branches, as in the case of Ishmael and Esau; but the twelve sons of Jacob were to found the twelve tribes of Israel, even the sons of Zilpah and Bilhah being legitimated and reckoned as belonging to Leah and Rachel respectively.[32] Their present relation to Canaan must be broken off, that it might be formed anew in due time. They must be placed among a people with whom they could not mix, but from whom they might

[28] Gen. xlii.–xlv.

[29] Gen. xlv. 5, 8.

[30] Gen. xv.

[31] See, in addition to the examples already related, the story of Judah, which we have not thought it necessary to place in the text. Gen. xxxviii.

[32] See § 9.

learn the arts of civilization and industry; and there, under the discipline of affliction, the family must be consolidated into the nation.

§ 9. So Joseph sent for his father and the whole family from Beersheba into Egypt, and God encouraged Jacob by a vision, commanding him to go down, and promising to bring him up again in the person of his descendants, who are henceforth called by the collective name of Israel,[33] and assuring him that Joseph should close his eyes.[34] So he went down, with his sons and their wives and children, and all their cattle. The house of Israel now numbered 70 souls, without reckoning wives. The number is thus made up:—

i. The children of Leah, 32, viz.:—[35]

(1.)	Reuben and four sons	5
(2.)	Simeon and six sons[36]	7
(3.)	Levi and three sons	4
(4.)	Judah and five sons (of whom two were dead) and two grandsons	6
(5.)	Issachar and four sons	5
(6.)	Zebulun and three sons	4
	Dinah	1

ii. The children of Zilpah, considered as Leah's, 16, viz.:—

(7.)	Gad and seven sons	8
(8.)	Asher: four sons, one daughter, and two grandsons	8

iii. The children of Rachel, 14, viz.:—

(9.)	Joseph (see below).	
(10.)	Benjamin and ten sons[37]	11

iv. The children of Bilhah, considered as Rachel's, 7, viz.:—

(11.)	Dan and one son	2
(12.)	Naphtali and four sons	5
	Total of those "that came with Jacob into Egypt"	66
	To these must be added Jacob, Joseph, and two sons	4
	Total of Israel's house	70

These are the numbers of the Hebrew text,[38] but the LXX. complete the genealogy by adding the children of Manasseh

[33] Gen. xlvii. 11.

[34] Gen. xlvi.

[35] Jacob himself is included in the 33 of v. 15, but he is excluded from the total of 66 in v. 26.

[36] One of these is called the son of a Canaanitish woman; whence we may infer that all the rest were born from wives of the Hebrew race, and probably in nearly all cases of the stock of Abraham.

[37] These are evidently added to complete the second generation, for Benjamin was only 23 years old, and the tone of the whole narrative is scarcely consistent with his yet having a family.

[38] Comp. Deut. x. 22.

and Ephraim, who of course ranked with those of the sons of Jacob, namely, Machir, the son of Manasseh, and Galeed (Gilead), the son of Machir (2); Sutalaam (Shutelah) and Taam (Tathath), the sons of Ephraim, and Edom, the son of Sutalaam (3), making 5 in all.[39] St. Stephen naturally quotes the LXX., the version commonly used, especially by the Hellenistic Jews, with whom his discussion began.[40]

Thus, instead of any real difficulty, we have in this apparent difference an example of those undesigned coincidences amid variety, which are among the strongest internal evidences of the truth of Scripture. It is most interesting to compare these numbers with those to which the family of Israel had grown at the Exodus.[41]

§ 10. On their arrival in Egypt, Joseph, after a most affecting meeting with his father, presented five of his brethren to Pharaoh; and the king being informed that they were shepherds, a class held in abomination by the Egyptians, gave them for their separate abode the land of Goshen or Rameses, which was the best pasture-ground in all Egypt,[42] and intrusted to them his own flocks, while Joseph supplied them with bread during the remaining five years of famine. That they were tillers of the land, as well as shepherds, is clear from their being employed "in all manner of service in the field" (Exod. i. 14,) and from the allusion of Moses to "Egypt, where thou sowedst thy seed and wateredst it" (Deut. x. 11).

Joseph next brought his father before Pharaoh, and the aged patriarch bestowed his blessing on the mighty king. In reply to Pharaoh's inquiry about his age, he said:—"The days of my pilgrimage are 130 years: few and evil have the days of the years of my life been, and have not attained unto the days of the years of the life of my fathers in the days of their pilgrimage."[43] Besides their testimony to the gradual decline of human life, and their affecting allusion to his trials, these words are a memorable example of how the patriarchs "confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth," and how "they desired a better country, that is, a heavenly," even the "city" which their God had "prepared for them."[44]

[39] Gen. xlvi. 20, LXX. compare 1 Chron. vii. 14, 20.

[40] Acts vii. 14.

[41] Numb. i. See chap. xi. p. 118.

[42] See *Notes and Illustrations* (B).

[43] Gen. xlvii. 9.

[44] Heb. xi. 13-16.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

(A.) FAMINES IN EGYPT.

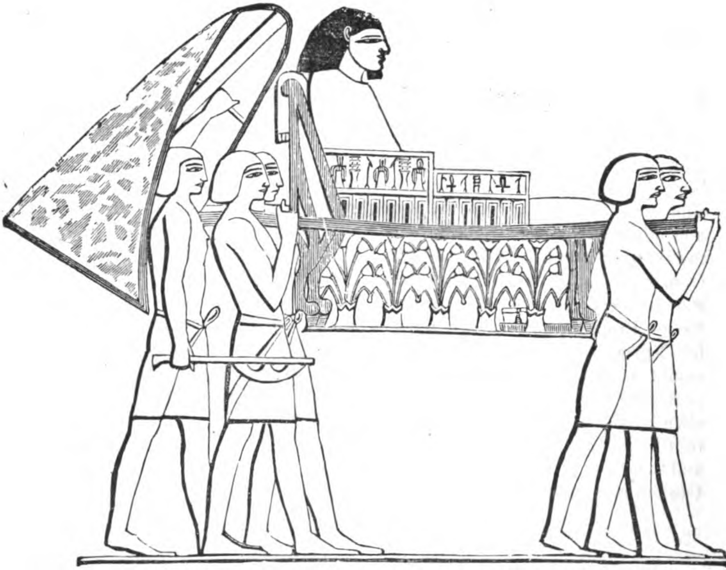
EGYPT owes all its fertility to its mighty river, whose annual rise inundates nearly the whole land and renders its cultivation an easy certainty. But this very bounty of nature has not unfrequently exposed the country to the opposite extreme of drought. With scarcely any rain, and that only on the Mediterranean coast, and with wells only supplied by filtration from the river through a nitrous soil, a failure in the rise of the Nile almost certainly entails a degree of scarcity. The causes of dearth and famine in Egypt are occasioned by defective inundation, preceded and accompanied and followed by prevalent easterly and southerly winds. Both these winds dry up the earth, and the latter, keeping back the rain-clouds from the north, are perhaps the chief cause of the defective inundation, as they are also by their accelerating the current of the river—the northerly winds producing the contrary effects. Famines in Egypt and Palestine seem to be effected by drought extending from Northern Syria, through the meridian of Egypt, as far as the highlands of Abyssinia.

The modern history of Egypt throws some curious light on these ancient records of famines; and instances of their recurrence may be cited to assist us in understanding their course and extent. They have not been of very rare occurrence since the Mohammedan conquest, according to the testimony of Arab historians: one of great severity, following a deficient rise of the Nile, in the year of the Flight 597 (A.D. 1200), is recorded by 'Abd-El-Lateef, who was an eye-witness, and is regarded justly as a trustworthy authority. He gives a most interesting account of its horrors, states that the people throughout the country were driven to the last extremities, eating offal, and even their own dead, and mentions, as an instance of the dire straits to which they were driven, that persons who were burnt alive for eating human flesh were themselves, thus ready roasted, eaten by others. Multitudes fled the country, only to perish in the desert-road to Palestine.

But the most remarkable famine was that of the reign of the Fátimee Khaleefeh, El-Mustansir-billáh, which is the only instance on record of one of seven years' duration in Egypt since the time of Joseph (A.H. 457-464, A.D. 1064–1071). This famine exceeded in severity all others of modern times. Vehement drought and pestilence, says a contemporary writer, continued for seven consecutive years, so that the people ate corpses, and animals that died of themselves; the cattle perished; a dog was sold for 5 deenárs, a cat for 3 deenárs, and an ardebb (about 5 bushels) of wheat for 100 deenárs. He adds that all the horses of the Khaleefeh, save three, perished, and mentions organized bands of kidnappers who infested Cairo and caught passengers in the streets by ropes furnished with hooks and let down from houses.

(B.) THE LAND OF GOSHEN.

The "land of Goshen," also called Goshen simply, appears to have borne another name, "the land of Rameses" (Gen. xlvii. 11), unless this be the name of a district of Goshen. It was between Joseph's residence at the time and the frontier of Palestine, and apparently the extreme province toward that frontier (Gen. xlvi. 29). Gen. xlvi. 33, 34, shows that Goshen was scarcely regarded as a part of Egypt Proper, and was not peopled by Egyptians — characteristics that would positively indicate a frontier province. The next mention of Goshen confirms the previous inference that its position was between Canaan and the Delta (Gen. xlvii. 1, 5, 6, 11). Goshen was a pastoral country, where some of Pharaoh's cattle were kept. The clearest indications of the exact position of Goshen are those afforded by the narrative of the Exodus. The Israelites set out from the town of Rameses in the land of Goshen, made two days' journey to "the edge of the wilderness," and in one day more reached the Red Sea. At the starting-point two routes lay before them, "the way of the land of the Philistines . . . that [was] near," and "the way of the wilderness of the Red Sea" (Ex. xiii. 17, 18). From these indications we infer that the land of Goshen must have in part been near the eastern side of the ancient Delta, Rameses lying within the valley now called the *Wádi-t-Tumeylát*, about thirty miles in a direct course from the ancient western shore of the Arabian Gulf.



Egyptian Chief carried in a sort of palanquin, an attendant bearing a parasol behind him.

CHAPTER X.

THE LAST YEARS OF JACOB AND JOSEPH. A.M. 2298–2369. B.C. 1706–1635.

§ 1. Jacob's last years—His desire to be buried with his fathers. § 2. His blessing on Joseph and his sons. § 3. His prophetic address to his twelve sons, and their Blessings—i. Reuben—ii. iii. Simeon and Levi—iv. Judah—Messianic sense—v. Zebulun—vi. Issachar—vii. Dan—viii. Gad—ix. Asher—x. Naphtali—xi. Joseph—Messianic sense—xii. Benjamin—The twelve tribes now constituted. § 4. Death, embalmment, and burial of Jacob. § 5. Joseph's kindness to his brethren. § 6. Joseph's last prophecy and injunction—His death and burial. § 7. Death and burial of the other patriarchs. § 8. Interval between Joseph and Moses. § 9. Chronology of the pilgrimage in Canaan and Egypt.

§ 1. The few remaining years of Jacob's life were spent in tranquillity and abundance. He lived seventeen years in Egypt, and beheld his descendants "multiply exceedingly."[1] The chief record of this period is his prophetic blessing on

[1] Gen. xlvii. 27.

his sons—one of the most important passages in the whole Bible.

First, as his end approached, he sent for Joseph, and made him swear that he would not bury him in Egypt, but carry him to the sepulchre of his fathers.[2] There is one point in this passage which must not be passed over. "Israel bowed himself upon the bed's head." An act of worship is certainly intended, doubtless a thanksgiving to God for the peaceful close of his troubled life, and for the assurance of being soon "gathered to his fathers."

Whether in this act Jacob bent his head reverently as he raised himself on his bed, or whether he supported himself on the head of his bedstead, as in the next chapter (v. 2), or on the top of that shepherd's staff, "which he had carried all his life,"[3] is in itself of little consequence. But the last, and probably the most natural interpretation, which is that given by the LXX., and followed by St. Paul,[4] has been strangely perverted. The Vulgate, which in Genesis has *adoravit Deum conversus ad lectuli caput*, translates the passage in the Hebrews *adoravit fastigium virgæ ejus* (for ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ῥάβδου αὐτοῦ), *worshiped the top of his staff;* and the text is cited as an authority for image worship!

§ 2. Soon after this, Joseph heard that his father was sick; and he went to visit him with his sons, Manasseh and Ephraim.[5] The dying patriarch blessed Joseph and his sons, in the name of the "God, before whom his fathers Abraham and Isaac had walked, the God who had fed him all his life long, the Angel who had redeemed him from all evil." He claimed Ephraim and Manasseh for his own, placing them even before Reuben and Simeon, whose lust and violence had forfeited their birthright; and henceforth they were numbered among the heads of the tribes of Israel. Throughout the whole scene, he gave Ephraim the precedence over Manasseh; and, though unable to see, he crossed his hands, disregarding Joseph's opposition; so that in blessing them his right hand was on Ephraim's head, and his left on Manasseh's. Thus was added one more lesson of God's sovereign choice to the examples of Abel, Shem, Abram, Isaac, and himself, who were all younger sons. He foretold for them a prosperity which would make them the envy of the other tribes of Israel; and he ended by giving Joseph an extra portion above his brethren, thus marking him as his heir, in respect of *property;* for the *royal power* was given to Judah, and the *priesthood* was

[2] Gen. xlvii. 29-31. [3] Gen. xxxii. 10. [4] Heb. xi. 21. [5] Gen. xlviii.

afterward assigned to Levi. The *division* of these three great functions of the patriarchal government is already a mark of the transition from the *family* to the *nation.*

§ 3. Having thus given Joseph his separate and special blessing for himself and his two sons, Jacob called all his sons to hear the last words of Israel their father.[6] He plainly declared that his words were of prophetic import, and that their fulfillment would reach even *to the last days* (v. 1). Could we expound them fully, we should probably find that, in most, if not all the several blessings, there is a reference—first, to the personal character and fortunes of the twelve patriarchs; secondly, to the history and circumstances of the tribes descended from them; and, lastly, a typical allusion to the twelve tribes of the spiritual Israel.[7] We can trace the first two elements in all cases, and the last is conspicuous in the blessings on Judah and Joseph, the two heads of the whole family. But the details of the interpretation are confessedly most difficult. The whole prophecy should be compared with "the blessing, wherewith Moses, the man of God, blessed the children of Israel before his death."[8] Like the latter, Jacob's prophecy contains a *blessing* on each tribe, though in some cases it is almost disguised under the censure which his sons had incurred.

i. REUBEN, the eldest son, is acknowledged as his father's "strength and the beginning of his might," and as "excelling in dignity and power;" for such was his privilege by right of birth. He is always named first in the genealogies, and his numerous and powerful tribe took the lead in war. But he had forfeited his special birthright by a shameful act of wantonness, which is compared to water bursting its bounds.[9] And not only did Reuben yield the royal dignity to Judah, but, the possessions of the tribe lying in the most exposed position east of the Jordan, they were the first to become subject to a foreign power.

ii. and iii. SIMEON and LEVI are named together,[10] as akin in character, and together they are cut off from succeeding to the place forfeited by Reuben, for their cruelty to the Shechemites. The penalty of being "scattered in Israel," instead of having a share in the inheritance, reads like a curse; but it was turned into a blessing. The tribe of Levi, having

[6] Gen. xlix. The passage presents us with the earliest example of Hebrew poetry, except the brief speech of the Cainite Lamech in Gen. iv. 23, 24.

[7] Rev. vii.

[8] Deut. xxxiii.

[9] Gen. xlix. 4: so rather than *unstable:* the figure is that of the Greek ὑπερφίαλος.

[10] So in Gen. xxix. 33, 34.

redeemed its parent's fault by taking the Lord's side in the matter of the golden calf, was consecrated to the priesthood,[11] and, though they had no inheritance in Israel, they enjoyed a part of the inheritance of all the rest. Simeon early lost consequence among the tribes. His territory, which lay on the extreme south-west border, was never wrested from the Philistines. Many members of the tribe gained subsistence and honor as teachers, "scattered" among all the other tribes.

iv. JUDAH is announced, in a grand burst of prophetic fervor, as adding to his other dignities that of being the ancestor of the Messiah. In fact, the promise, which has been limited step by step, is now centred in this tribe. The key-note of the whole blessing is in the meaning of Judah's name, PRAISE;[12] and it includes the following points :—

(1.) Precedence among his brethren and victory over his enemies.

(2.) He is denoted by a fit symbol, which is varied to give it a complete force—the lion's whelp, exulting over the prey in youthful vigor, the lion crouching in his den, the lioness whom none may provoke but at their peril. It was doubtless from this prophecy that the tribe of Judah took a lion's whelp for its standard, with the motto, "Rise up, Jehovah, and let thine enemies be scattered."

(3.) Then follows a plain declaration of the *royalty* of Judah. From him was descended David, the son of Jesse, and in his house the sceptre of Judah remained, while the rebellious kingdom of the other tribes had many different dynasties, till the Babylonish Captivity. The civil rulers of the restored state (now called *Jews*, *Judæi*, because belonging chiefly to this tribe) were at first of the house of David, as in the case of Zerubbabel.[13] Even though the peculiar religious character of the new commonwealth threw the chief power into the hands of the priests, and though Judas Maccabæus and his line of princes were of the race of Levi, the nation which they governed was composed essentially of the tribe of Judah. And thus "the sceptre did not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet," till the usurpation of the Idumæan Herod gave a sign of "the coming of the SHILOH," which was verified by the birth of Jesus Christ, the Son of David and of Judah.

[11] Ex. xxvii. 26-29.

[12] We have here an example of the double significance of Scripture names, with reference, *primarily*, to the circumstances of the person's birth (Gen. xxix. 35), and *prophetically* to the destiny of his race.

[13] Ezra iii. 2.

v. ZEBULUN'S lot is predicted in terms which exactly describe the position of the tribe between the Lake of Tiberias and the Mediterranean, bordering on the coasts of the Phœnicians, and sharing in their commerce.

vi. ISSACHAR is described by "the image of the 'strong-boned he-ass'—the large animal used for burdens and field-work, not the lighter and swifter she-ass for riding—'couching down between the two hedgerows,' chewing the cud of stolid ease and quiet—which is very applicable, not only to the tendencies and habits, but to the very size and air of a rural agrarian people, while the sequel of the verse is no less suggestive of the certain result of such tendencies when unrelieved by any higher aspirations—'He saw that rest was good, and the land pleasant, and he bowed his back to bear and became a slave to tribute'—the tribute imposed on him by the various marauding tribes who were attracted to his territory by the richness of the crops." The vale of Esdraelon, which just corresponds to the territory of Issachar, was the most fertile land in Palestine.

vii. DAN, like Judah, is described by the significance of his own name. His territories were at the two opposite extremities of the land, and it is doubtful whether the delineation of Dan in Jacob's blessing relates to the original settlement on the western outskirts of Judah, or to the northern outpost. "Dan," the judge, "shall judge his people;" he, the son of the concubine no less than the sons of Leah; he, the frontier tribe no less than those in the places of honor, shall be "as one of the tribes of Israel." "Dan shall be a serpent by the way, an adder in the path"—that is, of the invading enemy by the north or by the west, "that biteth the heels of the horse," the indigenous serpent biting the foreign horse unknown to Israelite warfare, "so that his rider shall fall backward." And his war-cry as from the frontier fortresses shall be, "For Thy salvation, O Lord I have waited!"[14]

viii. GAD'S fortune, too, is contained in his name, which is repeated with a play on the word: "A *plundering troop* shall *plunder* him, but he will plunder at their heels." As one of the tribes east of Jordan, Gad was among the first carried captive;[15] and perhaps Jacob refers to this, promising that

[14] Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 396. According to Jewish tradition, Jacob's blessing on Dan is a prophetic allusion to Samson, the great 'Judge' of the tribe; and the ejaculation with which it closes was that actually uttered by Samson when brought into the temple at Gaza.

[15] 1 Chron. v. 26.

his enemies shall not triumph to the end—a promise which belongs also to the spiritual Israel.

ix. ASHER (the *happy* or *blessed*) is promised the richest fruits of the earth. His land, some of the most fertile in the north of Palestine, yielded him "fat bread" and "royal dainties," and enabled him to "dip his foot in oil."[16] But this wealth was purchased by inglorious ease and forbidden alliances with the heathen, whom he failed to drive out.[17] No great action is recorded of this tribe, and it furnished no judge or hero to the nation. "One name alone shines out of the general obscurity—the aged widow, 'Anna, the daughter of Phanuel of the tribe of Aser,' who, in the very close of the history, departed not from the Temple, but 'served God with fastings and prayers night and day.'"[18]

x. NAPHTALI'S blessing, also highly figurative, is obscured in our version by a mistranslation. It should be

> "Naphtali is a towering terebinth;
> He hath a goodly crest."

The description, like Deborah's,[19] of

> "Naphtali on the high places of the field,"

agrees with the position of the tribe among the highlands between Lebanon and the Upper Jordan, from its sources to the Sea of Galilee.[20]

xi. The blessing on JOSEPH forms the climax of the father's fondness and the prophet's fervor. Taking his name (*adding* or *increase*) as a sign both of his past abundance and his future enlargement, he compares him to a fruitful vine, or rather a branch of the vine of Israel, throwing its shoots over the wall of the cistern by which it is planted; and he promises his favorite son every form of blessing that man could desire or enjoy. As in all his history, so in this prophecy especially, Joseph is one of the most eminent types of Christ. The symbols of the vine, of which He is the root, and the members of His church the branches, and of the living water by which the living tree is nourished, are expounded by himself.[21]

xii. BENJAMIN is described as a wolf, ravening for his prey, and successful in obtaining it—an image taken perhaps from the wild beasts, such as wolves, foxes, jackals, and hyenas, which infest the defiles of the territory of Benjamin. Mark-

[16] Deut. xxxiii. 24.
[17] Judges i. 31, 32.
[18] Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 265.
[19] Judges v. 18.
[20] Comp. Deut. xxxiii. 23; Josh. xx. 7.
[21] John xv. i. foll., iv. 14, vii. 38, vi. 41–58, etc.

ed as is the contrast to the majestic strength of Judah the lion, the warlike character is common to both tribes, and they were as closely connected in their history as the lion and the jackal are believed to be in fact.

The concluding words (v. 29) show that this was a formal appointment of Jacob's twelve sons to be the twelve heads of the chosen race, now becoming a nation, instead of its having one head as hitherto; and also that the blessings and prophecies of the dying patriarch had respect rather to the tribes than to their individual ancestors; and henceforth the tribes are continually spoken of as if they were persons.

§ 4. Having added one more injunction to all his sons, to bury him in the Cave of Machpelah, Jacob "gathered up his feet into the bed, and yielded up his spirit, and was gathered unto his people" at the age 147.[22] After a burst of natural grief, Joseph gave orders for his embalmment, and kept a mourning of forty days, according to the Egyptian custom.[23] He then went, by Pharaoh's permission, with all his brethren, and the elders both of Israel and Egypt, and a great military retinue, to carry the body of Jacob into Canaan. Avoiding the warlike Philistines, they made a circuit to Atad, near the Jordan, where they kept so great a mourning for seven days, that the astonished Canaanites called the place Abel Mizraim (*the mourning of Egypt*). Proceeding thence to Hebron, Jacob's sons buried him in the Cave of Machpelah.[24]

§ 5. On their return to Egypt, Joseph's brethren, fearing the effect of their father's removal, sought his forgiveness, and made submission to him. With tears of love, and disclaiming the right to judge them, which was God's alone, he returned the memorable answer—"Ye thought evil against me, but God meant it unto good." He promised still to nourish them and theirs: "And he comforted them, and spake kindly unto them."[25]

§ 6. Joseph survived his father for fifty-four years, still enjoying, as we may assume, his honors at the court under the same dynasty, though possibly under a succession of kings. He saw Ephraim's children of the third generation, and had Manasseh's grandchildren on his knees. At length he died at the age of 110. He was embalmed and placed in a sarcophagus, but not buried. For before his death he had predicted to his brethren[26] their return from Egypt to the prom-

[22] Gen. xlix. 33, xlvii. 28.
[23] Gen. l. 1–3.
[24] Gen. l. 1–13; compare § 8.
[25] Gen. l. 15–21.
[26] This word has no doubt the extended sense of the heads of the

ised land; and he had bound them by an oath to carry his remains with them. "By *faith* Joseph, when he died, made mention of the departing of the children of Israel; and gave commandment concerning his bones"[27] (B.C. 1635).

Through all their afflictions, the children of Israel kept the sacred deposit of Joseph's bones, and doubtless they often consoled themselves with his dying promise and the memory of his greatness. Amid the terrors of that "memorable night," when God led the people out of Egypt, Moses did not forget the trust.[28] When the people were settled in Canaan, they buried Joseph at Shechem, in the parcel of ground which Jacob bought from the Amorites, and which he gave as a special inheritance to Joseph.[29]

§ 7. Of the other patriarchs we are only told that "Joseph died, and all his brethren, and all that generation."[30] But Stephen adds this remarkable statement: "Jacob went down into Egypt and died, *he and our fathers*, and *were carried over into Sychem*, and laid in the sepulchre that *Abraham* bought for a sum of money of the sons of Emmor, the father of Sychem."[31]

Though all the Hellenistic Jews "were unable to resist the wisdom and spirit by which he spake,"[32] modern Christian critics have discovered that Stephen confounded Abraham's purchase of Machpelah from the Hittites with Jacob's purchase near Shechem from the Amorites! But after we have corrected the obvious blunder of a copyist, by reading *Jacob* for *Abraham*, the question remains—Were Jacob and all his sons buried at Shechem, in the same sepulchre as Joseph? Not necessarily. The passage may simply mean that Joseph's tomb at Shechem was regarded as the family sepulchre. Whether the bones of his brethren were placed in or beside the sarcophagus of Joseph, and whether the remains of Jacob were removed from Hebron to Shechem, are questions suggested, but we scarcely think determined, by the words of Stephen.

§ 8. The interval between the death of Joseph and the beginning of the bondage in Egypt is dismissed with the brief but emphatic statement, that "the children of Israel were fruitful, and increased abundantly, and multiplied, and waxed exceeding mighty; and the land was filled with them."[33]

tribes, including any of Jacob's sons who were still alive; but Joseph would naturally be one of the last survivors of the twelve.

[27] Gen. l. 22-26; Heb. xi. 22.

[28] Ex. xiii. 19.

[29] Josh. xxiv. 32; compare Gen xxxiii. 19, xlviii. 22.

[30] Ex. i. 6.

[31] Acts vii. 16.

[32] Acts vi. 10.

[33] Ex. i. 7.

The last words may imply that, while their main settlement was still at Goshen, members of the race were scattered over the country; and, in spite of the system of caste, they may have found employment as artificers and soldiers, as well as shepherds. If this were so, they were again restricted to the land of Goshen by the king who began to oppress them,[34] and were thus collected for their departure. Besides the information contained in the genealogies, only one event is recorded during this period—the unsuccessful predatory expedition of Zabad, the sixth in descent from Ephraim, against the Philistines.[35] This repulse happening only a short time before the Exodus, will help to account for the people's fear of the Philistines.[36] As Stephen brings down the prosperity of the people till near the time of the Exodus, the bondage must have begun only a short time before the birth of Moses.[37]

§ 9. The whole period of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt is reckoned at 430 years in the account of their departure.[38] It is impossible to take this number literally, consistently with other chronological data; but there can be no difficulty in understanding it of the *whole pilgrimage* of the chosen family, from the time when Abram was called to leave his home for "a land that he should *afterward* receive as an inheritance," to the time when his heirs did actually receive it. And accordingly St. Paul reckons 430 years from the promise made to Abraham to the giving of the Law (B.C. 1921–B.C. 1491, according to the received chronology).[39] In the covenant with Abraham, the period is stated at 400 years.[40] We can not be surprised at a difference of thirty years above the round number being neglected in a prophecy; besides, some years had already elapsed, and if we reckon from the last complete promise,[41] we have only seven years above the 400. The 430 years may be divided into two equal periods—215 years for the pilgrimage in Canaan (B.C. 1921–1706), and 215 for the residence in Egypt (1706–1491). The bondage itself was probably less than 100 years, as the whole period from the death of Joseph to the Exodus was 144 years (B.C. 1635–1491).

[34] Ex. viii. 22, x. 23.
[35] 1 Chron. vii. 20–22.
[36] Ex. xiii. 17.
[37] Acts vii. 17, 18; comp. Ps. cv. 24, 25.
[38] Ex. xii. 41.
[39] Gal. iii. 17.
[40] Gen. xv. 13: the *four* generations of v. 16 agree with this, for besides that the word may mean a round period, as a century, the average duration of a generation was at that time about 100 years; compare Acts vii. 6.
[41] Gen. xvii. 19.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

(A.) REVIEW OF THE PATRIARCHAL PERIOD.

I. *Meaning of the Patriarchal Dispensation.*—The Greek word *Patriarch** (Πατριάρχης, the *father-ruler*) gives a fuller etymological expression to the idea which was at first essential to the simpler Hebrew word, at the time when the *father* was, by the right of nature, the *ruler* of the whole community formed by his living descendants. In sacred history the term is commonly applied to the descendants of Adam, through the line of Abraham, down to the time of Moses. The whole plan of God's moral government and revelation of himself before the giving of the Mosaic Law constitutes the *Patriarchal Dispensation*, which St. Paul expressly distinguishes by the phrase "until the law," and defines as "from Adam to Moses" (Rom. v. 13, 14). Its peculiar characteristics were the direct and intimate communion of God with His people, and their government by a moral system, the great principles of which were well understood, though not yet reduced to a code of laws.† It was an experiment of moral government in the simple and beautiful form of family harmony. Its ideal is expressed in the words—"I know Abraham, that he will command his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of Jehovah, to do justice and judgment."

* It is specifically applied in the N. T. to Abraham (Heb. vii. 4), to the twelve sons of Jacob (Acts vii. 8, 9), and to David (Acts ii. 29). The LXX. use it as the equivalent for *the head* or *prince of a tribe* (1 Chron. xxiv. 31, xxvii. 22; 2 Chron. xxiii. 20, xxvi. 12).

† The few cases of definite laws, which are embodied in the so-called "Noachic Precepts," have been already noticed.

II. *Its Three Stages.* — The patriarchal dispensation may be divided into three stages. (1.) When our first parents had fallen from their primitive state of innocence, they were placed, by the promise of a deliverer, in a condition still to trust in the mercy of God, and to choose between a life of humble dependence and obedience to Him, and self-willed opposition against Him; and the observance of sacrifices of blood seems to have been an outward sign distinguishing the followers of these two courses. The distinction was seen in the personal characters of Cain and Abel, and in the family characters of the Cainites and the Sethites; but before long the latter also were corrupted by their union with the former—the sons of God intermarrying with the daughters of men—and the general result was an almost universal experiment on God's forbearance. (2.) This state of things was ended by the Deluge, after which the experiment of godly obedience and patriarchal order was renewed under the fresh conditions laid down by the covenant with Noah, insuring the divine forbearance till the end of time. But when the prospect of judgment was thus removed far off, sin assumed new courage; the Babel-builders made the daring attempt to render themselves independent of Jehovah: nations were founded on those godless principles which have ever

since prevailed in the "kingdoms of this world." This was the very consummation of rebellion against the patriarchal dispensation; while the authority with which it invested the father of the family was claimed, as it has been to our own day, for the despot and usurper. Idolatry was established in all these kingdoms; and the pure worship of Jehovah was alone preserved, or perhaps we should rather say, retaught to man, in connection with the true model of patriarchal government, in the one family, which was chosen to wander about as nomads, living under tents, amid the nations with whom as yet they shared no earthly inheritance. (3.) It is in this third stage that we see the general form and spirit of the patriarchal life; for the notices of the earlier periods are too scanty to afford us more than a few detached lessons of a moral and religious nature. Of the social life of the Antediluvian Patriarchs, and even of the Post-diluvian Patriarchs before Abraham, we know next to nothing; but when we turn to the pictures of Abraham dwelling in tents* with Isaac and Jacob, the heirs with him of the same promises; of the other branch of the family at Haran; of the conflicts between Sarah and Hagar on behalf of Ishmael and Isaac, and between Esau and Jacob themselves for the right of inheritance; of Isaac and Jacob blessing their children before they died; and of the varied relations between the sons of Israel and their families—in these and many other scenes we see the working of the patriarchal system with sufficient distinctness to trace its leading principles.

III. *Its leading principles.* — It is based on the sacredness of family ties and paternal authority. This authority, as the only one which is natural and original, is inevitably the foundation of the earliest form of society, and is probably seen most perfectly in wandering tribes, where it is not affected by local attachments and by the acquisition of wealth. It is one, from the nature of the case, limited in its scope, depending more on its sacredness than its power, and giving room for much exercise of freedom; and as it extends from the family to the tribe, it must become less stringent and less concentrated, in proportion to its wider diffusion. In Scripture this authority is consecrated by an ultimate reference to God, as the God of the patriarch, the father (that is) both of him and his children. Not, of course, that the idea of God's Fatherhood carried with it the knowledge of man's personal communion with His nature (which is revealed by the Incarnation); it rather implied faith in His protection, and a free and loving obedience to His authority, with the hope (more or less assured) of some greater blessing from Him in the coming of the promised seed. At the same time, this faith was not allowed to degenerate, as it was prone to do, into an appropriation of God, as the mere tutelary God of the race. The Lord, it is true, suffers Himself to be called "the God of Shem, of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob;" but He also reveals Himself (and that emphatically, as though it were His peculiar title) as the "God Almighty" (Gen. xvii. 1, xxviii. 3, xxxv. 11); He is addressed as the "Judge of all the earth" (Gen. xviii. 25), and as such is known to have intercourse with Pharaoh and Abimelech (Gen. xii. 17, xx. 3–8), to hallow the priesthood of Melchizedek (Gen. xiv. 18–20), and to execute wrath on Sodom and Gomorrah. All this would confirm what the generality of the covenant with Noah and

* "The Bedouin tents are still the faithful reproduction of the outward life of the patriarchs." Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*, Preface, p. xxiv.

of the promise of blessing to "all nations" in Abraham's seed must have distinctly taught that the chosen family were not substitutes but representatives of all mankind, and that God's relation to them was a clearer and more perfect type of that in which He stood to all.

Still the distinction and preservation of the chosen family, and the maintenance of the paternal authority, are the special purposes which give a key to the meaning of the history and of the institutions recorded. For this the birthright (probably carrying with it the priesthood) was reserved to the first-born, belonging to him by inheritance, yet not assured to him till he received his father's blessing; for this the sanctity of marriage was jealously and even cruelly guarded, as in Gen. xxxiv. 7, 13, 31 (Dinah), and in xxxviii. 24 (Tamar), from the license of the world without; and all intermarriage with idolaters was considered as treason to the family and the God of Abraham (Gen. xxvi. 34, 35, xxvii. 46, xxviii. 1, 6–9). Natural obedience and affection are the earthly virtues especially brought out in the history, and the sins dwelt upon (from the irreverence of Ham to the selling of Joseph) are all such as offend against these.

The type of character formed under it is one imperfect in intellectual and spiritual growth, because not yet tried by the subtler temptations, or forced to contemplate the deeper questions of life; but it is one remarkably simple, affectionate, and free, such as would grow up under a natural authority, derived from God and centring in Him, yet allowing, under its unquestioned sacredness, a familiarity and freedom of intercourse with Him, which is strongly contrasted with the stern and awful character of the Mosaic dispensation. To contemplate it from a Christian point of view is like looking back on the unconscious freedom and innocence of childhood, with that deeper insight and strength of character which are gained by the experience of manhood. We see in it the germs of the future, of the future revelation of God, and the future trials and development of man. It is on this fact that the typical interpretation of its history depends, an interpretation sanctioned directly by the example of St. Paul (Gal. iv. 21–31; Heb. vii. 1–17), indirectly supported by other passages of Scripture (Matt. xxiv. 37–39; Luke xvii. 28–32; Rom. x. 10–13), and instinctively adopted by all who have studied the history itself.

(B.) THE BOOK OF JOB.

In addition to the notices of patriarchal life contained in the Book of Genesis, we possess a contemporary document which throws a flood of light on the manners, the social condition, and the moral and religious character of the period. It would be out of place here to attempt a full discussion of the theories that have been maintained respecting the *Book of Job;* but whatever opinions may be held of the reality of Job's personal existence, and of the events on which the great discussion that fills the book is based, there is enough internal evidence for our present purpose. The residence of the patriarch in the land of *Uz,* which took its name from a son of Aram (Gen. x. 23), or Nahor (Gen. xxii. 21), marks him as belonging to a branch of the Aramæan race, which had settled in the lower part of Mesopotamia (probably to the south or south-east of Palestine, in Idumæan Arabia), adjacent to the Sabæans and Chaldæans.* The opinions of Job

* As far as we can gather, the land of Uz lay either east or south-east of Palestine, adjacent to the Sabæans and the Chaldæans (Job i. 15, 17), consequently northward of the

and his friends are thus peculiarly interesting as exhibiting an aspect of the patriarchal religion outside of the family of Abraham, and as yet uninfluenced by the legislation of Moses.* The form of worship belongs essentially to the early patriarchal type; with little of ceremonial ritual, without a separate priesthood, it is thoroughly domestic in form and spirit. The state of society, while still essentially patriarchal, and based on the same foundations of parental authority and family order that we see in the *Book of Genesis*, forms a striking contrast with the latter in its development beyond the stage of simple pastoral life.

All critics concur in extolling the fresh antique simplicity of manners described in this book, the genuine air of the wild, free, vigorous life of the desert, the stamp of hoar antiquity, and the thorough consistency in the development of characters, equally remarkable for originality and force. There is an absolute contrast between the manners, thoughts, and feelings, and those which characterized the Israelites during the monarchical period; while whatever difference exists between the customs of the older patriarchs as described in Genesis and those of Job's family and associates, is accounted for by the progress of events in the intervening period. The chieftain lives in considerable splendor and dignity; menial offices, such as commonly devolved upon the elder patriarchs and their children, are now performed by servants, between whom and the family the distinction appears to be more strongly marked. Job visits the city frequently, and is there received with high respect as a prince, judge, and distinguished warrior (Job xxix. 7–9). There are allusions to courts of judicature, written indictments, and regular forms of procedure (Job xiii. 26, and xxxi. 28). Men had begun to observe and reason upon the phenomena of nature, and astronomical observations were connected with curious speculations upon primeval traditions. We read (Job xx. 15, xxiii. 10, xxvii. 16, 17, xxviii. 1–21) of mining operations, great buildings, ruined sepulchres, and there are throughout copious allusions to the natural productions and the arts of Egypt.

The book consists of five parts: the introduction, the discussion between Job and his three friends, the speech of Elihu, the manifestation and address of Almighty God, and the concluding chapter.

1. The introduction supplies all the facts on which the argument is based. Job, a chieftain in the land of Uz, of immense wealth and high rank, "the greatest of all the men of the East," is represented to us as a man of perfect integrity, blameless in all the relations of life, declared indeed by the Lord Himself to be "without his like in all the earth," "a perfect and an upright man, one that feareth God,

southern Arabians, and westward of the Euphrates; and, lastly, adjacent to the Edomites of Mount Seir, who at one period occupied Uz, probably as conquerors (Lam. iv. 21), and whose troglodyte habits are probably described in Job xxx. 6, 7. The position of the country may further be deduced from the native lands of Job's friends, Eliphaz the Temanite being an Idumæan, Elihu the Buzite being probably a neighbor of the Chaldæans, for Buz and Chesed were brothers (Gen. xxii. 21, 22), and Bildad the Shuhite being one of the Bene-Kedem. From the above data we infer that the land of Uz corresponds to the *Arabia Deserta* of classical geography—at all events, to so much of it as lies north of the 30th parallel of latitude. This district has in all ages been occupied by nomad tribes, who roam from the borders of Palestine to the Euphrates, and northward to the confines of Syria. This view is confirmed by the marked traces of the *ancient* Aramaic dialect in the language of the book, and by its close affinity to Arabia.

* The total absence of any allusion, not only to the Mosaic Law, but to the events of the Exodus, the fame of which must have reached the country of Job, on any hypothesis respecting its locality, is a strong argument for the early age both of the patriarch and of the book.

and escheweth evil." One question could be raised by envy: may not the goodness which secures such direct and tangible rewards be a refined form of selfishness? In the world of spirits, where all the mysteries of existence are brought to light, Satan, the accusing angel, suggests the doubt, "doth Job fear God for naught?" and asserts boldly that if those external blessings were withdrawn Job would cast off his allegiance — "he will curse thee to thy face." The problem is thus distinctly propounded which this book is intended to discuss and solve. Can goodness exist irrespective of reward? can the fear of God be retained by man when every inducement to selfishness is taken away? The accuser receives permission to make the trial. He destroys Job's property, then his children; and afterward, to leave no possible opening for a cavil, is allowed to inflict upon him the most terrible disease known in the East. Job's wife breaks down entirely under the trial. Job remains steadfast. He repels his wife's suggestion with the simple words, "What! shall we receive good at the hand of the Lord, and shall we not receive evil?" "In all this did not Job sin with his lips." The question raised by Satan was thus answered.

2. Still it is clear that many points of deep interest would have been left in obscurity. Entire as was the submission of Job, he must have been inwardly perplexed by events to which he had no clew, which were quite unaccountable on any hypothesis hitherto entertained, and seemed repugnant to the ideas of justice engraven on man's heart. An opportunity for the discussion of the providential government of the world is afforded in the most natural manner by the introduction of three men, representing the wisdom and experience of the age, who came to condole with Job on hearing of his misfortunes. The meeting is described with singular beauty. At a distance they greet him with the wild demonstrations of sympathizing grief usual in the East; coming near, they are over powered by the sight of his wretchedness, and sit seven days and seven nights without uttering a word. This awful silence drew out all his anguish. In all agony of desperation he curses the day of his birth. With the answer to this outburst begins a series of discussions, continued probably with some intervals during several successive days. The results of the *first* discussion (from ch. iii.–xiv.) may be thus summed up. We have on the part of Job's friends a theory of the divine government resting upon an exact and uniform correlation between sin and punishment (iv. 6, 11, and throughout). Afflictions are always penal, issuing in the destruction of those who are radically opposed to God, or who do not submit to His chastisements. They lead of course to correction and amendment of life when the sufferer repents, confesses his sins, puts them away, and turns to God. In that case restoration to peace, and even increased prosperity may be expected (v. 17–27). Still the fact of the suffering always proves the commission of some special sin, while the demeanor of the sufferer indicates the true internal relation between him and God. These principles are applied by them to the case of Job. In this part of the dialogue the character of the three friends is clearly developed. In order to do justice to the position and arguments of Job, it must be borne in mind, that the direct object of the trial was to ascertain whether he would deny or forsake God, and that his real integrity is asserted by God Himself. He denies the assertion that punishment follows surely on

guilt or proves its commission. In the government of Providence he can see but one point clearly, viz., that all events and results are absolutely in God's hand (xii. 9–25), but as for the principles which underlie those events he knows nothing. In fact he is sure that his friends are equally uninformed. Still he doubts not that God is just. There remains then but one course open to him, and that he takes. He turns to supplication, implores God to give him a fair and open trial (xiii. 18–28). Believing that with death all hope connected with this world ceases, he prays that he may be hidden in the grave (xiv. 13), and there reserved for the day when God will try his cause and manifest Himself in love (ver. 15). In the *second* discussion (xv.–xxi.) there is a more resolute elaborate attempt on the part of Job's friends to vindicate their theory of retributive justice. This requires an entire overthrow of the position taken by Job. Eliphaz (xv.), who, as usual, lays down the basis of the argument, does not now hesitate to impute to Job the worst crimes of which man could be guilty. Bildad (xviii.) takes up this suggestion of ungodliness, and concludes that the special evils which had come upon Job are peculiarly the penalties due to one who is without God. Zophar not only accounts for Job's present calamities, but menaces him with still greater evils (xx.). In answer, Job recognizes the hand of God in his afflictions (xvi. 7–16, and xix. 6–20), but rejects the charge of ungodliness; he has never forsaken his Maker, and never ceased to pray. He argues that since in this life the righteous certainly are not saved from evil, it follows that their ways are watched and their sufferings recorded, with a view to a future and perfect manifestation of the divine justice. On the other hand, stung by the harsh and narrow-minded bigotry of his opponents, Job draws out (xxi.) with terrible force the undeniable fact, that from the beginning to the end of their lives ungodly men, avowed atheists (vs. 14, 15), persons in fact guilty of the very crimes imputed, out of mere conjecture, to himself, frequently enjoy great and unbroken prosperity. In the *third* dialogue (xxii.–xxxi.) no real progress is made by Job's opponents. Eliphaz (xxii.) makes a last effort. The station in which Job was formerly placed presented temptations to certain crimes; the punishments which he undergoes are precisely such as might be expected had those crimes been committed; hence, he infers, they actually were committed. Bildad has nothing to add but a few solemn words on the incomprehensible majesty of God and the nothingness of man. Zophar is put to silence. In his two last discourses Job does not alter his position, nor, properly speaking, adduce any new argument, but he states, with incomparable force and eloquence, the chief points which he regards as established (xxvi.). He then (xxvii.) describes even more completely than his opponents had done the destruction which, as a rule, ultimately falls upon the hypocrite. Then follows (xxviii.) the grand description of Wisdom. The remainder of this discourse (xxix.–xxxi.) contains a singularly beautiful description of his former life, contrasted with his actual misery, together with a full vindication of his character from all the charges made or insinuated by his opponents.

3. Thus ends the discussion in which it is evident both parties had partially failed. The points which had been omitted, or imperfectly developed, are now taken up by a new interlocutor (xxxii.–xxxvii.). Elihu, a young man, descended from a collateral branch of the family of Abra-

ham, has listened in indignant silence to the arguments of his elders (xxxii. 7), and, impelled by an inward inspiration, he now addresses himself to both parties in the discussion, and especially to Job. He shows that they had accused Job upon false or insufficient grounds, and failed to convict him, or to vindicate God's justice. Job again had assumed his entire innocence, and had arraigned that justice (xxxiii. 9–11. These errors he traces to their both overlooking one main object of all suffering. God *speaks* to men by chastisement. This statement does not involve any charge of special guilt, such as the friends had alleged and Job had repudiated. Again, Elihu argues (xxxiv. 10–17) that any charge of injustice, direct or implicit, against God involves a contradiction in terms. God is the only source of justice; the very idea of justice is derived from His governance of the universe. Job is silent, and Elihu proceeds (xxxvi.) to show that the Almightiness of God is not, as Job seems to assert, associated with any contempt or neglect of His creatures. The rest of the discourse brings out forcibly the lessons taught by the manifestations of goodness, as well as greatness, in creation. The last words are evidently spoken while a violent storm is coming on.

4. It is obvious that many weighty truths have been developed in the course of the discussion—nearly every theory of the objects and uses of suffering has been reviewed—while a great advance has been made toward the apprehension of doctrines hereafter to be revealed, such as were known only to God. But the mystery is not as yet really cleared up. Hence the necessity for the Theophany — from the midst of the storm Jehovah speaks. In language of incomparable grandeur He reproves and silences the murmurs of Job. God does not condescend, strictly speaking, to argue with His creatures. The speculative questions discussed in the colloquy are unnoticed, but the declaration of God's absolute power is illustrated by a marvellously beautiful and comprehensive survey of the glory of creation, and his all-embracing Providence by reference to the phenomena of the animal kingdom. A second address completes the work. It proves that a charge of injustice against God involves the consequence that the accuser is more competent than He to rule the universe.

5. Job's unreserved submission terminates the trial. In the rebuke then addressed to Job's opponents the integrity of his character is distinctly recognized, while they are condemned for untruth, which is pardoned on the intercession of Job. The restoration of his external prosperity, which is an inevitable result of God's personal manifestation, symbolizes the ultimate compensation of the righteous for all sufferings undergone upon earth. The great object of the book must surely be that which is distinctly intimated in the introduction, and confirmed in the conclusion, to show the effects of calamity in its worst and most awful form upon a truly religious spirit.

(C.) NAMES AND EARLY HISTORY OF EGYPT.

I. *Names.*— The scriptural name "Ham" seems to be identical with the indigenous name of Egypt, as it appears in hieroglyphics, "Khemmi," and refers to the black color of the soil. The special name in scriptural geography was "Mizraim," a noun in the dual number, signifying the *two* (*i. e.*, the Upper and Lower) *Misr*, the name by which Egypt is still designated by the Arabs: it means "red mud." The Nile is occasionally named "Shihor" (Is. xxiii. 3; Jer. ii

18); but more commonly "Yeor" (Gen. xli. 1; Ex. i. 22), after the Coptic *iaro*, "river;" the Hebrews also applied to it sometimes the term *yom*, "sea" (Is. xix. 5; Ez. xxxii. 2; Nah. iii. 8).

II. *History.* — The ancient history of Egypt may be divided into three portions:—the old monarchy, extending from the foundation of the kingdom to the invasion of the Hyksos; the middle, from the entrance to the expulsion of the Hyksos; and the new, from the re-establishment of the native monarchy by Amosis to the Persian conquest.

(1.) *The Old Monarchy.*—Memphis was the most ancient capital, the foundation of which is ascribed to Menes, the first mortal king of Egypt. The names of the kings, divided into thirty dynasties, are handed down in the lists of Manetho,* and are also known from the works which they executed. The most memorable epoch in the history of the Old Monarchy is that of the pyramid kings, placed in Manetho's fourth dynasty. Their names are found upon these monuments: the builder of the great pyramid is called Suphis by Manetho, Cheops by Herodotus, and *Khufu*, or *Shufu*, in an inscription upon the pyramid. The erection of the second pyramid is attributed by Herodotus and Diodorus to Chephren: and upon the neighboring tombs has been read the names of *Khafra*, or *Shafre*. The builder of the third pyramid is named Mycerinus by Herodotus and Diodorus; and in this very pyramid a coffin has been found bearing the name *Menkura*. The most powerful kings of the Old Monarchy were those of Manetho's *twelfth* dynasty: to this period are assigned the construction of the Lake of Mœris and the Labyrinth.

(2.) *The Middle Monarchy.*—Of this period we only know that a nomadic horde called *Hyksos*,* for several centuries occupied and made Egypt tributary; that their capital was Memphis; that in the Sethroite name they constructed an immense earth-camp, which they called Abaris; that at a certain period of their occupation two independent kingdoms were formed in Egypt, one in the Thebaid, which held intimate relations with Ethiopia; another at Xois, among the marshes of the Nile; and that, finally, the Egyptians regained their independence, and expelled the Hyksos, who thereupon retired into Palestine. The Hyksos form the *fifteenth*, *sixteenth*, and *seventeenth* dynasties. Manetho says they were Arabs, but he calls the six kings of the fifteenth dynasty Phœnicians.

(3.) *The New Monarchy* extends from the commencement of the *eighteenth* to the end of the *thirtieth* dynasty. The kingdom was consolidated by Amosis, who succeeded in expelling the Hyksos, and thus prepared the way for the foreign expeditions which his successors carried on in Asia and Africa, extending from Mesopotamia in the former to Ethiopia in the latter continent. The glorious era of Egyptian history was under the *nineteenth* dynasty, when Sethi I., B.C. 1322, and his grandson, Rameses the Great, B.C. 1311, both of whom represent the Sesostris of the Greek historians, carried their arms over the whole of Western Asia and southward into *Soudân*, and amassed vast treasures, which were expended on public works. Under the later kings of the

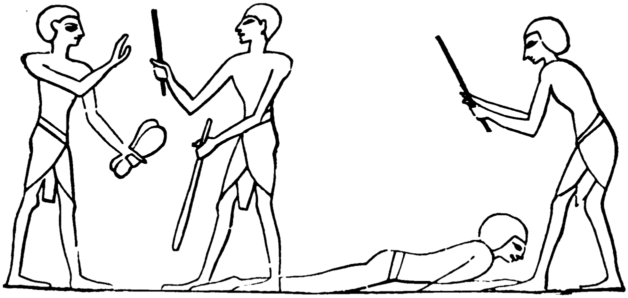
* Manetho was an Egyptian priest who lived under the Ptolemies in the third century B.C., and wrote in Greek a history of Egypt, in which he divided the kings into thirty dynasties. The work itself is lost, but the lists of dynasties have been preserved by the Christian writers.

* This, their Egyptian name, is derived by Manetho from *Hyk*, a king, and *Sos*, a shepherd.

nineteenth dynasty the power of Egypt faded: the *twentieth* and *twenty-first* dynasties achieved nothing worthy of record; but with the *twenty-second* we enter upon a period that is interesting from its associations with biblical history, the first of this dynasty, Sheshonk I. (Seconchis) B.C. 990, being the Shishak who invaded Judæa in Rehoboam's reign and pillaged the Temple (1 Kings xiv. 25). Of this event and of the subsequent history of Egypt, we shall have further occasion to speak.

It was necessary to give this summary of ancient Egyptian history before discussing the difficult question of the period of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt. The chronology of Egypt is now so far settled that the accession of the *eighteenth* dynasty may be regarded as fixed to within a few years of B.C. 1525. The era of the Exodus, in the system of Ussher, is B.C. 1491. The obvious conclusion agrees with the statement of Manetho, that Moses left Egypt under Amosis, the first king of the *eighteenth* dynasty. The same king, as we have already seen, expelled the Shepherd Kings; and there is, in fact, no doubt that the great power of the eighteenth dynasty was connected with this expulsion. In this change of dynasty many writers see a natural explanation of the "new king who knew not Joseph." If this view is correct, Joseph would have come into Egypt under one of the later kings of the Shepherd dynasty. But, plausible as this theory is, the uncertainty in which scriptural chronology is involved prevents us from coming to any definite conclusion. Lepsius and other eminent Egyptologers place the arrival of the Israelites under the *eighteenth* dynasty, and the Exodus under the *nineteenth*, in the year 1314 B.C. He identifies the chief oppressor, from whom Moses fled, with the great king of the *nineteenth* dynasty, RAMESES II., and the Pharoah of the Exodus with his son and successor MENPTAH, or PHTHAHMEN.

Mr. Poole, however, takes an entirely opposite view, and places not only the arrival of the Israelites in Egypt, but also the Exodus, within the dynasties of the Shepherd kings (*Dict. of the Bible*, art. *Egypt*). It seems impossible to come to any definite conclusion upon the subject. The difficulty of a solution is still further increased by the uncertainty as to the length of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, whether it was 215 years, according to the Septuagint, or 430 years, according to the Hebrew. This point is discussed in § 9 of the preceding chapter.



The Egyptian Bastinado. See p. 139. (Wilkinson.)

BOOK III.

FROM MOSES TO JOSHUA. THE EXODUS OF THE CHOSEN NATION, AND THE GIVING OF THE LAW FROM SINAI. A.M. 2404–2553. B.C. 1600 (cir.)–1451.

CHAPTER XI.

THE EGYPTIAN BONDAGE AND THE MISSION OF MOSES, TO THE EXODUS. A.M. 2404–2513. B.C. 1600 (cir.)–1491.

§ 1. The people of Israel oppressed. § 2. The birth and education of Moses. § 3. His choice to suffer with his people. § 4. His flight from Egypt and residence in Midian. § 5. God appears to him in the burning bush—The mission of Moses and Aaron to Israel and Pharaoh. § 6. Moses returns to Egypt and meets Aaron—Their reception by the people. § 7. Their first appeal to Pharaoh—Increase of the oppression—The renewal of Jehovah's covenant. § 8. The conflict with Pharaoh—The Ten Plagues of Egypt. § 9. Institution of the Passover. § 10. The death of the first-born of Egypt, and the Exodus of the Israelites.

§ 1. "Now *there arose up a new king over Egypt, which knew not Joseph.*"[1] So begins the story of the affliction of the Israelites in Egypt, and of that marvellous deliverance, which has given to the second book of the Bible its Greek title of EXODUS. The date of this event may be placed about or after the beginning of the sixteenth century B.C., according to the common chronology; and it probably signifies a change of dynasty. But whether that change consisted in the expulsion of the Shepherds and the rise of the great Eighteenth Dynasty of native kings, is unfortunately most uncer-

[1] Ex. i. 8.

tain.[2] At all events, we see the new monarch dreading some war, in which the enemy might be aided by the people of Israel, who were "more numerous and mightier than his own subjects," and dreading also their escape out of the land.[3] He therefore adopted the policy[4] of reducing them to slavery; which was made more rigorous the more the people increased. Their labor consisted in field-work, and especially in making bricks and building the "treasure-cities" (probably for storing up corn) Pithom and Raamses.[5] Still they multiplied and grew; and Pharaoh adopted a more cruel and atrocious course. He commanded the Hebrew midwives to kill the male children at their birth, but to preserve the females. The midwives, however, "feared God" and disobeyed the king; and they were rewarded by the distinction given to their families in Israel. Their names were Shiphrah and Puah.[6] The king then commanded the Egyptians to drown the new-born sons of the Israelites in the river, but to save the daughters.[7]

§ 2. Pharaoh's edict of infanticide led, by the providence of God, to the rearing up at his own court of the future deliverer of Israel. AMRAM, the son of Kohath, son of Levi, had espoused Jochebed, who was also of the tribe of Levi; and they had already two children, a daughter called MIRIAM (the same name as the *Mary* of the New Testament), and a son named AARON.[8] Another son was born soon after the king's edict. With maternal fondness, increased by the boy's beauty, and in faith (as it seems) on a prophetic inti-

[2] See p. 135.

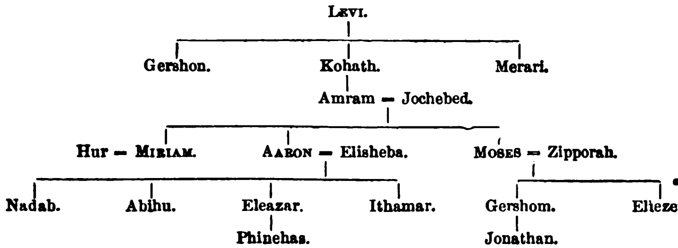
[3] Ex. i. 8, 9; compare Ps. cv. 24.

[4] "Come on, let us deal *wisely* with them" (comp. Ps. cv. 25; Acts vii. 19; also Ps. lxxxiii. 3, 4; Prov. xvi. 25, xxi. 30).

[5] These two cities were in the land of Goshen. We read that Joseph settled his father and brethren "in the land of Rameses" (Gen. xlvii. 11), which was a part of the land of Goshen. (See p. 117.) Pithom is apparently the town called Patumus by Herodotus.

[6] Comp. Acts vii. 19. [7] Ex. i. 15-21.

[8] Their descent from Levi appears by the genealogical table at the bottom of this page.



mation of his destiny, his mother hid him for three months.[9] When concealment was no longer possible, Jochebed prepared a covered basket of papyrus daubed with bitumen to make it water-tight, and placed it among the rushes on the banks of the Nile, or one of the canals, leaving Miriam to watch the result at a distance. To that very spot the daughter of Pharaoh came down to bathe. She saw the ark, and sent one of her maidens to fetch it. As she opened it, the babe wept, and, touched with pity, she said, "This is one of the Hebrews' children." At this moment Miriam came forward, and having received the princess's permission to find a nurse, she went and fetched the child's mother. While she reared him as the son of Pharaoh's daughter, she doubtless taught him the knowledge of the true God and the history of the chosen race. In all other respects Moses[10] was brought up as an Egyptian prince, and "he was educated[11] in all the wisdom of the Egyptians."[12] St. Stephen adds that "he was mighty in words and in deeds;" and whatever we may think of the traditions about this period of his life,[13] it was certainly a part of his training for his great mission.

§ 3. The narrative in Exodus passes over this period, to the crisis at which he decided to cast in his lot with his own people, when "by *faith* he refused to be called (renounced the rank of) the son of Pharaoh's daughter; choosing rather oppression with the people of God than the fleeting enjoyment of sin, deeming the reproach of Christ greater wealth than the treasures of Egypt, for he regarded the recompense;"[14]—a most striking passage, which not only implies *a deliberate choice*, but the hope of Messiah's coming and the expectation of rewards and punishments. So St. Stephen says that *it came into his heart* to visit his brethren the children of Israel, and that he supposed his brethren would have understood how that God by his hand would deliver them.[15]

[9] Ex. ii. 1, 2; comp. Heb. xi. 23.

[10] The name applies to the foundling of the water's side—whether according to its Hebrew or Egyptian form. Its Hebrew form is *Mosheh*, from *Mâshâh*, "to draw out"—"because I have *drawn* him out of the water." But this (as in many other instances, *Babel*, etc.) is probably the Hebrew form given to a foreign word. In Coptic, *mo* = water, and *ushe* = saved.

[11] In our version the word "learned" means this. It is the particle of the old transitive verb, though modern readers take it in the modern sense.

[12] Acts vii. 22.

[13] These traditions represent him as educated at Heliopolis as a priest, and taught the whole range of Egyptian, Chaldee, Assyrian, and Greek literature.

[14] Heb. xi. 26.

[15] Acts vii. 23–25.

These passages bring out the full meaning of his own simpler statement that "he went out unto his brethren, and looked on their burdens."[16]

The time of this event was "when Moses was grown," or "when he was come to years,"[17] or, as St. Stephen states, "when he was full forty years old."[18] This date is confirmed by the whole narrative in the Pentateuch, which divides the life of Moses into three equal periods of 40 years each. We may say that for his first forty years he was an Egyptian; for the second forty an Arabian; and for the third forty the leader of Israel.

Moses then went forth to view the state of his brethren. The first sight he saw was one so common that our eyes can see it on the monuments of Egypt at this very day; — an Egyptian overseer beating one of the slaves who worked under him. But the sight was new to Moses, and, stung with indignation, after looking round to see that no one was near, he killed the Egyptian on the spot, and buried his body in the sand. His hope that this deed might prove a token of the coming deliverance was soon checked. On his next visit he found that the oppressed could oppress each other, and his interference was scornfully rejected by the wrong-doer, with a dangerous allusion to his having killed the Egyptian.[19] The expression—"Who made thee a prince and a judge over us?"—seems to imply a willful rejection of his mission; at all events, it was a token of that spirit of which he had long after such terrible experience in the wilderness.[20]

§ 4. The story reached the ears of Pharaoh, and the life of Moses was threatened; not for the first time, if we may believe tradition. He fled into the desert which surrounds the head of the Red Sea, and which was inhabited by the people of Midian, who were descended from Abraham and Keturah.[21] As he sat down beside a well (or rather, *the* well, for it was one famous enough to be so distinguished), the seven daughters of JETHRO (elsewhere called REUEL and HOBAB), the chief sheykh[22] of the Midianites, came to water their flocks, probably at the regular noontide gathering of the sheep.

[16] Ex. ii. 11.

[17] Heb. xi. 24; μέγας may possibly mean *a great man*.

[18] Acts vii. 23.

[19] Ex. ii. 11–14; Acts vii. 24–28.

[20] Comp. Acts vii. 35, foll.

[21] See Gen. xxv. 2; 1 Chr. i. 32. The Midianites were Arabs dwelling principally in the desert north of the Peninsula of Arabia. The portion of the land of Midian, where Moses took up his abode, was probably the Peninsula of Sinai.

[22] The offices of *prince* and *priest* are both included in the title used in the original.

They were rudely repulsed by the shepherds, but Moses helped them and watered their flock. Their father welcomed the "Egyptian;" and Moses dwelt with him for forty years, like Jacob with Laban, feeding his flocks, and married his daughter Zipporah.[23] She bore him a son whom he named Gershom (*a stranger here*), in memory of his sojourn in a strange land; but whose circumcision was neglected till enforced by a divine threat on his way back to Egypt.[24] We read afterward of a second son, named Eliezer (*my God is a help*), in memory of his father's deliverance from Pharaoh.[25]

§ 5. Moses had been forty years in Midian,[26] musing amid the seclusion of his shepherd life over the past history of his people and his own destiny, when God's time arrived for the crowning revelation of all, and for the deliverance of his people. The return of Moses to Egypt during the lifetime of the king from whom he had fled would have been certain death. But that king died. The oppression of the Israelites under his successor seems to have been even more severe, "and they cried, and their cry came up to God by reason of their bondage. And God heard their groaning, and *God remembered his covenant* with Abraham, with Isaac, and with Jacob. And God looked upon the children of Israel, and God knew them."[27]

The scene chosen for the revelation to Moses of his divine mission was the same amid which the Israelites, led out by him from Egypt, were to see God's presence again revealed, and to receive the law from His own voice. Unchanged in its awful solitary grandeur from that day to this, it is one of the most remarkable spots on the surface of the earth. The *Peninsula of Sinai* is the promontory enclosed between the two arms of the Red Sea, and culminating at its southern part in the terrific mass of granite rocks known by the general name of Sinai.[28] This desert region bordered on the country of Jethro. It still furnishes a scanty pasturage, and its valleys were probably at that time better watered than now. As Moses led his flock to its inmost recesses (on its west side) he came to a mountain, which was even then called the "mount of God," from its sanctity among the Arabs,

[23] Ex. ii. 15-21, iii. 1.

[24] Ex. ii. 22, iv. 25.

[25] Ex. xviii. 3, 4; comp. Acts vii. 29.

[26] Acts vii. 30. The year of the call of Moses and of the Exodus, according to the received chronology of Archbishop Ussher, is B.C. 1491. The different dates assigned by the other chief authorities are the following: — Hales, B.C. 1648; Jackson, B.C. 1593; Petavius, B.C. 1531; Bunsen, B.C. 1320; the *Rabbinical*, followed by Lepsius, etc., B.C. 1314. See p. 40.

[27] Ex. ii. 23–25.

[28] See *Notes and Illustrations.*

"even *Horeb.*" He saw one of the dwarf acacias (*seneh*), the characteristic vegetation of the desert,[29] wrapt in a flame beneath which the dry branches would soon have crackled and consumed, had it been a natural fire; but "behold the bush burned with fire, and the bush was not consumed." It was the fit symbol of God's afflicted people in Egypt, and of His suffering church in every age, one branch of which indeed has assumed the emblem, with the motto "Nec tamen consumebatur.".

As Moses turned aside to behold the marvel, the "angel Jehovah" called to him out of the bush, and, after commanding him to remove his shoes, for the ground was holy, he announced himself as the God of his fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; declared that He had seen the affliction of his people in Egypt, and was come down to deliver them, and to lead them into the promised land; and called Moses to be his messenger to Pharaoh, and the leader of his people. Moses pleaded his unworthiness, but was assured of God's presence till his mission should be fulfilled by bringing the people to worship in that mountain. Then another difficulty arose. So corrupted were the people by the idolatry of Egypt, that they would not know what deity was meant by "the God of their fathers." They would ask, "What is his name?" Besides the common name expressive of their divinity, the gods of the heathen had proper names, Amun, Baal, and the like: and, that He might be distinguished from all these, God revealed to Moses the name by which the God of the Hebrews has ever since been known, JEHOVAH, the self-existent and eternally the same:—He that *is*, and *was*, and *ever will be what he is.* "I AM THAT I AM!—*What that is*, I have written on the consciousness of man;[30] I have revealed it by word and act to your fathers; and I ever will be to

[29] This is a striking proof of the sacred writer's personal knowledge of the scene. A Jew, ignorant of the desert, would have chosen the palm. Dean Stanley says of *Jebel-ed-Deir*, one of the summits of the Sinaitic group:—"On the highest level was a small natural basin, thickly covered with shrubs of myrrh—of all the spots of the kind that I saw the best suited for the feeding of Jethro's flocks in the seclusion of the mountain. . . . This is the only spot that commands the view both of the *Wady Sebaiyeh* and of the *Wady-er-Rahah.*" (*Sinai and Palestine*, p. 79.) Keble has drawn the poetical aspect of the vision of Moses:—

"Far seen across the sandy wild,
While, like a solitary child,
He thoughtless roamed and free,
One towering thorn was wrapt in flame,
Bright without blaze it went and came:
Who would not turn and see?

"Along the mountain-ledges green
The scattered sheep at will may glean
The desert's spicy stores:
The while, with undivided heart,
The shepherd talks with God apart,
And, as he talks, adores."

Christian Year: Fifth Sunday in Lent

[30] Rom. i. 19.

my people what I was to them;" for He repeats this character once more, and adds, "This is my name forever, and this is my memorial unto all generations."[31]

God then unfolded his plan of deliverance. He bade Moses repeat to the elders of Israel the revelation he had now received. He assured him that they would believe, and bade him go with them and demand of Pharaoh, in the name of God, leave to go three days' journey into the wilderness to sacrifice to Jehovah.[32] He warned him of Pharaoh's refusal, and announced the signs and wonders He would work to make him yield, and ended by commanding the people to spoil the Egyptians of their jewels.

To these assurances God added *two signs*, to remove the doubts of Moses about his reception by the people. Each of them had its significance. The hand, made leprous and again cured, indicated the power by which he should deliver the people whom the Egyptians regarded as lepers. The shepherd's staff, first transformed into a serpent, the Egyptian symbol for the evil spirit (Typhon), and then restored to its former shape, became the "rod of Moses" and "of God," the sceptre of his rule as the shepherd of his people, and the instrument of the miracles which helped and guided them, and which confounded and destroyed their enemies. "The humble yet wonder-working crook is, in the history of Moses, what the despised cross is in the first history of Christianity."[33] To these signs, which were exhibited on the spot, was added a third, the power to turn the water of the Nile to blood.

But the more his mission is made clear to him, the more is Moses staggered by its greatness. He pleads his want of eloquence, which seems to have amounted to an impediment in his speech,[34] a sorry qualification for an embassador to a hostile king. Notwithstanding the promise that He who made man's mouth and has the command of all the senses would be with him and teach him what he should say, he desires to devolve the whole mission on some other. Then did God in anger punish his reluctance, though in mercy he met his objections, by giving a share of the honor, which might have been his alone, to his brother Aaron, a man who could speak well. But yet the word was not to be Aaron's own.

[31] Ex. iii. 11–15. See *Notes and Illustrations* to Chap. I. ON THE NAMES OF GOD, p. 23.

[32] This is also another proof of the known sanctity of "the Mount of God."

[33] Ewald, quoted by Dean Stanley, *Dict. of the Bible*, art. *Moses*.

[34] Ex. iv. 10.

He was to be the mouth of Moses; and Moses was to be to him as God, the direct channel of the divine revelation. The rod of power became "Aaron's rod," though the power itself was put forth by the word of Moses. The two great functions conferred by the divine mission were divided: Moses became the *prophet*, and Aaron the *priest;* and the whole arrangement exhibits the great principle of *mediation.*[35]

§ 6. Moses obtained his father-in-law's permission to return to his brethren in Egypt; and he received the signal of God for his departure, in the assurance that "the men were dead that sought his life."[36] His mission to Pharaoh was summed up in the statement:—that God claimed the liberty of Israel as his first-born son; and if Pharaoh refused to let him go, He would slay his first-born. To this last infliction all the plagues of Egypt were but preludes. After the scene at the inn, already referred to, in which his family, hitherto regarded as Arabian, received the seal of the covenant, Moses was met by Aaron, as God had foretold to him, on the very spot where he had received the revelation,[37] which he rehearsed to his brother, with its attendant miracles, in the mount of God. On reaching Egypt they assembled the elders of Israel, "And Aaron spake all the words which Jehovah had spoken to Moses, and did the signs in the sight of all the people. And the people believed: and when they heard that Jehovah had visited the children of Israel, and that He had looked upon their affliction, then they bowed their heads and worshiped."[38] We shall soon see that they were far from being finally weaned from the false religion of Egypt.

§ 7. Moses and Aaron next sought the presence of Pharaoh to demand leave, in the name of Jehovah, the God of Israel, for His people to hold a feast to Him in the wilderness. This was the extent of the first demand; as it had been the extent of what God had enjoined on Moses:—"ye shall serve God in this mountain." It was to be a solemn festival, shared in by all the people, who, as a nomad race, would of course travel with their flocks and herds.[39] When they reached the sacred mount, they would be at the disposal of their God and father, to lead them back or forward as He pleased; and he claimed of Pharaoh that they should be placed at his dis-

[35] Ex. iii. 16-iv. 17.

[36] Comp. Matt. ii. 20.

[37] The route of Moses seems to have been from Midian, near the head of the *Gulf of Akaba*, through the Sinai mountains, instead of directly across the peninsula, with an express view to this meeting.

[38] Ex. iv. 18-31.

[39] Comp. ch. x. 9.

posal,[40] without telling him of their farther destination, which had been long since revealed to Abraham, and lately made known to Moses.[41]

Refusing alike to acknowledge Jehovah as a god, and to let the people go, Pharaoh hounded back Moses and Aaron to their burdens. We may suppose that, though Moses's personal enemies at the court were dead, he was still sufficiently well known there for pleasure to be taken in his humiliation. Their repulse was followed by an increase of the people's oppression. The Egyptian taskmasters, whose office it was to regulate the amount of work, were bidden no longer to give them the chopped straw which was necessary to bind the friable earth into bricks. The people lost their time in searching the fields for stubble to supply its place. But still the full tale of bricks was exacted from them; and when they could no longer supply it, the Hebrew overseers, who were under the Egyptian taskmasters, were bastinadoed. Their appeal to Pharaoh being rejected in the true spirit of unreasoning tyranny, they turned upon Moses and Aaron, whom they accused of making them odious to Pharaoh.[42]

In this strait Moses complained to God, that his mission had increased the people's misery, and yet they were not delivered: and God assured him that His time was at hand. With a plainer revelation of his great name, JEHOVAH renewed his ancient covenant, to bring them into the promised land.[43] Though the people were too heart-broken to accept the consolation, Jehovah gave Moses and Aaron (whose descent from Levi is now formally set forth) their final charge to Pharaoh; once more warning them of the king's resistance, which should only give occasion for more signal proofs of God's power, that the Egyptians might know Jehovah.[44]

§ 8. Then began that memorable contest, the type of all others between the power of God and the hardened heart of man, which was only stilled in the waters of the Red Sea.[45]

[40] See Ex. iv. 22, 23.

[41] Ex. v. 1-3. [42] Ex. v. 4-21.

[43] Ex. vi. 1-8.

[44] Ex. vi. 9, vii. 5. Moses was now eighty years old, and Aaron eighty-three (vii. 7).

[45] It would almost seem as if it were the design of the sacred narrative to confine our attention to the moral and religious aspect of this great conflict of the King of Egypt with the King of kings, by its silence respecting those details which antiquarian curiosity has never since succeeded in solving. The sovereign's own name is not given: it is simply *Pharaoh* (the self-styled child of *Phra*, the *Sun*), who resists the self-existent Jehovah. We are not told whether he was a Theban or a Memphite king; but thus much is clear from the whole narrative—that the scene of the contest was in Lower Egypt. The hasty inference, that it was near Memphis, the

Moses and Aaron resorted to the miracles provided for them by God. That of the leprous hand was omitted, having been only for the Israelites; but Aaron's rod was changed into a serpent. The miracle was imitated by the magicians of Egypt, headed by *Jannes* and *Jambres*, whose names are preserved by the learned disciple of Gamaliel.[46] We say *imitated*, to express at once the conviction, that their apparent success was an imposture. There is no certain evidence, either in the principles of philosophy or in the experience of facts, for the exercise of supernatural power by the aid of evil spirits. Scripture not only does not sanction such an opinion, but forbids its belief. It regards magicians with abhorrence; brands their miracles as "*lying* wonders;" and makes the teaching of false doctrine a test of the false pretense of supernatural power. And, when we pass from principles to facts, there is not a well-authenticated case of an apparent miracle, wrought by others than the Scripture witnesses for God, we do not say which can not be exposed (for many a known deception escapes detection as to its mode), but there is not one which excludes the possibility of imposture and leaves no room for doubt. The common error is to attempt to explain every thing, instead of first testing the evidence as a whole, and rejecting it as a whole when it breaks down on critical points. In the case of the Egyptian magicians, we may not be able to explain all their imitations (though very probable explanations have been suggested), but we have a perfectly satisfactory test of their imposture in the limit at which their power ceased. Their own exclamation, "this is the finger of God,"[47] involves the confession that they had been aided by no divine power, not even by their own supposed deities.

We do not read of any attempt on the part of Moses to expose their imposture. In the first miracle, he was content with the superior power shown by Aaron's serpent devouring theirs; and the rest he answered by still greater miracles, till he came to one which they could not imitate, and then

ordinary residence of the kings of Lower Egypt, is inconsistent with the evident presence of the great mass of the Israelites, who were certainly still resident in Goshen (Ex. viii. 22, x. 23). If we may take the passage in Psalm lxxviii. 43, literally—"His wonders in the field of ZOAN"—the locality is expressly defined to the neighborhood of that great city of the Delta (the *Tanis* of the Greek writers), which was on the borders of Goshen. Zoan or Tanis was not only a capital of the Shepherd kings, who are identified by one school of Egyptologers with the Pharaohs of *Genesis* and *Exodus;* but there are also works of Rameses the Great among its buildings—at least, his name appears upon them. [46] 2 Tim. iii. 8. [47] Ex. viii. 19.

their confession left no need for refutation. The same argument may suffice for us; but some minds will still ask for explanation. The power shown by serpent-charmers makes it easy to suppose that the magicians were provided with serpents stiffened into the appearance of wands at the safe distance kept round the king's throne. To give water, or a fluid looking like it, the appearance of blood, is one of the easiest experiments of chemistry; and, after the real miracle had been performed on the river and all its branches, the imitation must necessarily have been on a small scale. To seem to produce frogs is a common conjuror's trick, presenting little difficulty when the land already swarmed with them; and we do not read that the magicians showed the power of removing them or any of the other plagues, which would have been a decisive triumph over the prophet who called for and the God who sent them. In short, our wonder is more excited by their imitations ceasing when they did, than by their appearance of success in these three cases.

The first miracle, that of the rod, was a display of God's power given to his prophet, for the conviction of Pharaoh and the Egyptians; but when their hearts were hardened against conviction, it became needful to teach them by suffering. The miracles that followed were *judgments*, on the king, the people, and their gods, forming the TEN PLAGUES OF EGYPT.[48]

i. *The Plague of Blood.*—After a warning to Pharaoh, Aaron, at the word of Moses, waved his rod over the Nile, and the river was turned into blood, with all its canals and reservoirs, and every vessel of water drawn from them; the fish died, and the river stank. The pride of the Egyptians in their river for its wholesome water is well known, and it was the source of all fertility. But besides this, it was honored as a god, and so were some species of its fish (as the *oxyrhynchus*); and to smite "the sacred salubrious Nile," was to smite Egypt at its heart. There was, however, mercy mingled with the judgment, for the Egyptians obtained water by digging wells. The miracle lasted for seven days; but, as it was imitated by the magicians, it produced no impression on Pharaoh.[49]

ii. *The Plague of Frogs.*—These creatures are always so numerous in Egypt as to be annoying; but, at the appointed signal, they came up from their natural haunts, and swarmed in countless numbers, "even in the chambers of their kings,"[50]

[48] Ex. vii. foll.; comp. Ps. lxxviii. cv. [49] Ex. vii. 16–25. [50] Ps. cv. 30.

and defiled the very ovens and kneading-troughs. Here too it was an object of their reverence that was made their scourge, for the frog was one of the sacred animals.[51] From this plague there was no escape; and though the magicians imitated it, Pharaoh was fain to seek relief through the prayer of Moses, and by promising to let the people go. "Glory over me," said Moses: he waived all personal honor that the contest might bring him, and allowed Pharaoh to fix the time for the removal of the plague. The king named the morrow; and then, by the prayer of Moses, the frogs died where they were, a far more striking confirmation of the miracle than if they had retired to their haunts. Pharaoh abused the respite, and even while his land stank with the carcasses of the frogs, he refused to keep his promise.[52]

iii. *The Plague of Lice.*—From the waters and marshes, the power of God passed on to the dry land, which was smitten by the rod, and its very dust seemed turned into minute noxious insects, so thickly did they swarm on man and beast, or rather "*in*" them.[53] The scrupulous cleanliness of the Egyptians[54] would add intolerably to the bodily distress of this plague, by which also they again incurred religious defilement. As to the species of the vermin there seems no reason to disturb the authorized translation of the word.

In this case we read that "the magicians *did so* with their enchantments, *to bring forth lice*, but *they could not.*" They struck the ground, as Aaron did, and repeated their own incantations, but it was without effect. They confessed the hand of God; but Pharaoh was still hardened.[55]

iv. *The Plague of Flies or Beetles.*—After the river and the land, the air was smitten, being filled with winged insects, which swarmed in the houses and devoured the land, but Goshen was exempted from the plague. The word translated "swarms of flies" most probably denotes the great Egyptian beetle (*Scarabæus sacer*), which is constantly represented in their sculptures.[56] Besides the annoying and destructive habits of its tribe, it was an object of worship, and thus the Egyptians were again scourged by their own superstitions.

Pharaoh now gave permission for the Israelites to sacrifice to their God in the land; but Moses replied that the

[51] The only mention of this reptile in the N. T. seems to be connected with a symbolic meaning (Rev. xvi. 13).

[52] Ex. viii. 1-15. [53] Ex. viii. 17.

[54] The priests used to shave their heads and bodies every third day, for fear of harboring lice when they entered the temples (Herod. ii. 37; comp. Gen. xli. 14).

[55] Ex. viii. 16-19.

[56] There is a colossal granite scarabæus in the British Museum.

Egyptians would stone them if they sacrificed the creatures they worshiped,[67] a striking example, thus early, of the tendency to religious riots which has marked all the successive populations of Egypt. He repeated the demand to go three days' journey into the wilderness, there to place themselves at God's disposal. Pharaoh now yielded; but as soon as the plague was removed at the prayer of Moses, he "hardened his heart at this time also, neither would he let the people go."[68]

v. *Plague of the Murrain of Beasts.*—Still coming closer and closer to the Egyptians, God sent a disease upon the cattle, which were not only their property, but their deities. At the precise time of which Moses forewarned Pharaoh, all the cattle of the Egyptians were smitten with a murrain and died, but not one of the cattle of the Israelites suffered. Still the heart of Pharaoh was hardened, and he did not let the people go.[69]

vi. *The Plague of Boils and Blains.*—From the cattle, the hand of God was extended to their own persons. Moses and Aaron were commanded to take ashes of the furnace, and to "sprinkle it toward the heaven in the sight of Pharaoh." It was to become "small dust" throughout Egypt, and "be a boil breaking forth [with] blains upon man, and upon beast." This accordingly came to pass. The plague seems to have been the black leprosy, a fearful kind of elephantiasis, which was long remembered as "the blotch of Egypt."[60] This also was a terrible infliction on their religious purity, and its severity prevented the magicians from appearing in the presence of Moses. Still Pharaoh's heart was hardened, as Jehovah had said to Moses.[61]

vii. *The Plague of Hail.*[62]—The first six plagues had been attended with much suffering and humiliation, and some loss; but they had not yet touched the lives of the Egyptians, or their means of subsistence. But now a solemn message was sent to Pharaoh and his people, that they should be smitten with pestilence and cut off from the earth. First of all, they were threatened with a storm of hail. "Behold to-morrow about this time, I will cause it to rain a very grievous hail, such as hath not been in Egypt since the foundation thereof even until now." Pharaoh was then told to collect his cat-

[67] This is a common meaning of the word which our translators, following the LXX., render by *abomination:* all idols were abominations to the God of Israel and to His law.

[68] Ex. viii. 20–32.

[69] Ex. ix. 1–7.

[60] Deut. xxviii. 27, 35; comp. Job ii. 7.

[61] Ex. ix. 8–12.

[62] Ex. ix. 13–35.

tle and men into shelter, for that every thing should die upon which the hail descended. Some of the king's servants heeded the warning now given, and brought in their cattle from the field. On the rest there burst a terrific storm of hail, thunder, and "fire running along upon the ground," such as had never been seen in Egypt. Men and beast were killed, plants were destroyed, and vines, figs, and other trees broken to pieces.[63] Of the crops, the barley and flax which were fully formed were destroyed, but the wheat and rye (or spelt) were spared, for they were not yet grown up; mercy was still mingled with the judgment. This distinction, which could only have been made by one familiar with Egypt, marks the season of the events. Barley, one of the most important crops, alike in ancient and modern Egypt, comes to maturity in March, and flax at the same time; while wheat and spelt are ripe in April. Both harvests are a month or six weeks earlier than in Palestine.

Pharaoh, more moved than he had yet been, renewed his prayers and promises; and Moses, without concealing his knowledge of the result, consented to prove to him once more that "the earth is Jehovah's." The storm ceased at his prayer, and Pharaoh only hardened his heart the more.[64]

viii. *The Plague of Locusts.*[65]—The herbage which the storm had spared was now given up to a terrible destroyer. After a fresh warning,

> "The potent rod
> Of Amram's son, in Egypt's evil day,
> Waved round her coasts, called up a pitchy cloud
> Of locusts, warping on the eastern wind,
> That o'er the realm of impious Pharaoh hung
> Like night, and darkened all the land of Nile."

Approaching thus, the swarm alights upon fields green with the young blades of corn; its surface is blackened with their bodies, and in a few minutes it is left black, for the soil is as bare as if burnt with fire. Whatever leaves and fruit the hail had left on the trees were likewise devoured; and the houses swarmed with the hideous destroyers. No plague could have been more impressive in the East, where the ravages of locusts are so dreadful, that they are chosen as the fit symbol of a destroying conqueror.[66] The very

[63] Comp. Ps. cv. 33.

[64] Ex. ix. 13–34. [65] Ex. x. 1–20.

[66] Rev. ix. 3. In the present day locusts suddenly appear in the cultivated land, coming from the desert in a column of great length. They fly rapidly across the country, darkening the air with their compact ranks, which are undisturbed by the constant attack of kites, crows, and vultures, and making a strange whizzing sound like that of fire, or many distant wheels. Where they alight they devour every green thing, even

threat had urged Pharaoh's courtiers to remonstrance,[67] and he had offered to let the men only depart, but he had refused to yield more, and had driven Moses and Aaron from his presence.[68] Now he recalled them in haste, and asked them to forgive his sin "only this once," and to entreat God to take away "this death only." A strong west wind removed the locusts as an east wind had brought them; but their removal left his heart harder than ever.

ix.-x. *The Plague of Darkness* and the *Prediction* of the *Death of the First-born.*[69]—The last plague but one was a fearful prelude to the last. For three days there was thick darkness over the sunny land of Egypt, "even darkness which might be felt;" while "all the children of Israel had light in their dwellings."[70] Unable to see each other, or to move about, the Egyptians had still this one last opportunity of repentance; but Pharaoh would only let the people go if they left their flocks and herds behind. With threats he forbade Moses to see his face again; and Moses sealed this rejection of the day of grace with the words:—"Thou hast spoken well, I will see thy face again no more."

The fulfillment of this threat is obscured, in our version, by the division of chapters x. and xi., and by the want of the pluperfect in xi. 1:—"The Lord *had said* unto Moses." The interview, which thus appears to end with the tenth chapter, is continued at xi. 4. Moses ends by denouncing the final judgment, which had been the one great penalty threatened

stripping the trees of their leaves. The prophet Joel describes—"A fire devoureth before them; and behind them a flame burneth: the land [is] as the garden of Eden before them, and behind, a desolate wilderness; yea, and nothing shall escape them. The appearance of them [is] as the appearance of horses; and as horsemen, so shall they run. Like the noise of chariots on the tops of the mountains shall they leap, like the noise of a flame of fire that devoureth the stubble, as a strong people set in battle array" (Joel ii. 1-10).

[67] Ex. x. 7.

[68] Ex. x. 7. [69] Ex. x. 21-29, xi.

[70] This plague has been illustrated by reference to the *Simoom*, which for the time often causes the darkness of twilight. It is thus described by an eye-witness:—"The 'Simoon,' which is a very violent, hot, and almost suffocating wind, is commonly preceded by a fearful calm. As it approaches, the atmosphere assumes a yellowish hue, tinged with red; the sun appears of a deep blood color, and gradually becomes quite concealed before the hot blast is felt in its full violence. The sand and dust raised by the wind add to the gloom, and increase the painful effects of the heat and rarity of the air. Respiration becomes uneasy, perspiration seems to be entirely stopped; the tongue is dry, the skin parched, and a prickling sensation is experienced, as if caused by electric sparks. It is sometimes impossible for a person to remain erect, on account of the force of the wind; and the sand and dust oblige all who are exposed to it to keep their eyes closed."

from the beginning, for the midnight of this same day; and then "he went out from Pharaoh in a great anger."[71] The rest of chapter xi. is a recapitulation of the result of the whole contest, nearly in the same words in which it had been described by God to Moses, when He gave him his mission.[72]

§ 9. The contest was now over. The doom of Pharaoh, and of his people, who had oppressed the children of God, had gone forth, that their own first-born sons should be slain by God. For the remainder of the third day of darkness, they sat awaiting the terrible stroke which was to fall on them at midnight. Meanwhile the Israelites, in the light of favored Goshen, were preparing for the night in the way prescribed by God. Now was instituted the great observance of the Mosaical dispensation, the FEAST OF THE PASSOVER.

The primary purpose of this festival was to commemorate Jehovah's "passing over" the houses of the Israelites when he "passed through" the land of Egypt to slay the first-born in every house.[73] But just as the history of Israel was typical of the whole pilgrimage of man, and as their rescue from Egypt answers to that crisis in the life of God's redeemed people, at which they are ransomed by the blood of the atonement from the penalty of sin, to which they also are subject, so we trace this wider and higher meaning in every feature of the institution.

The day, reckoned from sunset to sunset, in the night of which the first-born of Egypt were slain and the Israelites departed, was the fourteenth of the Jewish month *Nisan* or *Abib* (March to April), which began about the time of the vernal equinox, and which was now made the *first month* of the *ecclesiastical year*.[74] This was the great day of the feast, when the paschal supper was eaten. But the preparations had already been made by the command of God.[75] On the tenth day of the month, each household had chosen a year-

[71] Exod. xi. 4–8; compare iv. 21–23.

[72] Comp. Ex. xi. 1–3, 9, 10, with iii. 19–22. Pharaoh's final permission for the people to depart (Ex. xii. 31) may have been given by a message; and it is quite inconsistent with Egyptian customs to suppose that he called Moses and Aaron into his presence at such a season of mourning.

[73] Ex. xii. 11, 12. There is a curious resemblance between the form of the English and Hebrew words. The Hebrew *pasach* signifies a *passing through* or *passing over;* and is represented by the Greek πάσχα, from which we derive the adjective *Paschal*, while we get the word *Passover* itself from a literal translation of the Hebrew word. Some interpret *pasach* as a *sparing*, as in Is. xxxi. 5.

[74] The civil year began, like that of the Egyptians, about the autumnal equinox, with the month *Tisri*.

[75] Ex. xii. 1, foll.: here, as in xi. 1, we must read the pluperfect, "Jehovah had spoken."

ling lamb (or kid, for either might be used),[76] without blemish. This "Paschal Lamb" was set apart till the evening which began the fourteenth day, and was killed as a sacrifice[77] at that moment in every family of Israel. But before it was eaten, its blood was sprinkled with a bunch of hyssop[78] on the lintel and door-posts of the house: the divinely-appointed sign, that Jehovah might *pass over* that house, when He passed through the land to destroy the Egyptians.[79] Thus guarded, and forbidden to go out of doors till the morning, the families of Israel ate the lamb, roasted and not boiled, with unleavened bread and bitter herbs. The bones were not suffered to be broken, but they must be consumed by fire in the morning, with any of the flesh that was left uneaten. The people were to eat in haste, and equipped for their coming journey. For seven days after the feast, from the fourteenth to the twenty-first, they were to eat only unleavened bread, and to have no leaven in their houses, under penalty of death. The fourteenth and twenty-first were to be kept with a holy convocation and sabbatic rest. The Passover was to be kept to Jehovah throughout their generations, "a feast by an ordinance forever."[80] No stranger might share the feast, unless he were first circumcised; but strangers were bound to observe the days of unleavened bread.[81] To mark more solemnly the perpetual nature and vast importance of the feast, fathers were specially enjoined to instruct their children in its meaning through all future time.[82]

§ 10. As the Passover was killed at sunset, we may suppose that the Israelites had finished the paschal supper, and were awaiting, in awful suspense, the next great event, when the midnight cry of anguish arose through all the land of Egypt.[83] At that moment Jehovah slew the first-born in every house, from the king to the captive; and, by smiting also all the first-born of cattle, He "executed judgment on all the gods of Egypt."[84] Thus he

> "Equalled with one "stroke
> Both her first-born and all her bleating gods."

The hardened heart of Pharaoh was broken by the stroke; and all his people joined with him to hurry the Israelites

[76] Ex. xii. 5. [77] Ex. xii. 27.

[78] There is great doubt as to the plant indicated by this word. Dr. Royle identifies it with the caper-plant, or *Cappius spinosa* of Linnæus.

[79] Ex. xii. 7, 12, 13, 22, 23.

[80] Ex. xii. 14.

[81] Ex. xii. 18–20, 43–49.

[82] Ex. xii. 25–27. For further information respecting the Passover, see ch. xv.

[83] Ex. xii. 29.

[84] Ex. xii. 12.

away. The Egyptians willingly gave them the jewels of silver and gold and the raiment, which they asked for by the command of Moses; and so "they spoiled the Egyptians."[85] They had not even time to prepare food, and only took the dough before it was leavened, in their kneading-troughs bound up in their clothes upon their shoulders, and baked unleavened cakes at their first halt.[86] But, amid all this haste, some military order of march was preserved,[87] and Moses forgot not to carry away the bones of Joseph. The host numbered 600,000 men on foot, besides children,[88] from which the total of souls is estimated at not less then 2,500,000.[89] But they were accompanied by "a mixed multitude," or great rabble, composed probably of Egyptians of the lowest caste, who proved a source of disorder.[90] Their march was guided by Jehovah himself, who, from its commencement to their entrance into Canaan, displayed His banner, the *Shekinah*, in their van:—"Jehovah went before them by day in a pillar of a cloud, to lead them the way; and by night in a pillar of fire, to give them light; to go by day and night."[91]

This EXODUS, or departure of the Israelites from Egypt,

[85] The vulgar objection to the morality of this proceeding is only founded on the word "borrow" (v. 22), which should be "ask." There was no promise or intention of repayment. The jewels were *given* for *favor* (v. 21), as well as fear; and they were a slight recompense for all of which the Egyptians had robbed the Israelites during a century of bondage.

[86] Ex. xii. 34, 35.

[87] Exod. xiii. 18, where the word translated "harnessed" signifies literally "by five in a rank." But it is as needless to put upon it this exact numerical sense as it would be absurd to suppose that all the people, including women, children, slaves, and the "mixed multitude," formed a serried phalanx of five abreast. It simply conveys the idea of a voluntary movement, conducted with order and discipline, in opposition to a hasty and confused flight.

[88] Ex. xii. 37.

[89] Comp. Num. i. 46, with xi. 21. These numbers have given rise to great controversy; but the student should compare De Quincey's graphic account (in the fourth volume of his works) of the "Revolt of the Tartars; or, Flight of the Kalmuck Khan and his People from the Russian Territories to the Frontiers of China." On one day, the 5th of January, 1771, more than 400,000 Tartars commenced this exodus. "It was a religious exodus, authorized by an oracle venerated throughout many nations of Asia — an exodus, therefore, in so far resembling the great scriptural Exodus of the Israelites, under Moses and Joshua, as well as in the very peculiar distinction of carrying along with them their entire families, women, children, slaves, their herds of cattle and of sheep, their horses and their camels."

[90] Num. xi. 4. It would seem, from Deut. xxix. 10, that these people settled down into the condition of slaves to the Hebrews:—"Thy stranger that is in thy camp, from the hewer of thy wood to the drawer of thy water." Dr. Kitto has some admirable remarks on this degraded class, and their probable reasons for casting in their lot with the Israelites (*Daily Bible Illustrations.* vol. ii. p. 1C8).

[91] Ex. xiii. 21, 22.

closed the 430 years of their pilgrimage, which began from the call of Abram out of Ur of the Chaldees. Having learned the discipline of God's chosen family, and having been welded by the hammer of affliction into a nation, they were now called forth, under the prophet of Jehovah, alike from the bondage and the sensual pleasures of Egypt, to receive the laws of their new state amid the awful solitudes of Sinai. Egypt had been their home for 215 years, during which "the Israelites to all outward appearance became Egyptians. . . . The shepherds who wandered over the pastures of Goshen were as truly Egyptian Bedouins as those who of old fed their flocks around the Pyramids, or who now, since the period of the Mussulman conquest, have spread through the whole country. . . . Egypt is the background of the whole history of the Israelites, the prelude to Sinai and Palestine. . . . Even in the New Testament the connection is not wholly severed; and the Evangelist emphatically plants in the first page of the Gospel history the prophetical text, which might well stand as the inscription over the entrance to the Old Dispensation, OUT OF EGYPT HAVE I CALLED MY SON."[92]

[92] Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, Introd. pp. xxx.–xxxii.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

SINAI.

THE Peninsula of Sinai lies between the *Gulf of Suez* (Sinus Heroopolitanus) on the west, and the *Gulf of Akabah* (Sinus Ælaniticus) on the east. Its southern mountains form the culminating point of the desert tableland, in which the valley of the Nile and the two gulfs just named are depressions. It may be divided into three belts; on the north, the sandy desert, which stretches along the Mediterranean from the Isthmus of Suez to the confines of Palestine; south of this is a mass of limestone called the *Desert of et-Tih* (*i. e.*, the *Wandering*, as it was the chief scene of the forty years' wandering of the Israelites), which, sweeping round to the north, forms the central plateau of Palestine, and finally rises into the ranges of Lebanon. On the west, it is continued across the Gulf of Suez in the two chains which run parallel toward the west, and connect it with the hills along the eastern margin of the Nile valley. These chains enclose the *Wady et-Tih*, which will claim attention in the next chapter. This is separated by a belt of sandstone from the terrific group of granite rocks which fill up the southern triangle of the peninsula, and which also skirt

the opposite side of the Gulf of Akaba, whence they run northward, in two ranges, forming the mountains of Edom, and enclosing the *Wady el-Arabah.* To the west the granite formation is found again in the southern part of Egypt.

The width of the peninsula, in its exacter limits, from *Suez* along the 30th parallel of north latitude to the hills of Edom, is about 130 miles: its length from its southern point (*Ras Mohammed*) to the same parallel is about 140 miles, and to the Mediterranean upward of 20 more. The width of the southern triangle of primitive rocks along the 29th parallel of north latitude is about 80 miles, and its length a little less: in fact, it is nearly an equilateral triangle. The Desert of et-Tih has all the characters of limestone scenery. It is a table-land rising to more than 2500 feet high, broken by ravines, and bounded by long horizontal ranges of mountains, which culminate in the southern range of (*Jebel et-Tih*, whose chief summit (*Jebel Edime*) rises to 4654 feet. The belt of sandstone (*Debbet er-Ramleh*), which divides this range from the granite group, and which is continued along the shore of the Gulf of Suez, is almost the only sand in the peninsula, which is therefore a rocky, but not a *sandy* desert. Finally, the great granite mass, called by the general name of the *Tûr* (*i. e.*, the *Rock*), is broken into innumerable peaks (like those called *horns* and *needles* in the Alps), and shivered into ravines, which in a few cases open out into wider plains. In a northern climate, these plains would be filled with lakes, and mountain torrents would rush down the ravines; but here the want of water causes a silence which adds immeasurably to the awful grandeur of the rocks themselves, and which becomes still more impressive from the clearness and reverberation of every sound that reaches the traveller's ears. This death-like stillness is broken by mysterious noises among the mountain tops, and by the winds which roar down the ravines, realizing, in one sense at least, its description as a "waste howling wilderness" (Deut. xxxii. 10). These mountains may be divided into two great masses—that of *Jebel Serbal* (6759 feet high) in the north-west, and the central group, roughly denoted by the general name of *Sinai.* This group rises abruptly from the *Wady es-Sheykh* at its north foot, first to the cliffs of the *Ras Sŭf-sâfeh,* behind which towers the pinnacle of *Jebel Musa* (the Mount of Moses) and farther back to the right of it the summit of *Jebel Katerin* (*Mount St. Catherine,* 8705 feet), all being backed up and overtopped by *Um Shaumer* (the *mother of fennel,* 9300 feet), which is the highest point of the whole peninsula.

Of the *wadys,* as the Arabs call the valleys and ravines, which look as if they had once been water-courses, the most important, after the *Wady Mukatteb* (valley of writing, from the celebrated Sinaitic inscriptions on its sandstone rocks), by which the region is entered, are the *Wady Feiran,* on the north-east of *Mount Serbal,* and the great *Wady es-Sheykh,* on the north of the central group, into which it throws up the narrow ravines of *el-Loja,* watered by a rivulet, and *Shueib* or *ed Deir,* which gives access to the convent of St. Catherine, and also to the *Wady Sebaiyeh,* at the back of *Jebel Musa.* This last valley has lately been claimed as the encampment of the Israelites, from the desire to permit *Jebel Musa* to retain its traditional celebrity as the *Mountain of the Law.*

But we think the question may be regarded as almost settled in favor of the *Wady er-Râhah,* the great branch of the *Wady es-Sheykh,* which extends

north-west in the form of a sleeve from the front of the precipices of *Ras Sŭfsâfeh*. Here alone all the requirements of the history seem satisfied: the space for the encampment, and its accessibility for the host by way of the *Wady es-Sheykh;* the mountain rising abruptly in front, with the cliffs of *Ras Sŭfsâfeh* visible from and commanding the whole plain, but yet separated from it by low hills (the "bounds set unto the people round about:" Ex. xix. 12); the brook, on which Moses scattered the powder of the golden calf, running down the *Wady el-Loja*, with other minor points of coincidence.* In fact, the only objection to this view is the mere feeling against transferring the traditional dignity of *Jebel Musa* to the much lower summit of *Ras Sŭfsâfeh.*†

But we may still regard the whole mass of *Jebel Musa* as Mount Sinai in the wider sense, though *Ras Sŭfsâfeh* was that particular part of it which, as visible from the whole encampment, was chosen as the spot from which the law was given. We have not seen the observation made, how much more convenient this lower rock would be than the distant summit of *Jebel Musa* for the ascents and descents of Moses and the elders (Ex. xix. 3, 20, xxiv. 1, 9); while Moses himself may have been conducted into the deeper recesses of the mountain during his abode of forty days. Nearly every traveller who has stood on *Ras Sŭfsâfeh* has felt convinced that *this must be the spot described in* Ex. xix., and the more the whole region is explored, the stronger is this impression. With equal certainty those best qualified to judge have rejected the claim of the *Wady Sebaiyeh.* "I came to the conclusion," says Dr. Stanley,* "that it could only be taken for the place, if none other existed. The only advantage which it has is, that the peak [of *Jebel Musa*], from a few points of view, rises in a more commanding form than the *Ras Sŭfsâfeh.* . . . . . I am sure that, if the monks of Justinian had fixed the traditional scene on the *Ras Sŭfsâfeh*, no one would for an instant have doubted that this only could be the spot." Still, as the same writer adds, the degree of uncertainty which must yet hang over the question, "is a great safeguard for the real reverence due to the place, as the scene of the first great revelation of God to man. As it is, you may rest on your general conviction, and be thankful."

The summit of *Um Shaumer*, to which the argument urged for *Jebel Musa*, from its superior elevation, applies still more forcibly, satisfies none of the required conditions, and may be rejected with certainty. But there has lately been a strong current of opinion in favor of *Jebel Serbal.* It is the first great mountain of the range, before which the Israelites would arrive in their march from Egypt. Its scenery is as grand and awful as that of *Jebel Musa;* and the earliest traditions were even more connected with it than with *Jebel Musa.* "It was impossible," says Stanley (p. 73), "on ascending it, not to feel that, for the *giving* of the Law to Israel and the world, the scene was most truly fitted. I say, 'for the *giving* of the Law,' because the objections urged from the absence of any plain immediately under the mountain for *receiving* the Law are unanswerable, or could only be answered if no such plain existed elsewhere in the peninsula." The *Wady Feiran* is not sufficiently commanded by the mountain to satisfy the condi-

* Staniey.

† Something similar has happened in the parallel case of the *Mountain of the Gospel.* It was forgotten that a low rock or hill at the foot of a mountain would be fitter for a pulpit than its summit.

* *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 76.

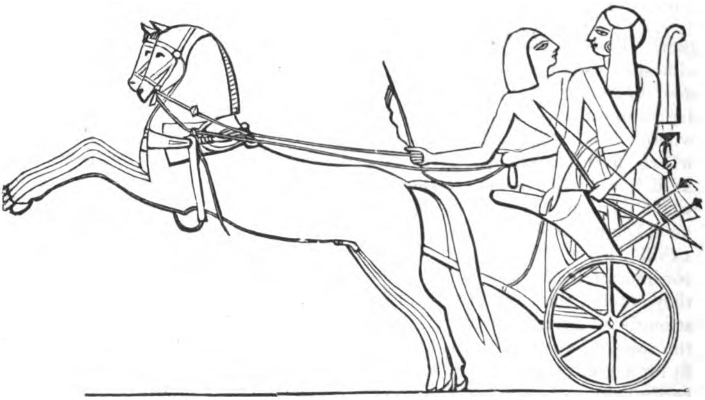
tion. Besides, the *Wady Feiran* is almost certainly the locality of *Rephidim*, the first great encampment of the Israelites in this region (Ex. xvii.), where they fought with Amalek, where Jethro visited Moses (Ex. xviii.), and whence they advanced a whole day's march to their encampment before Sinai (Ex. xix. 2; Num. xxxiii. 15). This appears from a consideration of the route by which they entered the mountains, and it is strongly confirmed by the details of the topography. The valley is alike fit for a great encampment and for a battle-field. As the first inhabitable *wady* in the *Tur*, its possession would naturally be disputed by the Amalekites, especially if it was a sacred spot; and it is marked (though we do not lay great stress on this point) by a hill, such as that called from its conspicuousness "*the hill*," where Moses stood in full view of the battle-field. *Wady Feiran* can not be both *Rephidim* and the scene of the encampment before Sinai.

But *Serbal* seems to have an importance of its own, only second to that of Sinai. From the inscriptions in the *Wady Feiran*, and from other evidence, it seems highly probable that it was a sanctuary of the Arab tribes before the Exodus; and for this reason it may have been already called the Mount of God" (Ex. iii. 2);* and Moses, when a shepherd among the Arabs, may have visited it in this character. This view seems to be confirmed by the use of the distinctive names—*Horeb* for the mount of the burning bush, and *Sinai* for the mountain of the Law, when each is first mentioned, though the distinction was almost immediately lost sight of. The difficulty of discriminating Horeb and Sinai is increased by the uncertainty as to the meaning of both names. It is most important also to observe that the earliest traditions refer not so much to the giving of the Law, as to "the place where Moses saw God" (Stanley, p. 77).

The identity of the *Horeb* of Ex. iii., and the *Sinai* of Ex. xix. may seem to be settled by the words—"When Thou hast brought forth the people out of Egypt, ye shall serve God *in this mountain*" (Ex. iii. 12). But considering the proximity of the two places, it is surely enough to suppose that *this mountain* means the whole group, within which God afterward led the people to the precise spot that He had chosen—a spot purposely different from the old sanctuary, because a new worship was to be revealed.

Be this as it may, the *Wady Feiran* was long regarded as a sacred spot. It seems to be the *Paran* of Deut. i. 1, and 1 K. xi. 18; and it was an episcopal see in the early Christian times. The Arabic *Feiran* is an equivalent of *Paran* (Stanley, pp. 41, 43).

* It has been strangely overlooked here that the word translated *back* signifies, as a geographical term, the *west*. Without positively insisting on this meaning here, we may point out its suitability to the position of Mount Serbal.



Egyptian Chariot. The son of King Rameses with his charioteer. (Wilkinson.)

CHAPTER XII.

THE MARCH FROM EGYPT TO SINAI. A.M. 2513–4. B.C 1491–0.

§ 1. General view of the journey from Egypt to Canaan—Its three divisions: i. From Egypt to Sinai—ii. From Sinai to the borders of Canaan—iii. The wandering in the wilderness and the final march to Canaan. § 2. From Egypt to the Red Sea—Point of departure—Rameses—Succoth—Etham—Pi-hahiroth. § 3. Passage of the Red Sea. § 4. Wilderness of Shur—Thirst—Marah—Elim—Encampment by the Red Sea. § 5. Wilderness of Sin—Hunger—The Manna—Revival of the Sabbath. § 6. Dophkah, Alush, and Rephidim—The Water from the rock. § 7. The battle with Amalek in Rephidim—*Jehovah-Nissi*—Doom of Amalek. § 8. Visit of Jethro—Appointment of assistant judges. § 9. Wilderness of Sinai—Encampment before the Mount—Preparation—The people's place among the nations—Their covenant with Jehovah. § 10. God's descent on Sinai—The Ten Commandments—Other precepts given to Moses as Mediator—Promises—The angel Jehovah their Guide and Captain—Sinai and the Mount of the Beatitudes—The Law given by angels. § 11. The covenant recorded and ratified by blood—The elders behold God's glory—Moses in the Mount. § 12. Idolatry of the golden calf—Intercession of Moses—The tables of the Law broken—Punishment—Fidelity of Levi—Self-sacrifice of Moses—Type of the offering of Christ—God speaks with him before the people, and shows him His glory—Moses's second abode in the Mount—The Tables renewed—The veil over his face. § 13. The Tabernacle prepared, and set up—Consecration of Aaron and his sons—The glory of God upon and in the Tabernacle.

§ 1. The whole journey of the Israelites, from Egypt into the land of promise, may be divided into three distinct portions:—

i. *The March out of Egypt to Mount Sinai*, there to worship Jehovah, as he had said to Moses.[1] This occupied six weeks, making, with the fourteen days before the Passover, two months;[2] and they were encamped before Sinai, receiving the divine laws, for the remaining ten months of the first ecclesiastical year.[3] The tabernacle was set up on the first day of the first month (Abib) of the second year (about April 1, 1490 B.C.); and its dedication occupied that month.[4] On the first day of the second month, Moses began to number the people,[5] and their encampment was broken up on the twentieth day of the second month of the second year, about May 20, 1490 B.C.[6]

ii. *The March from Sinai to the borders of Canaan*, whence they were turned back for their refusal to enter the land. This distance, commonly eleven days' journey,[7] was divided by three chief halts.[8] The first stage occupied three days,[9] followed by a halt of at least a month.[10] The next halt was for a week at least.[11] After the third journey, there was a period of forty days, during which the spies were searching the land;[12] and they returned with ripe grapes and other fruits.[13] All these indications bring us to the season of the Feast of Tabernacles, just six months after the Passover (Oct. 1490 B.C.).

iii. *The Wandering in the Wilderness, and entrance into Canaan.* This is often vaguely spoken of as a period of forty years, but, in the proper sense, the *wanderings* occupied thirty-seven and a half years. The people came again to Kadesh, whence they had been turned back, in the first month of the fortieth year.[14] Advancing thence, they overthrew the kings Sihon and Og, and spoiled the Midianites; and reached the plains of Moab, on the east of Jordan, opposite to Jericho, by the end of the tenth month, early in January, 1451 B.C.[15] The rest of that year was occupied by the final exhortation and death of Moses.[16] We are not told the exact date of the passage of the Jordan; but the harvest-time identifies it with the season of the Passover;[17] and thus the cycle of forty years is completed, from the beginning of Abib, 1491, to the same date of 1451 (see table on the following page):

[1] Ex. iii. 12. [2] Ex. xix. 1.
[3] Comp. Ex. xii. 2.
[4] Ex. xl. 17. [5] Num. i. 1.
[6] Num. x. 11. [7] Deut i. 2.
[8] Num. xxxiii. 16–18.
[9] Num. x. 33.
[10] Num. x. 20. [11] Num. xii. 15.
[12] Num. xiii. 25.
[13] Num. xiii. 24.
[14] Num. xx. 1. [15] Deut. i. 3.
[16] Deut. (the whole book).
[17] Josh. iii. 15.

	Yrs.	Mths.	Days.
In Egypt before the Passover	0	0	14
From Egypt to Sinai	0	1	16
Encampment at Sinai	0	11	20
March to Kadesh (about)	0	4	10
Wanderings in Wilderness	37	6	0
March from Kadesh to the plains of Moab	0	10	0
Encampment there to the passage of the Jordan	0	2	0
Total [18]	40	0	0

§ 2. Had the object been to lead them by the shortest route out of Egypt into Canaan, it might have been accomplished in a few days' journey along the shore of the Mediterranean. But they were not thus to evade the moral discipline of the wilderness. Besides that their first destination was fixed for "the mount of God," they were quite unprepared to meet the armies of the Philistines, and so "God led the people about through the way of the wilderness of the Red Sea."[19]

At the very outset, we are met by a great difficulty about their point of departure. It is a simple and attractive theory which carries them straight along the valley, now called the *Wady et-Tih*, running eastward from the fork of the Delta to the Red Sea, between two parallel offshoots of the hills which skirt the Nile, and of which the northern range bears the name of *Jebel-Atakah* (the *mountain of deliverance*).[20] But this route is too simple: it could hardly fill up three days, even for such a host, and it was inconsistent with the final movements by which they became "entangled in the land," for they would have been so already, and they would have had no "turning" to make to encamp by the sea.[21] Nor can this view be reconciled with their probable starting-point. It is evident that they were gathered together in Goshen before their departure; and they are expressly said to have started from RAMESES.[22] Now whether Rameses be the city named in *Exodus* i. 11, or the district so called in *Genesis* xlvii. 11, it must be sought along the east branch of the Nile lower down than Heliopolis.[23]

From this starting-point they made two days' journey before reaching the edge of the wilderness at Etham.[24] Thence, making a turn, which can only have been southward, they reached the Red Sea in one day's journey.[25] There seems to

[18] For the list of the forty-two journeys in Num. xxxiii. see *Notes and Illustrations* (A).

[19] Ex. xiii. 17, 18.

[20] See the Map on p. 162.

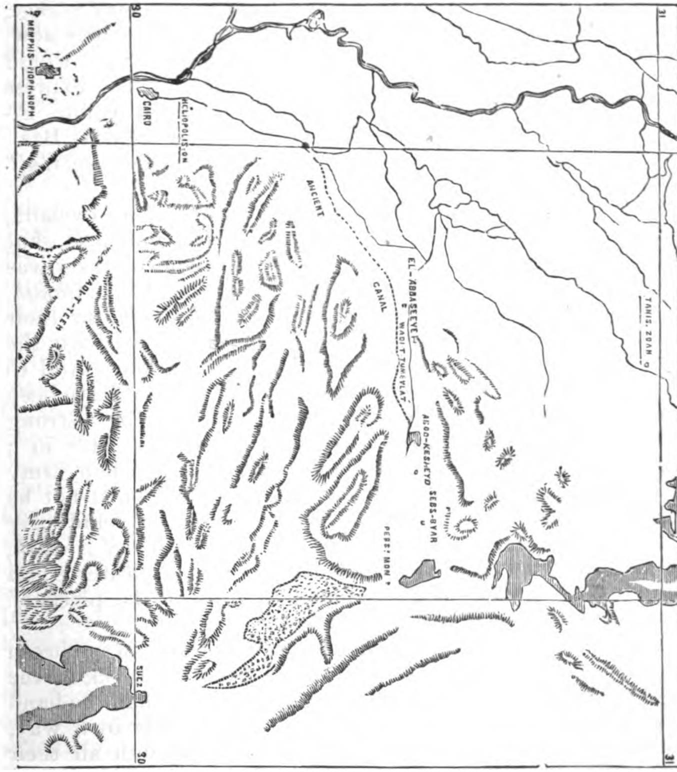
[21] Ex. xiv. 2, 3.

[22] Ex. xii. 37; Num. xxxiii. 3, 5.

[23] See p. 117.

[24] Ex. xii. 37, xiii. 20.

[25] Ex. xiv. 2.



Map to illustrate the Exodus of the Israelites.

be only one route that satisfies these conditions, that namely by the *Wady et-Tumeylat*, through which ran the ancient canal ascribed to the Pharaohs. The mound called *El-Abbaseyeh* in that valley offers a probable site for RAMESES; and the distance from it to the head of the Red Sea, about thirty miles in a direct line, answers very well to the three-days' journey of the vast, mixed, and encumbered troop, especially when an allowance is made for the deviation already mentioned. As to the further details, the name of the first resting-place, SUCCOTH, affords no help, as it only means *booths*. ETHAM, the second stage, being on the edge of the wilderness, may very well correspond to *Seba Biar* (the *Seven Wells*), which occupies such a position, about three miles

from the western side of the ancient head of the *Gulf of Suez*, which extended much farther to the north than it does now. Thence their natural route into the Peninsula of Sinai would have been round the head of the gulf, but, by the express command of God, "they turned and encamped before PI-HAHIROTH, between Migdol and the sea, over against Baal-zephon"—localities evidently on the west side of the *Gulf of Suez.*[26]

This incomprehensible movement led Pharaoh to exclaim, "They are entangled in the wilderness, the sea hath shut them in." And well might he say so, if their position was enclosed between the sea on their east, the *Jebel Atakah*, which borders the north side of the *Wady-t-Tih*, on their south and west, and the wilderness in their rear, with the pursuing army pressing on to cut off their retreat. Add to this that the sea, where they encamped by it, must have been shallow enough for its bed to be laid bare by the "strong east wind,"[27] narrow enough for the host to pass over in a single night, and yet broad enough to receive the whole army of Pharaoh; and lastly, that the opposite bank must not be rocky or precipitous. These conditions seem to exclude any place in the mouth of the *Wady-t-Tih*, south of *Jebel Atakah*, as well as the traditional line of passage opposite *Ayun Mousa* (the *Spring of Moses*), and to restrict the place of passage to the neighborhood of *Suez.*

§ 3. The great miracle itself, by which a way was cloven for the people through the sea, was a proof to them, to the Egyptians, and to all the neighboring nations, that the hand of Jehovah was with them, leading them by His own way, and ready to deliver them in every strait through all their future course. In this light it is celebrated in that sublime hymn of triumph, which furnishes the earliest example of responsive choral music.[28] In this light it is looked back upon by the sacred writers in every age, as the great miracle which inaugurated their history as a nation.

The King of Egypt and his servants, with hearts hardened even against the lesson taught by the death of the first-born, repented of letting their slaves depart.[29] With six hundred chosen chariots, and all his military array, he pursued and overtook them at Pi-hahiroth. The frightened people began to raise the cry, with which they so often assailed Moses, "Better for us to serve the Egyptians than that we should

[26] Respecting the names themselves, see *Notes and Illustrations* (B).

[27] Ex. xiv. 21.

[28] Ex. xv.

[29] Ex. xiv. 4, 5.

die in the wilderness."[30] But the way was made clear by faith and obedience. "Fear ye not, stand still, and see the salvation of Jehovah..... He shall fight for you, and ye shall hold your peace," was the answer of Moses to the people, while God's word to him was that which generally opens a way out of danger and distress:—"Speak unto the children of Israel, that *they go forward.*" At the signal of the uplifted rod of Moses, a strong east wind blew all that night, and divided the waters as a wall on the right hand and on the left, while the children of Israel went into the midst of the sea on dry land.[31] The guiding pillar of fire (with the angel of Jehovah himself) moved from their van into their rear, casting its beams along their column, but creating behind them a darkness amid which the host of Pharaoh went after them into the bed of the sea. But, at the morning watch, Jehovah looked out of the pillar of fire and cloud, and troubled the Egyptians. Panic-stricken, they sought to fly; but their chariot-wheels were broken: the host of Israel had now reached the bank: the rod of Moses waved again over the gulf: "and the sea returned to his strength when the morning appeared; and the Egyptians fled against it;" but not one of them was left alive.[32] "And the people feared Jehovah, and believed his servant Moses." The waters of the Red Sea were thenceforth a moral, as well as a physical gulf between them and Egypt. Its passage initiated a new dispensation: "they were all *baptized to Moses* in the cloud and in the sea."[33]

§ 4. Their route now lay southward down the east side of the *Gulf of Suez*, and at first along the shore. The station of *Ayun Mousa* (the *Wells of Moses*), with its tamarisks and seventeen wells, may have served for their gathering after the passage. They marched for three days through the wilderness of SHUR or ETHAM, on the south-west margin of the great desert of Paran (*et-Tih*), where they found no water.[34] The tract is still proverbial for its storms of wind and sand. It is a part of the belt of gravel which surrounds the mountains of the peninsula, and is crossed by several *wadys*, whose sides are fringed with tamarisks, acacias, and a few palm-trees. Near one of these, the *Wady el-'Amarah*, is a

[30] Ex. xiv. 10-12.

[31] While the Scripture narrative recognizes a physical agency, called forth by the special power of God, as the instrument of the miracle, it quite excludes the idea of a mere retirement of the water from the head of the sea, which, besides, an *east* wind would not have effected.

[32] This seems to dispose of every theory which makes the Pharaoh of the Exodus survive this catastrophe (comp. Ps. cxxxvi. 15).

[33] 1 Cor. x. 2.

[34] Ex. xv. 22; Num. xxxiii. 8.

spring called *Ain Awârah*, not only in the position of MARAH, but with the *bitter* taste which gave it the name. The people, tormented with thirst, murmured against Moses, who, at the command of God, cast a certain tree into the waters which made them sweet. This was the first great trial of their patience; and God, who had healed the waters, promised to deliver them from all the diseases of Egypt if they would obey Him, and confirmed the promise by the name of "Jehovah the Healer."[35]

They must have been cheered at reaching the oasis of ELIM, whose twelve wells and threescore palm-trees mark it as one of the *wadys* that break the desert; either the *Wady Ghurundel* or the *Wady Useit.* After passing the *Wady Taiyibeh*, the route descends through a defile on to a beautiful pebbly beach, where Dean Stanley places the ENCAMPMENT BY THE RED SEA, which is mentioned in *Numbers*[36] next to Elim, but is omitted in *Exodus.* Here the Israelites had their last view of the Red Sea and the shores of Egypt.

§ 5. Striking inland from this point, they entered the WILDERNESS OF SIN[37] (probably the plain of *Murkhah*), which leads up from the shore to the entrance to the mountains of Sinai.[38] Here occurred their second great trial since leaving Egypt. Their unleavened bread was exhausted; and they began to murmur that they had better have died by the flesh-pots of Egypt than have been led out to be killed with hunger in the wilderness. But God was teaching them to look to him for their "daily bread," which He now rained down from heaven in the form of *manna*, and continued the supply till they reached Canaan.[39] The truth was most emphatically enforced by the impossibility of gathering more or less than the prescribed portion of the manna, or of keeping it over the day.[40] But the manna was designed to teach them a deeper lesson. They had not only distrusted God's providence as to their food, but were regarding that food itself as the chief thing they were to live for; and so "God humbled them and suffered them to hunger, and fed them with a food unknown to them, that He might make them know that *man doth not live by bread alone*, but by *every word*

[35] Ex. xv. 26. [36] Num. xxxiii. 10.

[37] This must be carefully distinguished not only from the *wilderness of Sinai*, but also from the *wilderness of Zin*, which lies north of the *Gulf of Akaba.*

[38] Ex. xvi. 1.

[39] Ex. xvi. 4, 35. The details are discussed in the *Notes and Illustrations* (C). The quails, which were sent at the same time (Ex. xvi. 8, 13), seem only to have been a temporary supply comp. Num. xi. 31).

[40] Ex. xvi. 16–21.

that proceedeth out of the mouth of Jehovah doth man live."[41] And so the manna was a type of Christ, the Word of God, who came down from heaven as the bread of life, to give life to all who believe in Him.[42]

The rules laid down for the gathering of the manna gave occasion for the revival of the *Sabbath*, which had no doubt been neglected in Egypt,[43] though the appeal of Moses to the people[44] seems to imply that the law of the Sabbath was not entirely forgotten. At all events, the whole tone of the narrative is inconsistent with the idea that the Sabbath was now first instituted in this merely incidental way, an idea besides utterly at variance with *Genesis* ii. 3.

§ 6. From this valley others lead up, by a series of steep ascents, into the recesses of Sinai; resembling the beds of rivers, but without water, and separated by defiles which sometimes become staircases of rock. Such were no doubt the stations of DOPHKAH and ALUSH,[45] and such are the *Wadys Shellal* and *Mukatteb*. From the latter the route passes into the long and winding *Wady Feiran*, with its groves of tamarisks and palms, overhung by the granite rocks of *Mount Serbal*, perhaps the Horeb of Scripture.[46] This valley answers in every respect to REPHIDIM (the *resting-places*), the very name of which implies a long halt.[47]

Here the cry for water burst forth into an angry rebellion against Moses; and God vouchsafed a miracle for a permanent supply during their abode in the wilderness of Sinai. Moses was commanded to go before the people, with the elders of Israel, and to smite the rock in Horeb, and water flowed forth out of it. The place was called MASSAH (*temptation*), and MERIBAH (*chiding* or *strife*), in memory of the rebellion by which the people tempted Jehovah and doubted His presence among them.[48] The spring thus opened seems to have formed a brook, which the Israelites used during their whole sojourn near Sinai.[49] Hence the rock is said to have "*followed* them" by St. Paul, who makes it a type of Christ, the source of the spiritual water of life.[50] There is no sufficient reason to believe that the remarkable rock pointed

[41] Deut. viii. 3; comp. Job xxiii. 12; John iv. 32, 34; Matt. iv. 4; Luke iv. 4.

[42] John vi. 25–59; Matt. xxvi. 26; 1 Cor. x. 3, and parallel passages.

[43] Ex. xvi. 22–30. [44] Ex. xvi. 23.

[45] Num. xxxiii. 12, 13.

[46] Respecting the claim of this mountain to bear the names of *Sinai* or *Horeb*, see *Notes and Illustrations* to chap. xi. [47] Ex. xvii. 1.

[48] Ex. xvii. 2–7.

[49] Deut. ix. 21; comp. Ps. lxxviii. 15, 16, cv. 41.

[50] 1 Cor. x. 4; comp. John iv. 14, vii. 35; Isa. lv. 1; Ez. xlvii. 1; Zech. xiv. 8; Rev. xxii. 1, 17: the waters flowing out of the temple, which also

out to travellers supplies the silence of Scripture as to the exact locality of the spring, for the region is full of rocks bearing the marks of water.[51] Lastly, it should be remembered that the miracle was repeated at a much later period in another part of the peninsula.[52]

§ 7. It was in Rephidim that the new-formed nation fought their first great battle. As yet they have seemed alone in the desert; but now an enemy comes against them, their kinsman AMALEK, a nomad tribe descended from Eliphaz, the son of Esau. The range of the Amalekites seems to have been at this time over the south of Palestine and all Arabia Petræa; so that they commanded the routes leading out of Egypt into Asia. Whether they regarded the Israelites as intruders, or whether for the sake of plunder, they seem first to have assaulted the rear of the column and cut off the infirm and stragglers[53] before the great encounter in Rephidim. The battle lasted till sunset. The chosen warriors of Israel fought under JOSHUA, whose name is now first mentioned,[54] while Moses stood on a hill[55] with the rod of God outstretched in his hand. He was attended by his brother Aaron and by Hur, the husband of Miriam, who held up his hands when he became weary, for only while the rod was stretched out did Israel prevail. The early fathers have discovered a symbolical power in the attitude of Moses, his arms forming the figure of the cross: more cautious commentators regard it as a lesson of the power of prayer: but its exact meaning seems to have been a sign of God's presence with His hosts, held forth as a *standard* over the battle-field; and this was taught by the name given to the altar of thanksgiving then set up, JEHÒVAH-NISSI, *Jehovah is my Banner.*

For this treacherous attack the tribe of Amalek were henceforth doomed to execration and ultimate extinction.[56] A very interesting point in the narrative is the command of God to Moses, to write the whole transaction in a book; one of

stood on a bare rock, complete the type, linking together Sinai, Sion, and the spiritual sense of both.

[51] Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, pp. 46-48.

[52] Num. xx. 1-13.

[53] Deut. xxv. 18.

[54] His own name was Oshea; that of Joshua (*Saviour*=Jesus in Greek) was perhaps given him on this occasion (see Num. xiii. 8, 16).

[55] It is called in the narrative "*the* hill," as being conspicuous or well known. There is a remarkable hill in the *Wady Feiran*, on which the church of Paran is still seen, well suited to have been the station of Moses.

[56] Exod. xvii. 14-16; Num. xxiv. 20; Deut. xxv. 19; 1 Sam. xv. 3, 7, xxx. 1, 17; 2 Sam. viii. 12; Ezra ix. 14.

the passages in which we learn from the sacred writers themselves their authorship of the books that bear their names.[57]

§ 8. The visit of Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, took place probably during the encampment at Rephidim, for there seems no sufficient reason for transposing the narrative in chapter xviii. to a period after the giving of the law. The Israelites being now near Midian, Jethro, brought to Moses his wife and children, whom he had sent back into Midian, probably after the scene related in Exod. iv. 24–26. Moses received Jethro with high honor, and recounted to him all that Jehovah had done for the people. The priest of Midian joyfully acknowledged the God of Israel, and offered sacrifices to Jehovah; and henceforth there was the closest friendship between Israel and the Kenites, his descendants.[58] Seeing Moses overburdened with judging the people, he advised him to organize an administration of justice by a gradation of rulers over tens, fifties, hundreds, and thousands, and to reserve himself for the harder causes, to lay them before God, as mediator for the people.[59] It would seem that, on Jethro's return to his own land,[60] he left behind him his son Hobab, who became the guide of the people from Sinai to the border of Canaan.[61]

§ 9. The next stage brought the Israelites to the WILDERNESS OF SINAI on the first day of the third month (Sivan, *June*), and here they encamped before the mount.[62] The site of their camp has been identified, to a high degree of probability, with the *Wady er-Ráhah* (the *enclosed plain*) in front of the magnificent cliffs of *Ras Sŭfsâfeh*.[63] The people would reach this point by winding around the *Wady esh-Sheykh*, the great thoroughfare of the desert, while Moses and the elders might mount to it by the steep pass of the *Nukb Hawy*. Never in the history of the world was such a scene beheld as that plain now presented! A whole nation was assembled alone with God. His hand had been seen and his voice heard at every step of their history for 430 years up to this great crisis. He had called their progenitor Abraham from his father's house, and made with him the covenant, which had now reached its first great fulfillment. He had guided the family by wondrous ways till He brought them down tc Egypt, where they grew into a nation under the discipline of affliction. Thence He had brought them forth with a mighty

[57] Ex. xvii. 14; comp. Ex. xxxiv. 27.
[58] 1 Sam. xv. 6.
[59] Ex. xviii. 13–26.
[60] Ex. xviii. 27.
[61] Num. x. 29, 30.
[62] Ex. xix. 1, 2.
[63] *Notes and Illustrations* to chap xi. p. 156.

hand and an outstretched arm, proving that He was the only God, and they the people of His choice. He had severed them from all the nations of the earth, and had divided the very sea, to let them pass into this secret shrine of nature, whose awful grandeur prepared their minds for the coming revelation. Thus far they only knew the token which God had given to Moses, "When thou hast brought forth the people out of Egypt, ye shall serve God upon this mountain."[64] They had reached the place, and they waited in awful adoration for what was to follow.

We propose to follow the events that took place during their stay at Sinai till the setting up of the tabernacle, on the first day of the second year, reserving for the close of this book an account of the laws and institutions which now were given.

There was a season of preparation before the great appearance of God on Sinai to give the law. First, Moses went up to God, whose voice called to him out of the mountain, telling him to remind the people of the wonders already wrought for them, and promising that, if they would obey God and keep His covenant, "then shall ye be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people (for all the earth is mine), and ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation."[65] These words mark the special character assigned to the Israelites, and still more to the spiritual Israel.[66] Not that they were to be separated from all nations in proud exclusiveness, for their own sake: this was the great mistake of their history.[67] But as "all the earth is Jehovah's," they were His in a special sense, to bring all nations back to Him; kings and priests for others' good, and a holy nation for a pattern to all the rest. True, they failed in this great mission; but only for a time: their history is not finished, for it is only the first step in that of the spiritual Israel, who are yet to reign as kings and priests to God, and to bring all nations to the obedience of Christ. Meanwhile the elders and people accepted the covenant, and said, "All that Jehovah hath spoken, we will do," and Moses returned with their words to Jehovah.

Moses was next warned of the coming appearance of God in a thick cloud, to speak to him before all the people, that they might believe him forever. He was commanded to purify the people against the third day, and to set bounds

[64] Ex. iii. 12.
[65] Ex. xix 5, 6.
[66] 1 Pet. ii. 5, 9; Rev. i. 6, v. 10, xx. 6.
[67] Deut. vii. 7.

round the mount, forbidding man or beast to touch it, under penalty of death;[68] and these preparations occupied the next day.

§ 10. The same reverence that was then enjoined forbids the vain attempt to describe the scene, which is related in the simple but sublime words of Moses,[69] and recounted in the noblest strains of poetry,[70] and whose terrors, which made even Moses himself to fear and quake,[71] are most beautifully contrasted with the milder glories of the spiritual Sion.[72] From amid the darkness, and above the trumpet's sound, God's voice was heard calling Moses up into the mount, to bid him charge the people lest they should break the bounds to gaze on God, and to prepare the elders to come up with him and Aaron when God should call them. Moses returned to the people, and repeated these injunctions.

Then followed the greatest event of the Old Covenant. The voice of God himself gave forth the law by which his people were to live; the Ten Commandments, on which all other laws were to be founded, and which were themselves summed up under the Old Covenant as well as the New, in two great principles:—"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and soul and mind and strength, and thy neighbor as thyself."[73]

The Ten Commandments were the only part of the law given by the voice of God to the assembled people: "He added no more;" and they alone were afterward written on the two tables of stone.[74] The form of the revelation was more than they could bear; and they prayed Moses that he would speak to them in the place of God, lest they should die. God approved their words, and Moses was invested with the office of *Mediator*, the type of "the Prophet raised up like him," the "one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus."[75] He drew near to the thick darkness where God was, while the people stood aloof; and he received

[68] This seems to be a decisive proof that "the mount" was some steep eminence close at hand, like *Ras Sŭfsâfeh*, and not a distant summit of the range, like *Jebel Mousa*.

[69] Ex. xix. 16–20; comp. Deut. v. 1–5.

[70] See, among other passages, Ps. lxviii. 7–8; from which, compared with Acts vii. 38; Ephes. iv. 8, and other passages of the New Testament, it is clearly to be inferred that God was manifested on Sinai in the person of the Son, the angel Jehovah.

[71] Ex. xix. 16. [72] Heb. xii. 18–29.

[73] Ex. xx. 1–17; Deut. v. 6–22, vi. 4, 5, x. 12, xxx. 6; Lev. xix. 18; Matt. xxii. 37; Mark xii. 30; Luke x. 27. All points of interpretation are reserved for the appendix to this book.

[74] Deut. v. 22.

[75] Ex. xx. 18–21; Deut. v. 23–31, xviii. 15–18; Gal. iii. 19, 20; 1 Tim. ii. 5; Heb. xii. 19.

a series of precepts, which stand apart from the laws afterward delivered, as a practical interpretation of the Ten Commandments.[76]

These precepts were concluded by promises relating to the people's future course. Their destination was clearly stated,[77] their bounds assigned,[78] the conquest assured to them by a gradual exertion of the power of God,[79] the blessings of life promised if they served God, and a special warning given against idolatry.[80] Above all, the ANGEL JEHOVAH, who had already guided them out of Egypt,[81] was still to be their guide to keep them in the way, and to bring them to the place appointed for them, and their captain to fight against their enemies.[82] But, if provoked and disobeyed, He would be a terror to themselves, "for *my name is in Him*."[83] Thus the whole promise is crowned with Christ. For this ANGEL is identified with God's own presence.[84] He appeared to Joshua[85] as JEHOVAH, the captain of the Lord's host, that is, the chief of the angels, the ARCHANGEL, a title which belongs only to the Son of God, the prince Michael.[86] In this angel God himself was present, as the *Shepherd of his flock*, the *Holy One of Israel;* whom they tempted and provoked in the wilderness, and in vexing Him, they vexed God's Holy Spirit.[87] Lastly, St. Stephen expressly declares Christ to have been the prophet whom God raised up, as he did Moses, and the angel who, as well as Moses, was with the church in the wilderness, and who spake to Moses in Mount Sinai.[88] So ended the great day on which God came down to the earth to announce his law; the type of the milder revelation which was made when the evangelical exposition of that law was given by the same voice, though now clad in the form of the man Jesus, on the Mount of the Beatitudes.[89]

One circumstance remains to be noticed. St. Stephen upbraids the Jews for not keeping the law, though they had received it by the *disposition of angels*.[90] This appears evidently to be an allusion to those hosts of angels or "holy

[76] Ex. xx. 22, xxi. xxii. xxiii.
[77] Ex. xxiii. 23. [78] Ex. xxiii. 31.
[79] Ex. xxiii. 28–30.
[80] Ex. xxiii. 24–26.
[81] Ex. xiii. 21, xiv. 19, 24.
[82] Ex. xxiii. 20, 22.
[83] Comp. Num. xx. 16.
[84] Ex. *ll. cc.*, and xxxii. 34, xxxiii. 2, 14. [85] Josh. v. 13, vi. 2.
[86] 1 Thess. iv. 16; Jude 9; comp. Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1; Rev. xii. 7; these are all the texts which contain the words *archangel* and *Michael*. See the conclusive argument of Bishop Horsley, *Sermon* xxix.
[87] Ps. lxviii. 40, 41; Is. lxiii. 9–11.
[88] Acts vii. 38. [89] Matt. v. 1.
[90] Acts vii. 53: *εἰς διαταγὰς ἀγγέλων*, and St. Paul bases a similar appeal on its having been *spoken by angels* (Heb. ii. 2; compare Gal iii. 19).

ones" whose presence at Sinai is more than once mentioned,[91] and whom the Apostle contrasts with the innumerable company of angels on the spiritual Sion.[92] These angels seem to have been present, not only to swell Jehovah's state, but to intimate the consent of the whole intelligent universe to that law, which is forever "holy, just, and good."

§ 11. The element of *terror*, which prevailed in the revelation given on Sinai, was the true type of the aspect of the law to the mind of sinful man. Pure and holy in itself, it became "death," when proposed as the condition of life; and its great purpose was to reveal to self-righteous man "the exceeding sinfulness of sin," that he might be led to receive the grace of God in Christ.[93] Thus the clouds of Sinai did not exhibit, but concealed, the true glory of Jehovah: and He now vouchsafed a vision of that glory to Moses, with Aaron and his sons Nadab and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel.[94] But first Moses wrote the precepts already given, and set up an altar and memorial pillars, one for each tribe, and sacrificed burnt-offerings and peace-offerings of oxen, and sprinkled with the blood the book of the covenant which he then read to the people, who renewed their promise of obedience, and were themselves also sprinkled with the blood, and so the "covenant of works" was ratified.[95] The chosen party now went up, and saw God enthroned in his glory, as he was afterward seen by Ezekiel and John, and yet they lived.[96] Moses was then called up alone into the mount, to receive the tables of stone and the law which God had written, while Aaron and Hur were left to govern the people. Followed only by his servant Joshua, Moses went up into the mount, which a cloud covered for six days, crowned with the glory of God as a burning fire. On the seventh day Moses was called into the cloud, and there he abode without food forty days and forty nights.[97]

§ 12. While God was instructing Moses in the ordinances of divine worship,[98] the people had already relapsed into idolatry. We must remember that, as Egypt had been the scene of the people's childhood, their sojourn in the wilderness was their spiritual youth, the age of sensuous impressions and of unstable resolutions. The great works done for them were

[91] Deut. xxxiii. 2; Ps. lxviii. 17.

[92] Heb. xii. 22; comp. Jude 14, Rev. xiv. 1.

[93] Gal. iii. 21–25; Rom. vii. 7–25, and the general argument of the epistle.

[94] Ex. xxiv. 1, 2.

[95] Ex. xxiv. 2–8; Heb. ix. 18–20.

[96] Ex. xxiv. 9–11; Ez. i. 26, x. 1; Rev. iv. 3.

[97] Ex. xxiv. 12–18; Deut. ix. 9.

[98] Ex. xxiv.-xxxi. See chap. xv.

soon forgotten, while each present difficulty seemed insupportable. As the weeks passed by without the return of Moses, they began to think they had lost both their leader and their new-found god. They recalled the visible objects of worship, to which they had been used in Egypt, and they asked Aaron to make them gods to go before them.[99] Weakly yielding to their demand,[100] and perhaps hoping that they would not make the costly sacrifice, Aaron asked for their golden ear-rings, from which he made a "molten calf," the symbol of the Egyptian Apis. This he exhibited to the people as the image of the God who had brought them out of Egypt, and he built an altar before the idol. But yet it was in the name of Jehovah that he proclaimed a festival for the morrow, which the people celebrated with a banquet, followed by songs and lascivious dances.[101] This was on the last of the forty days, and God sent Moses down from the mount, telling him of Israel's sin, and declaring his purpose to destroy them, and to make of him a new nation. With self-denying importunity, Moses pleaded for the people, by the honor of God in the eyes of the Egyptians, and by His covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, "and Jehovah repented of the evil which he thought to do unto his people."[102]

Moses now descended from the mount, carrying in his hands the two tables of stone, on which God's own finger had written the Ten Commandments.[103] His path lay through a ravine, which cut off his view of the camp, but he soon heard their cry of revelry, which his warlike attendant Joshua mistook for the noise of battle. As he reached the plain, the disgraceful scene burst upon him, and in righteous anger he dashed the tables out of his hands, and broke them in pieces at the foot of the mount; giving at once a terrible significance for all future time to the phrase, a *broken law*, and a sign of man's inability to keep the law given on Sinai. For both Moses and the people, though in different ways, were showing, by their acts, that the first use to which man puts God's law is to break it. *Both* tables were broken, for idolatry had been followed by licentiousness. He next destroyed the calf by fire and pounding, strewed its dust upon the stream from which the people drank, and reproached Aaron, who could only offer feeble excuses. Then he executed a terrible example on the people. Standing in the gate of the camp, he cried, "Who is Jehovah's? to me!" and

[99] Ex. xxxii. 1.
[100] Comp. Ex. xxxii. 22, 23.
[101] Ex. xxxii. 6, 18, 25; 1 Cor. x. 7.
[102] Ex. xxxii. 7-14.
[103] Ex. xxxi. 18.

all his brethren of the tribe of Levi rallied round him, and went through the camp at his command, slaying about three thousand men, and not sparing their own kindred. This was the consecration of Levi to the service and priesthood of Jehovah. The blood shed by His righteous sentence expiated the violence done to the Shechemites, and turned into a blessing the curse that deed had brought on the father of their tribe,[104] and their sacrifice of their own feelings and affections for the cause of God marked them as fit to offer continual sacrifices for His people.[105]

The self-sacrifice of Moses went far greater lengths. On the morrow, he reproved the people for their sin, but promised to intercede for them; and then he addressed to Jehovah these awful words: "Yet now, if thou wilt forgive their sin—; and if not, *blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written.*"[106] The only parallel, *but one*, is the cry of Paul, "I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren."[107] It seems impious to suppose them willing to renounce their hope of eternal life; but all present share in God's covenant with His people they were willing to renounce. The exact sense of the prayer must remain an unfathomable mystery: its *spirit* was the spirit of Him of whom Moses as mediator was the type, who went through with the like self-sacrifice, and drank its cup to the dregs: "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, *being made a curse for us.*"[108]

But no mere man could drink of that cup, and God replied to Moses that the sinner himself should be blotted out of His book,[109] and He sent plagues upon the people.[110] Once more he promised to send His Angel before them, to be a mediator as well as leader.[111] At this the people murmured, thinking that they were to lose God's own presence, and they put themselves into mourning. Moses removed the sacred tent, called the "*tabernacle* of the congregation,"[112] out of the camp which had been profaned, and all

[104] Gen. xxxiv. 30, xlix. 5–7.
[105] Deut. xxxiii. 9, 10.
[106] Ex. xxxii. 32. [107] Rom. ix. 3.
[108] Gal. iii. 13. [109] Ex. xxxii, 33.
[110] Ex. xxxii. 35.
[111] Ex. xxxii. 34, and chap. xxxiii. 1–4.
[112] This was of course not *the tabernacle* itself, which was not yet made, nor was it the tent of Moses, for Moses himself went to it out of the camp, and returned again. It would seem, therefore, that, before the tabernacle, there was a sacred tent in the midst of the camp, at which perhaps the elders met and Moses judged the people, and where they assembled in the congregation. Afterward the tabernacle of Jehovah became the "tent of the congregation," for the sanctuary belonged to the people, and not only to the priests.

who sought Jehovah went out to it. When Moses himself went out, and entered the tabernacle, the pillar of cloud descended to its door, "and Jehovah spake unto Moses, face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend," while all the people looked on from their tent doors and worshiped. When Moses returned into the camp, Joshua remained in the tabernacle.

Having obtained pardon for the people, Moses prayed for a special encouragement to himself:—"Shew me now thy way, that I may know thee." Receiving the assurance that God's presence should be with him, to give him rest, he renewed the prayer, "Shew me thy glory." The answer seems to intimate that God's glory is in His goodness and in His grace and mercy; but that, in our present state, we can only follow the track which His glory leaves in the works of grace He does: we can not bear to look face to face at His perfections in their essence. He vouchsafed to Moses the outward sign for which he asked, promising to place him in a clift of the rock, and to hide him while the glory of Jehovah passed by, so that he could only see the train behind Him.

The narrative may be partly conceived by the help of the like vision which was granted to Elijah in this wilderness of Sinai.[113]

Moses went up alone into the mount, which was secured against intrusion, carrying with him two tables of stone to replace those which he had broken, for God made repeated trials of the people's faith. Then Jehovah descended in a cloud, and proclaimed His name as the God of mercy, grace, long-suffering, goodness and truth, from generation to generation. At this proclamation of God's true glory, Moses came forth to intercede once more for his people; and God renewed His covenant, to work wonders for them, and to bring them into the promised land, adding a new warning against their falling into the idolatry of Canaan.[114] This time also, Moses remained in the mount for forty days and forty nights,[115] and received anew the precepts of the law, as well as the two tables he had carried up, inscribed with the Ten Commandments by God himself.[116]

When Moses came down from the mount, the light of God's

[113] Ex. xxxiii. 12-23; 1 K. xix. 9-13.

[114] Ex. xxxiii. 1-17.

[115] The same period of separation from the world was accomplished by Elijah in the same desert, and by Christ, probably in the wilderness of Judæa (1 K. xix. 8; Matt. iv. 2).

[116] Exod. xxxiii. 18-28; Deut. ix. 18-25, x. 1-5.

glory shone so brightly from his face, that the people were unable to look at him, till he had covered it with a veil, while he recited to them the commandments that God had given him.[117]

§ 13. Moses now gathered a congregation of the people, and, after repeating the law of the Sabbath,[118] he asked their free gifts for the tabernacle and its furniture. The spoil of the Egyptians was brought as a free-will offering to Jehovah, jewels and precious metals, skins and woven fabrics, spices, oils, and incense. Two men were filled by God with skill for the work; Bezaleel, the son of Uri, of the tribe of Judah, and Aholiab, the son of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan; and they wrought with "every wise-hearted man, in whom Jehovah put wisdom and understanding to work for the service of the sanctuary." They soon found the offerings of the people far above what was required; and they made the tabernacle with its furniture and vessels, the cloths of service, and the garments of the priests, after the pattern shown to Moses in the mount, and Moses blessed them.[119]

All things being thus prepared, Moses was commanded to set up the tabernacle and place in it the ark of the covenant, and to anoint Aaron and his sons to the priesthood. The solemn ceremony took place on the first day of the first month of the second year from the epoch of the Exodus, March to April, B.C. 1490. Jehovah vouchsafed a visible token of His presence and approval by covering the tabernacle with the cloud and filling it with His glory, so that Moses could not enter into the tabernacle, and by sending down on the altar the sacred fire, with which alone the sacrifices were henceforth to be offered.[120] The scene thus simply and briefly related by Moses should be compared with the more elaborate description of the dedication of Solomon's temple, of which the tabernacle was the model.[121] A whole month was spent in arranging the service of the sanctuary, as it is set forth in the Book of Leviticus, before the people prepared for their onward journey.

[117] Ex. xxxiv. 29-35; comp. 1 Cor. iii. 12-18.

[118] Ex. xxxv. 1-3.

[119] Exod. xxxv.-xxxix. xxv. 40; Heb. viii. 25.

[120] Ex. xl.; Num. ix. 15, 16.

[121] 1 K. viii.; 2 Chron. vi. vii.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

(A.) STATIONS IN THE WILDERNESS.

Numbers XXXIII.

Station	Verses
I. IN EGYPT.	
1. Rameses	3–5
2. Succoth	5, 6
3. Etham	6, 7
4. Pi-hahiroth, near Baal-zephon and Migdol	7, 8
II. BEFORE REACHING SINAI. Through the sea to	
5. Marah	8, 9
6. Elim	9, 10
7. By the Red Sea	10, 11
8. Wilderness of Sin	11, 12
9. Dophkah	12, 13
10. Alush	13, 14
11. Rephidim	14, 15
12. Wilderness of Sinai	15, 16
III. FROM SINAI TO THE FRONTIER.	
13. Kibroth-hattaavah	16, 17
14. Hazeroth	17, 18
IV. STATIONS DURING THE WANDERING, till the return to Kadesh.*	
15. Rithmah	18, 19
16. Rimmon-parez	19, 20
17. Libnah	20, 21
18. Rissah	21, 22
19. Kehelathah	22, 23
20. Mount Shapher	23, 24
21. Haradah	24, 25
22. Makheloth	25, 26
23. Tahath	26, 27
24. Tarah	27, 28
25. Mithcah	28, 29
26. Hashmonah	29, 30
27. Moseroth	30, 31
28. Bene-jaakan	31, 32
29. Hor-hagidgad	32, 33
30. Jotbathah	33, 34
31. Ebronah	34, 35
32. Ezion-gaber	35, 36
33. *Wilderness of Zin*, which is KADESH	36, 37
V. FINAL JOURNEY AFTER THE FORTY YEARS' WANDERING.	
34. "Mount HOR, *in the edge* of Edom"	37–41
35. Zalmonah	41, 42
36. Punon	42, 43
37. Oboth	43, 44
38. Ije-Abarim (*i. e.*, heaps of Abarim), in the border of Moab	44, 45
39. Dibon-gad	45, 46
40. Almon-Diblathaim	46, 47
41. Mountains of Abarim, before Nebo	47, 48
42. *Plains of Moab, on borders of Jordan*	48, 49

* As the first stay at Kadesh is not mentioned in the list, the place of this division is only conjectural.

REMARKS.

13. The Taberah of Num. xi. 3 and Deut. ix. 22 is omitted from the list. The "burning" from which it took its name may have occurred at the same station as "the graves of lust."

15. Rithmah signifies the plant *genista* or *broom.*

26. Probably near Moseroth, perhaps *Ain Hasb*, N.W. in the Arabah.

27. Deut. x. 6. "From *Beeroth of the children of Jaakan* to Moserah: there Aaron died and was buried." Perhaps *Kusheibeh*, at the mouth of the *Wady Abu*, near the foot of Mount Hor.

28. (*i. e.*, wells called after their name). Jaakan was the grandson of Seir the Horite (1 Chron. i. 42). *Ain Ghurundel.*

29. *Gudgodah* (Deut. x. 7), perhaps *Wady el-Ghudhagidh.*

30. Jotbath, "a land of rivers of waters" (Deut. x. 7). Perhaps at the confluence of *Wady el-Adbah* with *el-Jerajeh*. "At that time Jehovah separated Levi," etc. (Deut. x. 8).

31. Perhaps a ford across the head of the Gulf of Akabah.

34. Here Aaron died; and here king Arad the Canaanite heard of their coming.

(B.) PI-HAHIROTH, MIGDOL, AND BAAL-ZEPHON.

After leaving Etham the direction of the route changed. The Israelites were commanded "to turn and encamp before Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, over against Baal-zephon" (Ex. xiv. 2). Therefore it is most probable that they at once turned, although they may have done so later in the march. The direction can not be doubted, if our description of the route thus far be correct, for they would have been entangled (ver. 3) only by turning southward, not northward. They encamped for the night

by the sea, probably after a full day's journey. The place of their encampment and of the passage of the sea would therefore be not far from the Persepolitan monument, which is made in Linant's map the site of the Serapeum. We do not venture to attempt the identification of the places mentioned in the narrative with modern sites. Something, however, may be gathered from the names of the places. The position of the Israelite encampment was before Pi-hahiroth, behind which was Migdol, and on the other hand Baal-zephon and the sea. Pi-hahiroth or Hahiroth is probably the name of a natural locality. The separable prefix is evidently the Egyptian masculine article, and we therefore hold the name to be Egyptian. Jablonsky proposed the Coptic etymology, "the place where sedge grows," which may be identified with the modern *Ghuweybet-el-boos*, "the bed of reeds." Migdol appears to have been a common name for a frontier watch-tower. Baal-zephon we take to have had a similar meaning to that of Migdol. We should expect, therefore, that the encampment would have been in a depression, partly marshy, having on either hand an elevation marked by a watch-tower.

(C.) MANNA.

The natural products of the Arabian deserts and other Oriental regions which bear the name of manna, have not the qualities or use ascribed to the manna of Scripture. The manna of Scripture must be regarded as wholly miraculous, and not in any respect a product of nature. The Arabian physician Avicenna gives the following description of the manna, which in his time was used as a medicine: "Manna is a dew which falls on stones or bushes, becomes thick like honey, and can be hardened so as to be like grains of corn." The substance now called manna in the Arabian desert, through which the Israelites passed, is collected in the month of June from the *tarfa* or tamarisk shrub (*Tamarix gallica*). According to Burckhardt, it drops from the thorns on the sticks and leaves with which the ground is covered, and must be gathered early in the day, or it will be melted by the sun. The Arabs cleanse and boil it, strain it through a cloth, and put it in leathern bottles; and in this way it can be kept uninjured for several years. They use it like honey or butter with their unleavened bread, but never make it into cakes or eat it by itself. Rauwolf and some more recent travellers have observed that the dried grains of the Oriental manna were like the coriander-seed. Niebuhr observed that at Mardin, in Mesopotamia, the manna lies like meal on the leaves of a tree called in the East *ballôt*, and *afs* or *as*, which he regards as a species of oak. The harvest is in July and August, and much more plentiful in wet than dry seasons. In the valley of the Jordan Burckhardt found manna like gum on the leaves and branches of the tree *gharrob*, which is as large as the olive-tree, having a leaf like the poplar, though somewhat broader. Two other shrubs, which have been supposed to yield the manna of Scripture, are the *Alhagi maurorum*, or Persian *manna*, and the *Alhagi desertorum*—thorny plants common in Syria. The manna of European commerce comes mostly from Calabria and Sicily. It is gathered during the months of June and July from some species of ash (*Ornus Europœa* and *Ornus rotundifolia*), from which it drops in consequence of a puncture by an insect resembling the locust, but distinguished from it by having a sting under its body. The substance is fluid at night, and resembles the dew, but in the morning it begins to harden



Bronze figure of Apis. (See p. 172.)

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ADVANCE FROM SINAI, AND THE WANDERING IN THE WILDERNESS. A.M. 2514–2552. B.C. 1490–1452.

§ 1. Numbering of the people—Order of the camp and march. § 2. Numbering of the first-born and of the Levites. § 3. Other events at Sinai—Purification of the camp—Order of Nazarites—Second Passover—Nadab and Abihu—The blasphemer stoned. § 4. Departure from Sinai—Hobab their guide—Manner of the march. § 5. The route from Sinai—Entrance designed by way of Hebron—The Wilderness of Paran — *Taberah*. § 6. *Kibroth-hattaavah* — Quails — Pestilence — Appointment of the seventy elders—Their gift of prophesying. § 7. *Hazeroth*—Sedition of Miriam and Aaron—Testimony to the meekness and fidelity of Moses. § 8. *Kadesh-barnea*—difficulties about its site. § 9. The spies sent out—Their return and report—Rebellion of the people—Fidelity of Caleb and Joshua. § 10. Attempt to scale the pass defeated by the Amorites, Canaanites, and Amalekites. § 11. Beginning of the thirty-eight years' wanderings—Their direction and object. § 12. Some transactions of these years—i. The Sabbath-breaker stoned—ii. Rebellion and fate of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, with 250 princes—iii. The plague stayed by Aaron—iv. The blossoming of Aaron's rod—The charge of the sanctuary given to the Levites.

§ 1. On the first day of the second month of the second year from the epoch of the Exodus (Jyar=May, 1490), Jehovah commanded Moses to number the people able to bear arms, from twenty years old and upward. The census was to be taken by Aaron, with a chosen assistant from each tribe, except that of Levi. The Levites were exempted from military service, and numbered separately.

The other tribes were made up to twelve by the division of Joseph into Ephraim and Manasseh. The following is the

result, in the order given in the book of *Numbers*, which takes its title from this census:—

Reuben	46,500	(Joseph): Ephraim	40,500
Simeon	59,300	(Joseph): Manasseh	32,200
Gad	45,650	Benjamin	35,400
Judah	74,600	Dan	62,700
Issachar	54,400	Asher	41,500
Zebulun	57,400	Naphtali	53,400
Total of the military array			603,550

These may be taken as the exact figures corresponding to the round number of 600,000, as given at the Exodus. From the identity of the total, and the improbability of there being two numberings in one year, this seems to be the same as the census mentioned before, in connection with the half-shekel tax for the service of the sanctuary.[1]

The object of the census was military, in preparation for the march to Canaan. A captain was appointed for every tribe; and the whole host was divided into four camps, which surrounded the tabernacle during a halt, and went before and after it on the march, in the following order:—

i. On the *East*, and in the *van:* the camp of JUDAH, with Issachar and Zebulun, 186,400 men.

ii. On the *South*, and *second:* the camp of REUBEN, with Simeon and Gad, 151,450 men.

The TABERNACLE and Levi.

iii. On the *West*, and last but *one:* the camp of EPHRAIM, with Manasseh and Benjamin, 108,100 men.

iv. On the *North*, and in the *rear:* the camp of Dan, with Asher and Naphtali, 157,600 men.

Each tribe had its standard.

§ 2. Another object of the census was religious. The above numbers, besides excluding the tribe of Levi, included some who had no right there, as not being *sui juris*, namely, the *first-born*, who were consecrated to Jehovah.[2] Of both these classes, the Levites and the first-born, the census included the males from one month old and upward, and there were found to be[3]—

Of the first-born	22,273
Of the tribe of Levi	22,000
Difference	273

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[1] Ex. xxxviii. 26.

[2] Ex. xiii. 1, 2, 11–16.

[3] The separate numbers in Num. iii. (Gershon, 7500; Kohath, 8600; Merari, 6200) give a total of 23,300. The received solution of the discrep-

The Levites were taken for the service of Jehovah, in place of the first-born, man for man: the remaining 273 were redeemed for five shekels each; and this sum of 1365 shekels was given to Aaron and his sons. The cattle of the Levites were taken instead of the first-born cattle.[4]

This substitution of the Levites for the first-born gave the former a sacrificial as well as a sacerdotal holiness to Jehovah, an idea extended to all the redeemed, as "the church of the first-born."[5]

The Levites were again numbered, from thirty[6] to fifty years, for the service of the sanctuary; and to each of their three families their respective duties were assigned.[7] The numbers were—

Of the Kohathites	2750
Of the sons of Gershon	2630
Of the sons of Merari	3200
Total of priests and Levites	8580

§ 3. The description of this census, in the book of *Numbers*, immediately after the setting up of the tabernacle, anticipates some events which occurred in the interval before the march was resumed—such as the purification of the camp by excluding the unclean,[8] the institution of the order of *Nazarites*,[9] and the offerings of the princes of Israel (the heads of the twelve tribes), at the dedication of the temple and of the altar.[10] Here also we read the beautiful form prescribed for the blessing of Aaron and his sons upon the people in God's name:[11]—

> "JEHOVAH bless thee: and keep thee.
> JEHOVAH make His face to shine upon thee:
> and be gracious unto thee.
> JEHOVAH lift up His countenance upon thee:
> and give thee peace."

A special mention is made of the second celebration of the Passover in the wilderness of Sinai, with the addition of a new law permitting those who were defiled, or travelling, to

ancy is that 300 were the first-born of the Levites, who as such were already consecrated, and therefore could not take the place of others. Talmudic traditions add that the question, which of the Israelites should be redeemed by a Levite, or which should pay the five shekels, was settled by lot.

[4] Num. i.–iii. viii.

[5] Heb. xii. 23.

[6] The mention of twenty-five in Num. viii. 24, as the age of entrance, must be understood either of a probationary period during which they were trained for their duties, or of the lighter work of keeping the gates of the tabernacle.

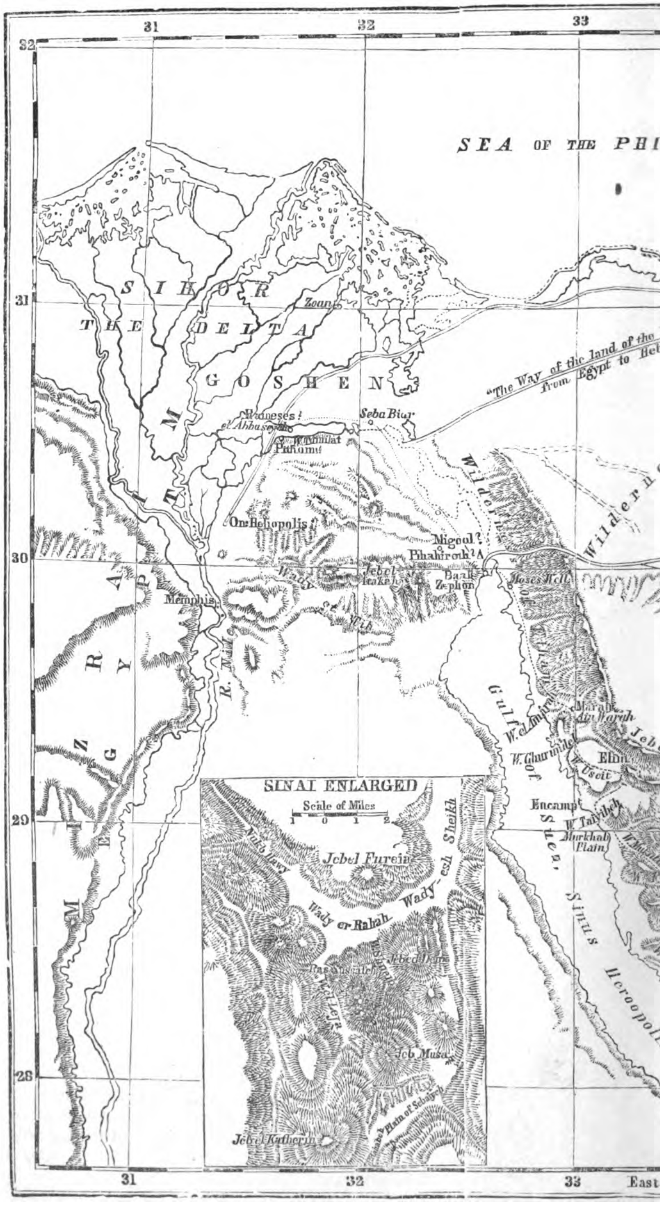
[7] See chap. xv.

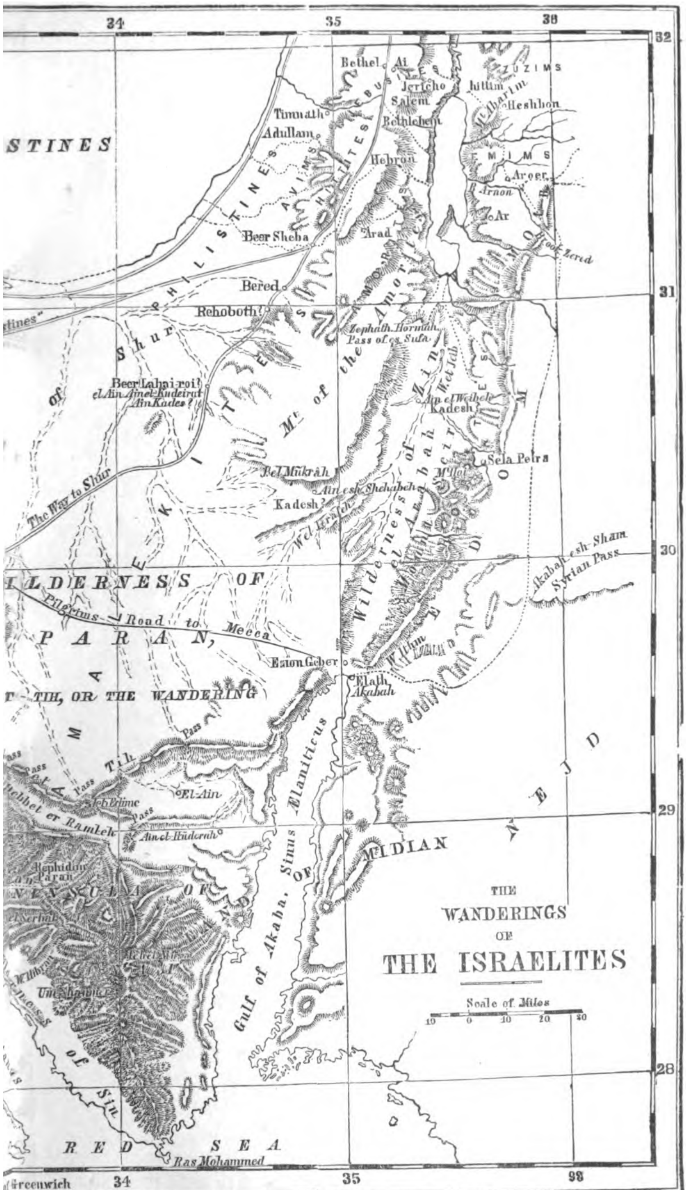
[8] Num. v. 1–4.

[9] Num. vi. 1–21.

[10] Num. vii.

[11] Num. vi. 22–27.


SEA OF THE PHI
SIHOR
THE DELTA
GOSHEN
Zoan
"The Way of the land of the P
from Egypt to Hebr
Seba Biar
Rameses?
Pithom
On Heliopolis
Migdol?
Pihahiroth
Baal Zephon
Jebel Atakah
Memphis
R. Nile
EGYPT
Wilderness
Moses Well
Gulf of Suez
Marah
Elim
Encamp
Sinus Heroopolit
SINAI ENLARGED
Scale of Miles
Jebel Fureia
Wady er Rahah
Wady esh Sheikh
Jeb Musa
Jebel Katherin
East


THE
WANDERINGS
OF
THE ISRAELITES
Scale of Miles
Bethel
Jericho
Salem
Bethlehem
Timnath
Adullam
Hebron
Heshbon
Aroer
Arad
Beer Sheba
Bered
Rehoboth?
Beer Lahai-roi?
Kadesh?
Kadesh
Sela Petra
Ezion Geber
Elath
Akabah
El-Ain
MIDIAN
RED SEA
Ras Mohammed
Gulf of Akaba
The Way to Shur
Pilgrims Road to Mecca
PARAN
ZUZIMS
EMIMS
PHILISTINES
AVIMS
NEJD
Syrian Pass
Greenwich

keep it a month later.[12] The Book of Leviticus also mentions incidentally the death of Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, by fire from Jehovah, for offering "strange fire" on the altar of incense, instead of the sacred fire sent down from God. It appears from the sequel that the sacrilege was committed in drunken recklessness. Aaron and his surviving sons were forbidden to defile the priesthood by the utterance of their natural grief, and commanded to remain within the tabernacle, leaving the congregation to "bewail the burning which Jehovah had kindled." The law was laid down that the priests should drink no wine or strong drink when they went into the tabernacle, lest they should be incapacitated from distinguishing between the holy and the unholy, between the unclean and the clean. Even the survivors incurred the severe displeasure of Moses for not eating the sin-offering in the Holy Place.[13] Such were the terrors that beset the dignity of the priesthood, conferred by the law on "men compassed with infirmity."[14]

To this interval belongs also the death by stoning of a man who had blasphemed "the NAME." This blasphemer was the son of a Hebrew woman named Shelomith, and of an Egyptian father; and here we have an example of the evils introduced by the "mixed multitude" who came with the people out of Egypt, as well as of the fact that such marriages were made before the Exodus.[15]

§ 4. At length the word of Jehovah came to them that they had dwelt long enough in this mountain, and commanding them to turn and journey onward.[16] The land of their destination was described with reference to the promises to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,[17] but in more minute detail. They were directed to go, as the first aim of their journey, "to the *mount of the Amorites*," that is, the highlands of Judah and Ephraim, which rise on the north of the desert of *et-Tih*, and fill the central part of Southern Palestine. To this is added the mention of "all the places nigh thereunto, in the *plain* (*Arabah*,") which seems here to mean the whole valley of the Jordan, and its lakes; "in the *hills*," probably of Judah, and perhaps including Mount Gilead, east of the Jordan; "in the *vale* (*shephelah*,") that is, the lowlands situated in the land of the Philistines; "in the *south*," the special portion of Judah; "by the *sea-side*," the great littoral region north of Carmel, as far as Phœnicia; to *the land of the*

[12] Num. ix. 1–14. [13] Lev. x. [14] Heb. v. 2, vii. 28.
[15] Lev. xxiv. [16] Deut. i. 6, 7. [17] Deut. i. 8.

Canaanites," or Northern Palestine; "and unto *Lebanon*;" "to the *great river, the river Euphrates*."[18]

On the twentieth day of the second month of the second year (about May 20, 1490 B.C.), the cloud of Jehovah's presence was lifted up from the tabernacle, as the sign of departure; and the tabernacle itself was taken down.[19] At the alarm blown by the two silver trumpets, which God had commanded to be made,[20] each of the four camps set forward in its appointed order, and the host followed the cloud into the wilderness of Paran.[21] This divine guidance relieved Moses from all responsibility as to the direction of the journey.[22] Moses invited Hobab, either his father-in-law, or brother-in-law,[23] to go with them, in those memorable words so often quoted in a wider sense—"We are journeying unto the place of which Jehovah said, I will give it you: come with us, and we will do thee good: for Jehovah hath spoken good concerning Israel;" and Hobab consented to guide them through the desert.[24] He appears as the experienced Bedouin sheikh, to whom Moses looked for the material safety of his cumbrous caravan in the new and difficult ground before them. The tracks and passes of that "waste howling wilderness" were all familiar to him, and his practiced sight would be to them "instead of eyes" in discerning the distant clumps of verdure which betokened the wells or springs for the daily encampment, and in giving timely warning of the approach of Amalekites, or other spoilers of the desert. "The ark of the covenant of Jehovah went before them, to search out a resting-place for them. And the cloud of Jehovah was upon them by day, when they went out of the camp."[25] When the ark set forward, Moses cried, "Rise up, O Jehovah, and let thine enemies be scattered; and let them that hate thee flee before thee." And when it rested, he said, "Return, O Jehovah, unto the ten thousand thousands

[18] Comp. Gen. xv. 18.
[19] Num. x. 11–17.
[20] Num. x. 1–10. [21] Num. x. 12.
[22] Num. ix. 17–23.
[23] In favor of his being the brother-in-law of Moses there is the express statement that Hobab was "the son of Raguel" (Num. x. 29); Raguel or Reuel — the Hebrew word in both cases is the same — being identified with Jethro, not only in Exod. ii. 18 (comp. iii. 1, etc.), but also by Josephus, who constantly gives him that name; but the addition, the father-in-law of Moses," though in most of the ancient versions connected with Hobab will in the original read either way, so that no argument can be founded on them. In favor of Hobab's identity with Jethro are the words of Judg. iv. 11, and the Mohammedan traditions are in favor of this identity, He is known in the Koran and elsewhere, and in the East at the present day, by the name of *Sho'eib*, doubtless a corruption of Hobab.
[24] Num. x. 29–32.
[25] Num. x. 33, 34.

of Israel."[26] Thus they went three days' journey into the wilderness of Paran.[27]

§ 5. In following the route of the Israelites, we must try to determine two or three chief positions. The general direction is northward from Sinai "to the mount of the Amorites," the highlands of Southern Palestine.[28] The two extremes are the camp before Sinai on the south, and the "city" of KADESH, or Kadesh-barnea, on the north.[29] The distance between these points was eleven days' journey (about 165 miles), "by the way of Mount *Seir*."[30] This is evidently mentioned as the ordinary route, and it seems to be implied (though this must not be assumed as certain) that it was followed by the Israelites. If it were so, their course would lie nearly along, or parallel to the *Gulf of Akabah*, and up the wide plain of the *Arabah*, which runs northward from the head of the gulf, between Mount Seir on the east and the desert of *et-Tih* on the west. Their present journey must be carefully distinguished from their final march into Palestine, at the end of the thirty-eight years' wandering in the wilderness. On that occasion they *descended* the *Arabah*,[31] after being refused permission to pass through Edom, rested at Elath (*Akabah*), at the head of the Gulf of Akabah;[32] and whence, turning the southern point of Mount Seir, they skirted its eastern side to the country of Moab, east of the Jordan. But, on their first march, there is no clear evidence that they rested at the head of the *Gulf of Akabah*, or passed up the *Arabah;* and the probabilities are very nicely balanced. Much of the difficulty arises from confounding the directions in which they proposed to enter Palestine on the two occasions. Their final entrance was made from the east, by way of the plains of Moab; but their first entrance was to have been from the south, by way of Hebron. This is clear from the command to march to the mountain of the Amorites: from the description of the circuit made by the spies, and especially from their visiting Hebron and Eshcol.[33] Whatever, therefore, the route to Kadesh may have been, that station was a final starting-point for Hebron; and thus we have some guide for the latter part of the journey.

Between "the mount of the Amorites" and the group of Sinai, lies the great table-land now called the desert of *et-*

[26] Num. x. 35, 36; comp. Ps. lxviii. 1, 2, cxxxii. 8.

[27] Num. x. 12, 33.

[28] § 4.

[29] Num. xiii. 26, xx. 6, xxxii. 8.

[30] Deut. i. 2.

[31] On the position of the Arabah, see *Notes and Illustrations* (A), THE ARABAH.

[32] Deut. ii. 8.

[33] Num. xiii. 17–25; see § 9.

Tîh (the *wandering*). There can be no doubt of its general correspondence to the *wilderness of Paran*, in which the cloud rested, when it was first lifted up from the tabernacle.[34] This arid tract of limestone answers well to the description of Moses: "When we departed from Horeb, we went through *all that great and terrible wilderness*, which ye saw by the way of the mountain of the Amorites; and we came to Kadesh-barnea."[35] Its limits are clearly marked out by the mountain ranges, which divide it on the south-west from the desert of Shur, on the south from that of Sinai, and on the east from the *Arabah*. The range which divides it on the south from the desert of Sinai is also called *et-Tîh;* and this the Israelites seem to have crossed, in passing out of the wilderness of Sinai to that of Paran. But it is not clear that they made this passage in their first journey of three days.[36] It took them some time to get clear of the *wadys* about Sinai; and although Paran is mentioned from the first as the region into which they passed, the three important stations of TABERAH, KIBROTH-HATTAAVAH, and HAZEROTH[37] can hardly be reckoned to Paran, as they are said to have encamped in the wilderness of Paran after leaving Hazeroth.[38] Unfortunately these three names furnish little, if any, clew to the route they took from Sinai. TABERAH (a *burning*) records the awful judgment that befell the people, who now began again to murmur against Jehovah. "Fire burnt among them, and consumed those that were in the uttermost parts of the camp;"[39] doubtless, from the order of the encampment, the mixed multitude who came with the people out of Egypt.

§ 6. The name of the next station, KIBROTH-HATTAAVAH (the *graves of lust*), is of similar origin. On this occasion too the rebellion began with "the mixed multitude."[40] Their lust for better food spread to the Israelites, who, remembering the fish and the vegetables of Egypt, loathed the manna, and asked for flesh. God sent them quails, on which they surfeited themselves for a whole month;[41] and while the flesh was yet between their teeth, they were smitten with a great plague, which gave the place its name. The mention of the sea in two passages of this narrative has been used as an argument that the route thus far was along the valleys which run eastward from Sinai to the Gulf of Akabah; but the sea is near to any part of the peninsula, and the flights of birds

[34] Num. x. 12.
[35] Deut. i. 19.
[36] Num. x. 33.
[37] Num. xi. 3, 34, 35, xxxiii. 17.
[38] Num. xii. 16.
[39] Num. xi. 2, 3.
[40] Num. xi. 4.
[41] Num. xi. 20.

which have attracted the attention of travellers are characteristic of the whole region.[42]

A very important institution arose out of this rebellion. Moses complained to Jehovah that the burden of the people was too great for him to bear alone. He was directed to choose seventy[43] of the elders of Israel, and to present them before the tabernacle; where Jehovah came down in the cloud, and gave them a share of the Spirit that was on Moses, and they prophesied. Two of them who had not come out to the tabernacle, Eldad and Medad, prophesied in the camp: an intimation of the truth, so often taught by the prophets, that even in the old dispensation the power of God's Spirit transcended the forms and places of his own appointment. But the devout zealot is slow to receive this truth; and so Joshua prayed Moses to forbid them, just as the disciples asked Christ to forbid those who wrought miracles, but did not follow in his train; and both received answers in the same spirit.[44]

The appointment of the seventy elders has often been regarded as the germ of the *Sanhedrim.* They seem rather to have been a Senate, whose office was confined to assisting Moses in the government, and ceased with the cessation of his leadership. No trace of the Sanhedrim is found till the return from the Babylonish captivity. It is more certain that the manner of their consecration prefigured the order of the *Prophets.* The irresistible force with which the divine Spirit impelled them to prophesy has several parallels in the Jewish history, and is yet to be fulfilled in the pouring out of God's Spirit on all flesh.[45]

§ 7. For the next halting-place, HAZEROTH (the *enclosures*), a site has been found at the *Wady Huderah*, on the main route from Sinai to the shores of the Gulf of Akabah.[46] It lies on the margin between the granite of the *Tur* and the sandstone of the *Debbet-er-Ramleh*, and therefore properly

[42] Both Schubert, between Sinai and the *Wady Murrah* (*Reisen*, 360), and Stanley (*S. and P.* 82), just before reaching *Hŭdherâ*, encountered flights of birds — the latter says of "red-legged cranes." Ritter speaks of such flights as a constant phenomenon, both in this peninsula and in the Euphrates region. Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria*, 406, Aug. 8, quotes Russell's *Aleppo*, ii. 194, and says the bird *Katta* is found in great numbers in the neighborhood of *Tŭfileh.* He calls it a species of partridge, or not improbably the *Seloua*, or quail. Boys not uncommonly kill three or four of them at one throw with a stick.

[43] Doubtless six from each tribe, Moses and Aaron making up the six for the tribe of Levi.

[44] Num. xi. 24-29; comp. Mark ix. 38; Luke ix. 49; John iii. 26; 1 Cor. xiv. 5.

[45] 1 Sam. x. 5, 6, 10, xix. 20-23; Joel ii. 29; Acts ii. 17, 18; 1 Cor. xiv.

[46] Num. xi. 35.

neither in the desert of Sinai, nor in that of Paran.[47] Close to *Huderah* is a brook called *El-Ain* (*the* water), of itself a strong argument for this route, and inviting an encampment for a considerable time, such as the name seems to imply.[48]

At Hazeroth Moses was troubled by a seditious opposition from Miriam and Aaron. They spake against him because of the *Cushite* woman whom he had married, probably his Midianite wife, Zipporah; and placed their authority on a level with his.[49] On this occasion we have that celebrated description of the character of Moses: "Now the man Moses was very meek, above all the men that were on the face of the earth."[50] We have also that testimony to his faithfulness as a servant set over the house of God, which the Apostle uses as a type of Christ's government over His own house, the Church.[51] Jehovah called forth Aaron and Miriam, with Moses, to the tabernacle, and declared His pleasure to converse with Moses openly, mouth to mouth, and not, as to other prophets, in visions, dreams, and dark speeches (parables); and reproved them for speaking against him. Miriam was smitten with leprosy; and, though she was healed at the prayer of Moses, Aaron, as the high-priest, was obliged to shut her out from the camp for seven days; after which "the people removed from Hazeroth, and pitched in the wilderness of Paran."

§ 8. Here is the Gordian knot of the topography. We are not told at what point they passed into the wilderness of Paran, nor how many stages they made in it. We find them next at KADESH, whence the spies were sent out;[52] but to determine the position of Kadesh itself is the great problem of the whole route. We obtain no help from the list of stations,[53] in which Kadesh is not mentioned, and the name of Hazeroth is followed by several unknown places, of which it is even uncertain whether they belong to this journey, or to the years of wandering in the wilderness. The latter seems the more probable alternative, since the mention of Mount Hor[54] clearly refers to the fortieth year, and at least the eight preceding

[47] Comp. Num. xii. 16, with xxxiii. 18.

[48] It signifies the *villages* of a people in an unsettled state of life, intermediate between tents and permanent cities. It is quite possible, however, that the name may refer to those complicated masses of rock which often seem to shut in the traveller in these regions.

[49] Num. xii. 1, 2. Some suppose the reference to be to some Egyptian wife whom Moses had married before he fled from Egypt, and who had afterward rejoined him.

[50] Num. xii. 3.

[51] Num. xii. 7; Heb. iii. 2, 5; comp. 1 Tim. iii. 15.

[52] Num. xiii. 26; Deut. i. 19.

[53] Num. xxxiii.

[54] Num. xxxiii. 37-41.

stations[55] are closely connected with it;[53] while the halt at Kadesh[57] must be understood of a return to that place after the long wanderings.[58] The only escape from these difficulties is by the hypothesis that Kadesh served as a sort of head-quarters during the thirty-eight years of wandering.[59] The Israelites arrived at Kadesh forty days before the vintage,[60] or about the latter part of August; and they made there a longer halt than at any other place, except before Sinai.

§ 9. At Kadesh, Jehovah declared to the people that they had reached the mountain of the Amorites, into which they were to ascend, to possess the land He had given them.[61] But first the country was explored by twelve spies, who were heads of their respective tribes.[62] Their names are given at length, but only two of them are memorable, Caleb, the son of Jephunneh, of the tribe of Judah, and Oshea, the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, whom Moses had called *Joshua*, i. e., *Saviour*. They searched the land for forty days, ascending the Ghor and the valley of the Jordan, as far as Rehob, on the way to Hamath (i. e., Anti-libanus), in the extreme north. Thence they returned to Hebron, and explored the region round that city, in which their father Abraham had dwelt as a stranger, near the Amorite princes Aner, and Mamre, and Eshcol—the last of whom seems still to have derived his name (*Eshcol*=a cluster of grapes) from the rich vine-clad valley of which he was the prince.[63] From that valley the spies brought a cluster of grapes so large that it was borne between two men upon a staff, together with pomegranates and figs: for it was the season of the first ripe grapes.[64] These proofs confirmed their report that the land was all that Jehovah had promised, "It is a good land that Jehovah our God doth give us:[65] surely it floweth with milk and honey."[66] Indeed we can but faintly judge of the impression made upon them

[55] Num. xxxiii. 31–37.
[56] Comp. Deut. x. 6, 7.
[57] Num. xxxiii. 36–37.
[58] Comp. Num. xx. 1.
[59] See *Notes and Illustrat.* (B), KADESH.
[60] § 9.
[61] Deut. i. 20, 21.
[62] Num. xiii. 1–16; Deut. i. 22, 23.
[63] The Jewish traveller Ha-Parchi speaks of Eshcol as north of the mountain on which Hebron stood (Benjamin of Tudela, *Asher*, ii. 437); and here the name has been lately observed still attached to a spring of remarkably fine water called *'Ain Eshkali*, in a valley which crosses the vale of Hebron N.E. and S.W., and about two miles north of the town (Van de Velde, ii. 64).
[64] Num. xiii. 20–25; Deut. i. 24, 25.
[65] Deut. i. 25.
[66] Num. xiii. 27; comp. Ex. iii. 8, 17, xiii. 5, xxxiii. 3. This too often suggests only a vague idea of luxuriant plenty to readers who forget that, in the absence of the sugar-cane, *honey* is a necessary of life. "Milk and honey" contain all the essential elements of food, besides corn and wine, which are elsewhere mentioned as abounding in Palestine.

—after a year and a half of confinement to the desert—by the glowing description of travellers who have entered Palestine from the same side.[67] But, when they went on to tell of the people they had seen there, inhabiting great walled cities—the Amalekites in the south, the Hittites, Jebusites, and Amorites in the mountains, and the Canaanites along the sea-shore and in the valley of the Jordan, and especially the giant sons of Anak, before whom they felt themselves as grasshoppers, their good report became an evil one. Caleb alone, supported afterward by Joshua, tried to calm the people, assuring them that they were able to conquer the land. The other spies not only exaggerated the strength of the enemy, but began to find fault with the land itself, as "a land that eateth up the inhabitants thereof."[68] The people spent the night in bewailing their lost hopes.[69]

In the morning they broke out into open rebellion, and proposed to elect a captain and to return to Egypt. In vain did Moses and Aaron fall down before the people; in vain did Caleb and Joshua reiterate their assurance of victory, in the strength of Jehovah's promise and presence, and exhort the people, above all things, not to rebel against Him. All the congregation had already taken up stones to stone them, when the glory of Jehovah shone forth from the tabernacle, and He spake to Moses, declaring that He would disinherit the people, and make of him a nation. Once more, as before Sinai, the intercession of Moses prevailed; but in pardoning the nation, Jehovah swore by himself that "the whole earth should be filled with His glory," in the example he would make of the men who had rebelled against him, not one of whom, save Caleb,[70] should see the promised land. The execution of the sentence was to begin on the morrow, by their turning into the wilderness by the way of the Red Sea. There they were to wander for forty years—a year for each day that the spies had searched the land—till all the men of twenty years old and upward had left their carcasses in the

[67] Stanley, *S. and P.*, pp. 98–192.

[68] Num. xiii. 32. This obscure phrase seems to mean that the enjoyment of the abundant produce of the land was marred by the constant danger from surrounding enemies, as attacks were invited by its fertility (comp. xiv. 9).

[69] Num. xiv. 1.

[70] Joshua is not mentioned here (Num. xiv. 24), probably because his destined leadership was already known to Moses, as his new name implies; but he is expressly named with Caleb in the repetition of the sentence to the people (Num. xiv. 30). Still, as Caleb was the first to withstand the rebellion, he receives the higher praise and reward (Num. xiv. 24; Deut. i. 36). Hebron itself was made his inheritance (Josh. xiv. 6–15).

desert; and then at length their children, having shared their wanderings, should enter on their inheritance.[71] As an earnest of the judgment, the ten faithless spies were slain by a plague.[72]

§ 10. Now that it was too late, the people changed their mind; and, having lost the opportunity given them by God. they tried to seize it against His will. In the morning they marched up the mountain-pass (*es-Sŭfa*), in spite of the warning of Moses—that it should not prosper; and the Amalekites and Canaanites, coming down upon them with the Amorites of the mountain, defeated them with great slaughter, and chased them as far as Hormah, and even to Mount Seir.[73] The entrance to the promised land on this side was now hopelessly barred; and their forlorn state is thus described by Moses—"And ye returned and wept before Jehovah; but Jehovah would not hearken to your voice nor give ear unto you."[74]

§ 11. The thirty-eight years (or rather exactly thirty-seven years and a half) occupied in the execution of God's judgment on "the generation that grieved him in the wilderness, and to whom he sware in his wrath, They shall not enter into my rest," form almost a blank in the sacred history. Their close may be fixed at the period of the final march from Kadesh to Mount Hor, and thence down through the *Arabah*, and up the eastern side of Mount Seir, to the plains of Moab.[75] But the intervening portions of the narrative are most difficult to assign to their proper place—whether to the first or final stay at Kadesh, or to the years between. The mystery which hangs over this period seems like an awful silence into which the rebels sink away.

After the rout in Hormah, the people "abode in Kadesh many days."[76] This phrase may possibly cover the whole period of the wandering; and Kadesh may very well be taken for a general name of the wilderness.[77] The direction in which the people started on their wanderings is defined, "*by*

[71] Num. xiv. [72] Num. xiv. 36, 37.

[73] Num. xiv. 40-45; Deut. i. 41-44. The ancient name of Hormah was Zephath (Judg. i. 17). Robinson (ii. 181) identifies the pass *es-Sŭfa* with Zephath, in respect both of the name, which is sufficiently similar, and of the situation, which is a probable one, viz., the gap in the mountain barrier, which, running about S.W. and N.E., completes the plateau of Southern Palestine, and rises above the less elevated step—the level of the desert *et-Tîh*—interposed between it and the Ghor.

[74] Deut. i. 45, 46.

[75] Num. xx. 1, xxxiii. 37; Deut. ii. 23. In a wider sense they include the final march as far as the brook Zered on the confines of Moab (Deut. ii. 14).

[76] Deut. i. 46.

[77] See Ps. xxix. 8.

the way of the Red Sea,"[78] which seems clearly to mean down the *Arabah* to the head of the Elanitic Gulf. Now it seems that the passage in Deut. ii. 1, must be referred to this same "turning into the wilderness by the way of the Red Sea," and not to the final march, the signal for which is recorded at v. 3;[79] and this is confirmed by the computation of the thirty-eight years of wandering from the time they left Kadesh-barnea.[80] If this be so, we have a clew to the direction of the wandering in the words, "and we compassed Mount Seir many days;" words which point to the *Arabah*. With this agrees the notice of their last march back to Kadesh, being from Ezion-gaber at the head of the *Gulf of Akabah*.[81]

There is another light, in which the question has hardly been yet regarded. We have often felt staggered at the idea of this vast multitude being led up and down the awful desolations of the *Tih*, amid terrific sufferings to men, women, children, and cattle, with no assignable purpose, except to spend out the allotted years; and we would rather believe that God mitigated their punishment, than that He added any unnecessary suffering to the sentence of the gradual death of the grown-up generation. Nor do we read of any such sufferings as they must have endured had they plunged into the *Tih:* it is not till their return to Kadesh that we find them wanting water.[82] Is it not more consistent with the spirit of the narrative, and with the ways of God, to suppose that their wanderings had at least an apparent object, which determined their direction and extent? When they found that they could not scale the mountain passes of the Amorites, their southward journey might well have for its object to find some passage through Edom to the east by the route they at last followed; and it may have been with this hope that "they compassed Mount Seir for many days." Then, as in the end, they may have met with a refusal from the Edomites; and so have waited about their head-quarters at Kadesh, trying sometimes one passage and sometimes another, but shut out on both sides;[83] and meanwhile leading a nomad life, chiefly among the pastures of the Arabah, till

[78] Num. xiv. 25; Deut. i. 40.

[79] The direction *northward* is that which they would have taken if the Edomites had not refused them a passage (comp. Num. xiv. 4–7, with Num. xx. 14–19); and the change of route is indicated at Num. xiv. 8.

[80] Num. xiv. 14.

[81] Num. xxxiii 36; the few preceding stations to which we have any guide seem also to be near the Edomites.

[82] Num. xx.

[83] Their encounter with Arad the Canaanite at Hormah seems to indicate another attempt to force a passage to the north-west (Num. xxi. 1, 2; ver. 3 seems to be an anticipation of Judg. xi. 30).

God's appointed time had come. This view is strongly confirmed by *Judges* xi. 16–18, where it is said that, *on coming up out of Egypt*, Israel sent messengers both to the kings of Edom and of Moab, asking for a passage; and, *after their refusal*, Israel *abode in Kadesh. Then* they went along through the wilderness, and encompassed the land of Edom, etc. In the poetry of the Hebrews, Mount Seir and Edom are constantly connected with the wanderings.[84]

Such a lot was hard enough, with all its necessary trials, and with its hope constantly deferred; but it is consistent and intelligible. It may be left to imagination to fill up the picture of the doomed generation dropping off year by year, and of the lesson impressed on their children by seeing their carcasses left in the wilderness. Nor must it be forgotten that this passage also of their history is emblematic of the whole pilgrimage of man, who must toil on to his rest through a path marked by the graves of his illusions and his sins.

§ 12. There are five chapters in the *Book of Numbers*,[85] referring to this interval, but to what part of it we can not say. Besides sundry religious laws,[86] they record the following events:—

i. The death by stoning of a man who was found gathering sticks on the Sabbath day.[87] His offense was the doing *servile work;* its spirit was presumptuous disobedience to Jehovah, and the penalty had already been declared.[88] The case was expressly referred by Moses to Jehovah, and it is recorded as an example that the law of the Sabbath was not to be a dead letter.

ii. The rebellion of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram was an attempt to deprive the priesthood of its special sanctity, by a perversion of the truth declared by God himself, that all the people were "an holy nation and a royal priesthood."[89] It was led by Korah, a Levite, with 250 princes famous in the congregation, who claimed equality with the priests; and he was joined by Dathan and Abiram, and others of the tribe of Reuben, whose claim probably rested on the primogeniture of their ancestor. At God's command, Korah and his company presented themselves with Moses and Aaron at the door of the tabernacle, each with his censer, favored as it would seem by the congregation.[90] Then the voice of God called to Moses and Aaron to separate themselves from the

[84] Judges v. 4; Deut. xxxiii. 2; Hab. iii. 3; Judith v. 14; Stanley, p. 96. [85] Num. xv.–xix. [86] Appendix. [87] Num. xv. 32–36.

[88] Deut. v. 15; Ex. xxxi. 15, xxxv. 2, 3. [89] Num. xvi. 1–3; comp. Ex. xix 6. [90] Num xvi. 19.

congregation, that He might destroy them. For the third time the intercessor obtained the people's pardon: they were bidden to remove from the tents of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram; and, at the word of Moses, the earth opened and swallowed up the rebels, with their families and all that belonged to them, while fire burst out from the tabernacle and consumed the 250 princes. Their brazen censers, as being sacred, were gathered by Aaron out of the fire, to make plates for a covering of the altar of burnt-offering.[91] The Apostle Jude uses those who "perished in the gainsaying of Korah" as a type of the "filthy dreamers," who, in the last days, shall "despise dominion and speak evil of dignities."[92]

iii. The people now murmured at the fate of the men whose rebellion they had favored, and, at the very moment when they gathered against Moses and Aaron before the tabernacle, Jehovah appeared in the cloud, and sent a pestilence among them. Then followed one of the most striking examples of the intercession of Moses and the mediation of the high-priest. Seeing that "wrath was gone out from Jehovah," Moses bade Aaron to fill his censer with coals from the altar and with incense, as an atonement for the people, and to stand between the living and the dead; and so the plague was stayed.[93] A most striking symbol of Christ's mediation to save those who are doomed to the death of sin.

iv. After these things, a new sign was given of Jehovah's special favor to the house of Aaron. Twelve rods, or sceptres, were chosen for the several tribes, and laid up in the tabernacle before the ark, the name of AARON being inscribed on the rod of Levi. In the morning Moses went into the tabernacle and brought forth the rods, and returned them to the princes of the tribes, when Aaron's rod was seen covered with buds and blossoms and full-grown almonds. The rest were still dry sticks; but his was a living and fruitful sceptre. It was a vivid emblem of "the rod of Jesse," the "Branch," springing up without the sustenance of nature, which in the prophets represents the spiritual and life-giving power of Messiah. By the command of God it was laid up in the ark, for a perpetual memorial against the like rebellions.[94] The people, now terrified into submission, cried that they only drew near the tabernacle to perish, and Jehovah repeated the law, committing the charge of the sanctuary to the Levites.[95]

[91] Num. xvi. 1–40.
[92] Jude 11.
[93] Num. xvi. 41–50.
[94] Num. xvii.; Isa. xi. 1, liii. 2; Zech. vi. 12; Rev. v. 5.
[95] Num. xvii 12, 13, xviii.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

(A.) THE ARABAH.

ALTHOUGH this word appears in the Authorized Version in its original shape only in Josh. xviii. 18, yet in the Hebrew text it is of frequent occurrence. It is used generally to indicate a barren, uninhabitable district, but "the Arabah" indicates more particularly the deep-sunken valley or trench which forms the most striking among the many striking natural features of Palestine, and which extends with great uniformity of formation from the slopes of Hermon to the Elanitic Gulf (*Gulf of Akabah*) of the Red Sea—the most remarkable depression known to exist on the surface of the globe.* Through the northern portion of this extraordinary fissure the Jordan rushes through the lakes of Huleh and Gennesareth down its tortuous course to the deep chasm of the Dead Sea. This portion, about 150 miles in length, is known among the Arabs by the name of *El-Ghor.* The southern boundary of the Ghor is the wall of cliffs which crosses the valley about ten miles south of the Dead Sea. From their summits, southward to the Gulf of Akabah, the valley changes its name, or, it would be more accurate to say, retains its old name of *Wady el-Arabah.*

At present our attention may be confined to the southern division, to that portion of this singular valley which has from the most remote date borne, as it still continues to bear, the name of *Arabah.* A deep interest will always attach to this remarkable district, from the fact that it must have been the scene of a large portion of the wanderings of the children of Israel after their repulse from the south of the promised land. Wherever Kadesh and Hormah may hereafter be found to lie, we know with certainty, even in our present state of ignorance, that they must have been at the north of the Arabah; and therefore "the way of the Red Sea," by which they journeyed "from Mount Hor to compass the land of Edom," after the refusal of the King of Edom to allow them a passage through his country, must have been southward, down the Arabah toward the head of the gulf, till, as is nearly certain, they turned up one of the wadys on the left, and so made their way by the back of the mountain of Seir to the land of Moab on the east of the Dead Sea.

The whole length of the Arabah proper, from the cliffs south of the Dead Sea to the head of the Gulf of Akabah, appears to be rather more than 100 miles. In breadth it varies. North of Petra, that is, about 70 miles from the Gulf of Akabah, it is at its widest, being perhaps from 14 to 16 miles across; but it contracts gradually to the south till at the gulf the opening to the sea is but 4, or, according to some travellers, 2 miles wide. The mountains which form the walls of this vast valley or trench are the legitimate successors of those which shut in the Ghor, only in every way grander and more desert-like. On the west are the long horizontal lines of

the limestone ranges of the *Tih*, "always faithful to their tabular outline and blanched desolation," mounting up from the valley by huge steps with level barren tracks on the top of each, and crowned by the vast plateau of the "Wilderness of the Wanderings." This western wall ranges in height from 1500 to 1800 feet above the floor of the Arabah, and through it break in the wadys and passes from the desert above — unimportant toward the south, but farther north larger and of more permanent character. The chief of these wadys is the *Wady el-Jerafeh*, which emerges about sixty miles from Akabah, and lead its waters, when any are flowing, into the *Wady el-Jeib*, and through it to the marshy ground under the cliffs south of the Dead Sea.

Two principal passes occur in this range. First, the very steep and difficult ascent close to the Akabah, by which the road of the Mecca pilgrims between the Akabah and Suez mounts from the valley to the level of the plateau of the *Tih*. It bears apparently no other name than *en-Nŭkb*, "the Pass." The second—*es-Sufah*—has a more direct connection with the Bible history, being probably that at which the Israelites were repulsed by the Canaanites (Deut. i. 44; Num. xiv. 43–45). It is on the road from Petra to Hebron, above *Ain el-Weibeh*, and is not like the former, from the Arabah to the plateau, but from the plateau itself to a higher level 1000 feet above it.

(B.) KADESH.

The position of Kadesh has to satisfy the following conditions: It was a *city*, and one to which, from its name, some ancient *sanctity* belonged, as to Horeb.* It was in the wilderness of Paran, and also in that of Zin (Num. xiii. 21, xx. 1, xxxiii. 36; compare xxxiv. 3, 4; Josh. xv. 1): the latter is most probably the *Arabah*, and either the two deserts overlapped here, or Kadesh lay on the borders of both. It was close to "the mountain of the Amorites," which is marked as the end of the first journey to Palestine (Deut. i. 19, 20); but it was also on the extreme border of Edom (Num. xx. 16). It formed an important landmark on the southern frontier of Palestine, toward its eastern extremity (Num. xxxiv. 4; Josh. x. 41, xv. 3; comp. Ezek. xlvii. 19, xlviii. 28.) The boundary ran from the "ascent of Akrabbim" (*i. e.*, of *scorpions*, probably the water-shed which crosses the *Chor* about eleven miles south of the Dead Sea, nearly in lat. 31° N., and divides it from the *Arabah*), thence along to Zin (that is, along the margin of the *Arabah*), whence it *ascended* on the south side to Kadesh-barnea, which seems therefore to have stood on the edge of the plateau which bounds the *Arabah* on the west. Lastly, we should expect the site to be marked by some conspicuous rock, answering to that which Moses struck when the people murmured for water, whence the place was called MERIBAH-KADESH (from *Meribah = strife*, Num. xx. 13; Deut. xxxii. 51; Ez. *ll. cc.*). At an earlier period Kadesh is mentioned, with Mount Seir and El-paran, as overrun by Chedorlaomer (Gen. xiv. 7);* and twice in connection with Abraham's residence in the extreme south of Palestine, near Gerar (Gen. xvi. 14, xx. 1). A position so far to the west suggests that this last may be a different place, and may correspond to *Ainkades* in lat. 30° 43′, and long. 34° 30′, nearly due south of Gaza.† The

* *Kadesh = holy*; it is the same word as the Arabic name for Jerusalem, *El-Khuds*.

* Its ancient name en-Mishpat (*Spring of Judgment*) agrees with the sanctity implied in the name Kadesh.

† Rev. J. Rowlands, *ap.* Rev. G. Williams, *Holy City*, App. No. 1. The distinction is made by Jerome, who identifies this Kadesh with a spot in the valley of Gerar, still called in his day *Beer-dan*, the *Well of the Judge*.

doubt raised respecting the identity of the Kadesh or Kadesh-barnea, whence the spies set out, with the Kadesh or Kadesh-meribah, which was the starting-point of the final journey in the fortieth year of the wanderings, must give way before a careful comparison of the passage cited (comp. especially Deut. i. 46, and ii. 14).

The identification of Kadesh with *Petra*, originally made in the Talmud, and lately revived by Dr. Stanley, is ingenious and captivating; but the position seems too far both from the mountain of the Amorites and from the frontier of Palestine—too decidedly within the territory of Edom, and too near Mount Hor—to be consistent with their former separate stations (Num. xx. 22, xxxiii. 36, 37). We seem bound to look for a position further to the north-west, on the margin both of the *Arabah* and the *et-Tih*, and at the foot of one of the passes by which the final ascent is made from the plateau of the *Tih* to the higher level of the hills of South Palestine, which are here, so to speak, superimposed on the *Tih*. Robinson places it at *Ain el-Weibeh*, on the road from the Arabah to Hebron, by the pass of *es-Safeh;* and Stanley, while objecting that we must look for some more definite locality than any one of the springs and pools scattered in the midst of the desert, admits that this would be in other respects not an inappropriate scene (p. 93); but he afterward argues for its exclusion because there is no *cliff* (*sela*) such as that struck by Moses; while, on the other hand, Sela is used as a name for Petra (p. 95). Others seek it on the more northerly road which runs up the *Ghor* and turns off near the south-western margin of the Dead Sea to Hebron. But there is another spot which seems best to satisfy all the conditions. In the north-east of the desert of *et-Tih*, and adjoining to the Arabah, is a remarkable plateau superimposed upon the table-land of the former, from which it is clearly distinguished by the lofty precipices that form its sides. *This plateau seems to be meant when Kadesh is spoken of as a district.* From this plateau the *Wady Jerafeh* descends to the Arabah, and just at the junction there is a fountain of living water now called *Ain esh-Shehâbeh*,* at the foot of the lofty cliff *El-Mukrah*, which exactly answers to the description of the rock before which Moses gathered the congregation, when he smote it twice, and water came out abundantly. Here, too, the Israelites would be in the uttermost borders of Edom, and within a short journey to Mount Hor.

* In 30° 15′ N. lat., and 34° 55′ E. long.



Mount Hor.

CHAPTER XIV.

FINAL MARCH FROM KADESH TO THE JORDAN. DEATH OF MOSES. A.M. 2552–2553. B.C. 1452–1451.

§ 1 Last encampment at Kadesh—Death of Miriam. § 2. Water again given from the rock—The sin and sentence of Moses and Aaron. § 3. A passage refused through Edom. § 4. March from Kadesh to Mount Hor—Death of Aaron. § 5. March down the Arabah and round Mount Seir—The fiery serpents and the brazen serpent. § 6. Arrival at the brook Zered—March through the Desert of Moab—Territories of Moab and Ammon—Conquests of Sihon and Og. § 7. Defeat and destruction of Sihon and Og. § 8. Last encampment on the plains of Moab—BALAK and BALAAM—New Census—Consecration of JOSHUA—Slaughter of the Midianites. § 9. Settlement of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh east of Jordan. § 10. Final address of Moses—The Book of Deuteronomy—i. His first discourse: Review and introduction—ii. His second discourse: Repetition of the Law—iii. His third discourse: The blessing and the curse—iv. The Law rewritten—The *Song of Moses*—v. The *Blessing of Moses.*—vi. His view of the Promised Land—His death and burial. § 11. Character of Moses.

§ 1. IN the first month of the fortieth year[1] from the epoch of the Exodus (April, 1452), we find the Israelites again in

[1] Only the month is expressly named: we learn the year from Num xxxiii. 38.

the wilderness of Zin, at Kadesh, whither they seem to have marched up the *Arabah* from Ezion-gaber, at the head of the *Gulf of Akabah.*[2] The doom under which most of the old generation had by this time perished, now reached the house of Amram. MIRIAM, the elder sister of Moses and Aaron, died and was buried here.[3] We have seen her as a young girl, watching the cradle of Moses, and aiding in his deliverance.[4] She is spoken of as sharing in the sacred mission of her brothers.[5] When she leads off the song of triumph, on the shore of the Red Sea, she is expressly called "Miriam, *the prophetess;*"[6] and the ground on which she and Aaron rebelled against Moses implies their possession of the prophetic gift: "Hath Jehovah spoken by Moses? Hath He not also spoken by us?"[7] The delay of the march till she was free from the defilement of her leprosy proves her high consideration.[8] Lastly, she bore the name of the mother of our Lord.[9] Tradition makes her the wife of Hur and grandmother of the artist Bezaleel; and it is said that the mourning for her, as for her brothers, lasted thirty days.[10] In the time of Jerome, her tomb was shown near Petra.[11]

§ 2. Here, too, Moses and Aaron committed the sin which brought them also under the sentence of death, without entering the promised land. The people murmured for water, as at Rephidim; and the repetition of the same scene by the new generation, even after the discipline of the thirty-eight years' wandering, is true to human nature—not theirs only, but ours, of which theirs was the type.[12] Jehovah interposed in the same manner as before: "He clave the rocks in the wilderness .... and caused waters to run down like rivers."[13] But, as the miracle had been wrought once already, He designed to show His power by a greater wonder: Moses and Aaron were to stand before the rock (or cliff) in the sight of the people; and Moses, holding the rod in his hand, was only to *speak* to the rock. But this time the trial was too strong, both for his patience and his humanity. Upbraiding the people as rebels, he asked, "Must *we* fetch you water out of

[2] Num. xx. 1, xxxiii. 36.
[3] Num. xx. 1.
[4] Ex. ii. 4–7.
[5] Micah vi. 4.
[6] Ex. xv. 20.
[7] Num. xii. 1, 2; comp. 6–8.
[8] Num. xii. 15.
[9] Heb. *Miriam*=Gr. Μαριάμ or Μαρία=Lat. *Maria*=*Mary*. The name signifies *their rebellion*, by a prophetic allusion either to Num. xii. or to the rebellious spirit of the people, which afflicted her as well as her brothers.
[10] Joseph. *Ant.* iii. 2, § 4, 6, § 1, iv. 4, § 6.
[11] Hieron. *de Loc. Heb.* s. v. *Cades Barnea.* This is one of the traditional arguments for identifying that city with Kadesh.
[12] Num. xx. 2–6; comp. Ex. xvii. 1
[13] Ps. lxxviii. 15, 16, 20, cv. 41; Neh. ix. 15.

this rock?"—and he *smote the rock* twice with the rod.[14] The water gushed out in an abundant stream, which probably followed the march of the people down the Arabah.[15] But at the same time the word of Jehovah came to Moses and Aaron that, because they had not believed and honored Him before the people, they should not bring them into the promised land. The place was called MERIBAH (*strife*), or, more fully, MERIBAH-KADAH.[16]

§ 3. At length the word of Jehovah came to put a term to their wanderings, by the welcome command to "turn northward,"[17] that is, we think, up the *Ghor*,[18] in order to enter the promised land by the way followed by the spies round the edge of the Dead Sea. It would seem that this route was barred by the opposition of King Arad, the Canaanite.[19] There was another way eastward, through the passes of Mount Seir, the land of the children of Esau, whom the people were enjoined not to molest, but to buy of them both food and water.[20] While still at Kadesh, therefore, Moses sent messengers to the King of Edom, recounting what God had done for Israel, asking for a passage, and promising to keep peaceably by the highway, and to pay for the water that the people and the cattle might drink. The Edomites not only refused the request, but barred the passage with an armed force.[21]

§ 4. The only way now open was down the *Arabah*, and accordingly "they passed by from the children of Esau, which dwelt in Seir, *through the way of the Arabah*."[22] Their first march was to MOUNT HOR (i. e., *the* mountain), "in the edge of the land of Edom."[23] Here we once more reach certain ground; for the whole course of the narrative confirms the tradition which identifies Hor with the majestic "mountain of the prophet Aaron" (*Jebel Nebi-Harûn*), which stands on the eastern edge of the *Arabah*, above which it rises 4000 feet, having Petra at its eastern foot. "In this great valley," says Dean Stanley, "there is no more question of the course

[14] Num. xx. 7–11.

[15] The allusion of St. Paul no doubt embraces both miracles, and the phrase, "the Rock that followed them," seems appropriate to both (1 Cor. x. 4).

[16] Num. xii. 13; Deut. xxxii. 51; Ez. xlvii. 19, xlviii. 28.

[17] Deut. ii. 3.

[18] See *Notes and Illustrations* (A.) to chap. xiii.

[19] Num. xxi. 1, 2.

[20] Deut. ii. 4–6.

[21] Num. xx. 14–21; Judg. xi. 17; but, as has already been intimated, this may refer to their first attempt to pass through Edom, on their first repulse from Kadesh.

[22] Deut. ii. 8. The word, which means *desert*, is rendered *plain* in our version.

[23] Num. xx. 22, 23, xxxiii. 37.

of the Israelites. It is, indeed, doubtful whether they passed up it on their way to Canaan; but no one can doubt that they passed down it, when the valleys of Edom were closed against them."[24]

It is very probable that Hor, like Sinai, was already a sanctuary of the desert tribes. To this dignity, and its natural grandeur, was now added the solemnity of Aaron's death, which was appointed by Jehovah to take place here. This event was not only the decease of so great a personage as the colleague and elder brother of Moses, but it involved the demise of the first high-priest, and the investiture of his successor. In the sight of all the congregation, Moses led up Aaron and his son Eleazar to Mount Hor, and stripped Aaron of his garments, and put them upon Eleazar; and Aaron died in the top of the mount. Travellers have found a position on the summit well suited for the public ceremony; but we need not suppose that Aaron actually died in the sight of the people. He was buried either on the mountain, or at its foot, and the people mourned for him thirty days.[25]

Aaron died on the first day of the fifth month from the epoch of the Exodus (*Ab*=July and August, 1452 B.C.), at the age of 123. He was therefore born in 1575 B.C., four years before the birth of Moses. As the first-born of the house of Amram, the priesthood *of that house* would be a part of his birthright. His natural eloquence fitted him to be the organ of Moses in his mission to Egypt; and he not only spoke for him, but wrought the miracles at his bidding. Throughout the scenes in the desert, he is associated with Moses in leading the people; but Moses stands above him as mediator with God, and as favored with His direct and open revelations. Even when Aaron is made high-priest, he receives his authority from Moses. When left alone to govern the people, he at once yielded to their willfulness, believing probably that it was a wise concession to give them a visible symbol of God's presence; and so he became the minister of idolatry and debauchery. His feeble excuse on this occasion betrays that unstable character, which could not go alone without his brother; but, as is usual with such characters, he made a rash attempt to assert his independence, under the influence of Miriam. On all other occasions we find him sharing the cares of Moses, and joining even in his errors, as in the sin which shut them both out from the promised land. It has been well observed that

[24] *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 84.

[25] Num. xx. 23-29, xxxiii. 38; Deut. x. 6, xxxii. 50; comp. xxxiv 8.

the very defects of Aaron's character, and especially his sin and repentance in the matter of the golden calf, fitted him the more for the office of a high-priest—"Who can have compassion on the ignorant and the erring, for that he himself also is compassed with infirmity."[26] And he could also sympathize with deep suffering, such as he felt when his sons Nadab and Abihu were slain for their sacrilege—"and Aaron held his peace."[27] All these points are placed by the Apostle in striking contrast to His priesthood, whose perfect and sinless human nature makes Him have sympathy without infirmity.[28]

Aaron's wife was named Elisheba.[29] Of his four sons, two survived him—Eleazar and Ithamar. The family of the former held the high-priesthood till the time of Eli, who belonged to the house of Ithamar. The descendants of Eli retained it down to the reign of Solomon, who deposed Abiathar, and gave the office to Zadok, of the family of Eleazar.[30] The traditional tomb of Aaron, on one of the two summits of Mount Hor, is marked by a Mohammedan chapel, the dome of which forms a white spot on the dark red sandstone.[31]

§ 5. The march of the Israelites was now down the *Arabah*, out of which they turned by way of Ezion-gaber and Elath into the wilderness of Moab.[32] The site of *Ezion-gaber* (the *Giant's back-bone*) is uncertain: we only know that it was at the head of the *Gulf of Akabah*, and a great port for the commerce with the Indian Ocean, which took that route in the days of Solomon and Jehoshaphat. It was afterward eclipsed by ELATH (the *palm-trees*), which still identify it with the Ælana of later times, and the modern *Akabah*. The gulf which bore its name of old, as now (Sinus Ælaniticus, *Gulf of Akabah*), yielded its importance as a highway of commerce to the *Gulf of Suez*, in consequence of the building of Alexandria; but the beauties of its red shores and clear blue waters, filled with red coralline sea-weed, are still the

[26] Heb. v. 2; comp. vii. 28.

[27] Lev. x. 3. [28] Heb. v.-viii.

[29] Ex. vi. 23.

[30] 1 Sam. ii. 30-36; 1 K. ii. 27; Joseph. *Ant.* v. 11, § 5, viii. 1, § 3.

[31] Stanley, p. 86.

[32] Num. xxi. 4; Deut. ii. 8. The pass by which they must have left the Arabah is thus described by Dean Stanley: "On the west are the limestone ranges of the Tih, horizontal as before. On the east is a low gap in the hills, with three low peaks visible beyond. This is the *Wady Ithm*, which turns the eastern range of the Arabah, and through which the Israelites must have passed on their way to Moab. It is still one of the regular roads to Petra, and in ancient times seems to have been the main approach from Elath or Akabah, as it is the only road from the south which enters Petra through the *Sik* or *cleft*" (*Sinai and Palestine*, pp. 84, 85).

same.[33] To this place "the Israelities came on their return from Kadesh, and through a gap in the eastern hills they finally turned off to Moab. It was a new Red Sea for them; and they little knew the glory which it would acquire, when it became the channel of all the wealth of Solomon."[34]

They now finally passed out of the neighborhood of the Red Sea into the elevated region which lies to the east of the series of valleys that extend from the head of the Gulf of Akabah to the sources of the Jordan. Here they found, not the Canaanities whom they were to subdue, but tribes kindred to themselves, whom they were forbidden to molest; the descendants of Esau and of Lot. First they skirted the eastern side of Mount Seir, the home of the Edomites, who would seem to have yielded them, in this direction, the friendly passage which they could hardly have resisted on the open desert.[35] The route lay along the margin of the great *desert of Nejd*, "and the soul of the people was much discouraged because of the way."[36] God punished their murmurs by sending among them serpents, whose fiery bite was fatal. On their prayer of repentance a remedy was found. Moses was commanded to make a serpent of brass, whose polished surface shone like fire, and to set it up on the banner-pole in the midst of the people; and whoever was bitten by a serpent had but to look up at it and live.[37] In recounting the perils of the wilderness, Moses speaks of the "fiery serpents and scorpions;"[38] and these reptiles still abound in the region about the Gulf of Akabah.[39] But a far deeper interest belongs to this incident of the pilgrimage of Israel. "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up; that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life."[40]

Preserved as a relic, whether on the spot of its first erection or elsewhere,[41] the Brazen Serpent, called by the name of Nehushtan, became an object of idolatrous veneration, probably in connection with the Ophite worship that was adopted in the reign of Ahaz, with all the other idolatries of the neighboring nations; and the zeal of Hezekiah destroy-

[33] Stanley, p. 83. These are the features of the whole sea, which caused it to be called the Red Sea, and by the Hebrews the Sea of Weeds.

[34] Stanley, p. 84.

[35] Deut. ii. 29.

[36] Num. xxi. 4.

[37] Num. xxi. 4-9.

[38] Deut. viii. 15.

[39] Buckhardt, Laborde, etc., quoted by Kitto, *Daily Bible Illustrations*, pp. 219, 220.

[40] John iii. 14, 15.

[41] Ewald conjectures that it may have remained at Zalmonah, as the object of occasional pilgrimage.

ed it with the other idols of his father.[42] But the passion for relics is not extinguished by the destruction of its objects. In A.D. 971, a Milanese envoy to Constantinople, being asked to select a present from the imperial treasures, chose a brazen serpent, which the Greeks assured him was made of the same metal that Hezekiah had broken up; and this serpent, probably the idol of some Ophite sect, is still shown in the Church of St. Ambrose at Milan as that which was lifted up by Moses in the wilderness.

§ 6. We may assume that this happened either at ZALMONAH or PUNON,[43] which are equally unknown with the next station, OBOTH.[44] Then follows IJE-ABARIM (the *heaps of Abarim*), in the wilderness on the east border of Moab,[45] a name suggesting the foot-hills (*piedmont*) of the "mountains of ABARIM" (the *heights* or *highlands*), which are mentioned four stages farther on,[46] and which are a limestone range, running north and south through Moab, along the east side of the Dead Sea and the lower Jordan, opposite the region about Jericho. Their highest point was NEBO, the "head" of the PISGAH, or "height," from which Moses viewed the promised land.[47] They entered these highlands after crossing the valley and brook of *Zared* or *Zered* (perhaps the *Wady el-Ahsy*, at the south-east corner of the Dead Sea), which Moses marks as the terminus of the thirty-eight years' wandering.[48]

From the Wady of Zered on the south to the broad ravine of the River Arnon[49] on the north, lay the territory of Moab,[50] also called Ar, along the southern half of the eastern shore of the Dead Sea; and a southern branch of the Arnon bounded their country on the east. Shortly before the Exodus, the warlike Amorites (*highlanders*) had passed the Jordan under their King SIHON, and had driven the Mo-

[42] 2 K. xviii. 4. The common supposition that Hezekiah called it *Nehushtan* (a *thing of brass*), in contempt, though supported by the LXX., seems not so exact a version as "one (*i. e.*, men) had called it Nehushtan."

[43] Num. xxxiii. 41, 42.

[44] Num. xxi. 10, 11, xxxiii. 43, 44.

[45] Num. xxi. 11, xxxiii. 44.

[46] Num. xxxiii. 47.

[47] Compare Num. xxvii. 12; Deut. xxxii. 49.

[48] Deut. ii. 14.

[49] The River Arnon formed the boundary between Moab and the Amorites, on the north of Moab (Num. xxi. 13, 14, 24, 26; Judg. xi. 22), and afterward between Moab and Israel (Reuben), Deut. ii. 24, 36, iii. 8, 12, 16, iv. 48; Josh. xii. 1, 2, xiii. 9, 16; Judg. xi. 13, 26). It is now called *Wady el-Mojeb*, and flows through a deep ravine into the Dead Sea. The chasm through which it flows still answers to the "locum vallis in prærupta demersæ satis horribilem et periculosum" which it was in the days of Jerome.

[50] See *Notes and Illustrations* to ch. vii. (MOABITES AND AMMONITES).

abites out of the region between the Arnon and the Jabbok;[51] so that these rivers were now the southern and northern boundaries of the kingdom of Sihon, whose capital was Heshbon.[52] *North* of the Jabbok, the great upland territory of BASHAN, extending to Mount Hermon, formed the kingdom of the giant OG, who is also called an Amorite. Such was the state of the country east of Jordan, which formed no part of the land marked out for the first settlement of the Israelites, but events drew them on to its conquest.

Having been forbidden to molest Moab or Ammon, they asked for a peaceable passage through the former, which would seem from some statements to have been granted, and from others to have been refused.[53] But the last of these passages may refer, as we have seen,[54] to an earlier period; and the second only speaks of the withholding of actual assistance in supplies. Probably, as in the case of Edom, a direct passage was refused, but the people were left unmolested in passing over the upper courses of the Zered and the Arnon, and round the eastern slope of the intervening hills by the margin of the desert. Such a course would bring them "to the mountains of Abarim, before Nebo," on "the top of Pisgah," facing the JESHIMON, or wilderness;[55] and their march from the Arnon to this position is expressly said to have been from the wilderness,[56] and on the *border* of Moab.[57]

Another indication that the people passed through the desert, and not through the fertile lands of Moab, is furnished by the very interesting notice of the station of BEER, so called from the well which was opened before all the people at the command of Jehovah.[58]

§ 7. From their encampment in the wilderness of Kedemoth (the position of which is doubtful), the Israelites sent a message to Sihon, asking for a passage through his territory to the fords of Jordan opposite to Jericho, where they designed to enter the promised land, and promising to abstain from every disorder.[59] The Amorite king not only refused the request, but marched out with all his forces against Israel into the wilderness. A decisive battle at JAHAZ[60] gave to Israel his whole territory. Sihon was slain, with his sons

[51] See p. 91.
[52] Num. xxi. 26–30.
[53] Deut. ii. 28, 29, xxiii. 4; Judg. xi. 17.
[54] Chap. xiii. § 10.
[55] Num. xxxiii. 47, xxi. 20.
[56] Num. xxi. 18. Perhaps, however, this is an error of the text: the LXX. give "from the well," namely the *Beer* of v. 16.
[57] Num. xxi. 15.
[58] Num. xxi. 16. See § 7.
[59] Num. xxi. 21, 22; Deut. ii. 26-30.
[60] This site is also doubtful.

and all his people, even to the women and children, and Israel dwelt in their cities from Aroer on the Arnon to the Jabbok (*Moiet Amman*).[61] To the east of the southern branch of this river lay the territory of Ammon, too strong to be attacked even had it been permitted.[62] They followed up their victory by taking JAAZER, a stronghold of the Amorites in Mount Gilead; and then they crossed the Jabbok into the district of Bashan. Here they encountered the giant King Og, who ruled over sixty fenced cities in the district of *Argob*.[63] He was defeated at Edrei, and slain with his sons and his people, as had been done to Sihon. Among the spoil was the iron bedstead of Og, 9 cubits long and 4 cubits broad (13½ feet by 6),[64] which was preserved in Rabbath-ammon as a memorial of his vast stature; for he was the last of the giant race of the Rephaim, who had dwelt of old in Ashteroth-karnaim, the capital of Og.[65]

These first great victories of the new generation of Israel gave them the whole region east of Jordan as far as the desert, from the Arnon on the south to Mount Hermon or Sirion on the north; the region soon after allotted to the tribes of

[61] Num. xxi. 23-30; Deut. ii. 30-36; Judg. xi. 19-22.

[62] Num. xxi. 24; Deut. ii. 37.

[63] The limits of Bashan are very strictly defined. It extended from the "border of Gilead" on the south to Mount Hermon on the north (Deut. iii. 3, 10, 14; Josh. xii. 5; 1 Chron. v. 23), and from the Arabah or Jordan valley on the west to Salchah (*Sulkhad*) and the border of the Geshurites, and the Maacathites on the east (Josh. xii. 3-5; Deut. iii. 10). Argob, which means the stony, with its sixty strongly-fortified cities, formed a principal portion of Bashan (Deut. iii. 4, 5). In later times Argob was called Trachonitis, apparently a mere translation of the older name. It is now named the *Lejah*—a very remarkable district south of Damascus, and east of the Sea of Galilee. This extraordinary region—about twenty-two miles from north to south by fourteen from west to east, and of a regular, almost oval, shape—has been described as an ocean of basaltic rocks and boulders, tossed about in the wildest confusion, and intermingled with fissures and crevices in every direction. "Strange as it may seem, this ungainly and forbidding region is thickly studded with deserted cities and villages, in all of which the dwellings are solidly built and of remote antiquity" (Porter, 238). The ruins of Edrei, still bearing the name *Edr'a*, stand on a rocky promontory which projects from the south-west corner of the Lejah. The site is a strange one—without water, without access, except over rocks and through defiles all but impracticable.

[64] Some have supposed that this was one of the common flat beds used sometimes on the housetops of eastern cities, but made of iron instead of palm-branches, which would not have supported the giant's weight. It is more probable that the Hebrew words mean a "sarcophagus of black basalt," a rendering of which they undoubtedly admit. The Arabs still regard black basalt as iron.

[65] Num. xxi. 33-35; Deut. iii. 1-11; comp. Gen. xiv. 5; Deut. ii. 20, 21; and Josh. xiii. 12.

Reuben, Gad, and half the tribe of Manasseh. But still more, they were an earnest of the conquest of the promised land; and they are ever after commemorated among the most signal mercies of Jehovah by the responsive anthems of the temple-service, giving thanks to Jehovah:—

"To Him which smote great kings: *for His mercy endureth forever:*
And slew famous kings: *for His mercy endureth forever:*
Sihon, king of the Amorites: *for His mercy endureth forever:*
And Og, the king of Bashan: *for His mercy endureth forever:*
And gave them their land for an heritage: *for His mercy endureth forever:*
Even an heritage unto Israel His servant: *for His mercy endureth forever.*"[66]

§ 8. At length the Israelites made their last encampment on the east side of the Jordan in "the desert plains of Moab." Their tents were pitched among the long groves of acacias (*shittim*) which cover the topmost of the three terraces that form the basin of the Jordan, from ABEL-SHITTIM[67] (the *meadow of acacias*) on the north, to *Beth-jeshimoth*[68] (the *house of the wastes*) on the south. As in the tropical climate of the valley they enjoyed the shelter of the cool groves and the abundant springs, they could see on the opposite terrace the green meadows of Jericho, their first intended conquest. But there still remained work for them on the left bank. The hills of Abarim, which rose close behind them, were presently occupied by a watchful and wily enemy.

The conquest of the Amorites had roused the Moabites from their doubtful neutrality. Their king, Balak, the son of Zippor (the king who had been defeated by Sihon), seeing that Israel was too strong for him in the field, made a confederacy with the sheikhs of Midian, several of whom appear to have led their Bedouin life within the territories of Moab, owning a certain allegiance to the king.[69] The united forces encamped on the heights of Abarim; while Balak sought mightier help from another quarter.

There was living at Pethor, in Mesopotamia, a prophet named BALAAM, the son of Beor; one of those who still retained the knowledge of the true God, by whom he was favored with prophetic visions. He seems, however, to have practiced the more questionable arts of divination, and to have made gain of his supernatural knowledge. His fame was

[66] Ps. cxxxv. 10–12, cxxxvi. 17–22.

[67] The *Abilah* of later times, placed by Josephus at 6 g. miles from the Jordan (*Ant.* iv. 8, § 1, v. 1, § 1; compare *Bell. Jud.* i. 13, § 2, iv. 7, § 6).

[68] Mentioned among the southmost cities of Reuben (Josh. xiii. 20; Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* iv. 7, § 6).

[69] Num. xxi. 4, xxxi. 8; Josh. xiii. 21, where they are called "dukes of Sihon living in the country."

spread far and wide among the tribes of the desert. "I wot that he whom thou blessest is blessed, and he whom thou cursest is cursed,"[70] is the belief on which Balak grounded his invitation to Balaam to come and curse Israel, after which he hoped he might prevail against them and drive them out of the land. The message was carried by the elders, both of Moab and of Midian, with the rewards for his divinations in their hand. The temptation was too great for the prophet's integrity; and he "forsook the right way and went astray," into that which the Apostle Peter calls "the way of Balaam, the son of Bosor, who loved the wages of unrighteousness."[71] Both as a prophet, and from the fame which had spread over all the surrounding countries, he must have known that Israel were the people of his God; and that he had nothing to do with the messengers of Balak. He hesitated, and was lost, but not without repeated warnings. Instead of dismissing the messengers, he invited them to remain for the night, while he consulted God. He received the plain answer: "Thou shall not go with them; thou shall not curse the people, for they are blessed;" and in the morning he sent them away.[72]

Balak again sent more numerous and more honorable envoys, with a more pressing message, and promises of great honors and rewards. Balaam declared his inability, for all the wealth of Balak—*not* to entertain the proposal for a moment, but—to go beyond the word of the Lord his God, to whom he again referred the case. And this time God visited him with the severest punishment, which He reserves for the willful sinner: He "gave him his own desire;"[73] but while delivering him to the destruction he courted, He made him the instrument of blessing Israel in strains among the sublimest of sacred poetry. Balaam was commanded to go with the men, but—as he himself had already said—to utter only the words that God should put in his mouth; and, in all that follows, we see how vainly he strove to break through the prescribed limit and to earn the wages of his apostasy.[74]

He received one last warning in a prodigy that befell him on the road. The beast that bore him swerved twice from the way, and saved him from the uplifted sword of the Angel-Jehovah, who had come out to withstand him; and the third time, where the pass was too narrow to escape, she fell down beneath him, and, on his smiting her again, "the dumb

[70] Num. xxii. 6.
[71] 2 Pet. ii. 15; Jude 11, where he is ranked with Cain and Korah, as types of the wickedness of the last days.
[72] Num. xxii. 1–14.
[73] Ps. lxxviii. 29.
[74] Num. xxii. 15–21.

ass, speaking with man's voice, forbad the madness of the prophet."[75] His eyes were now opened, and he beheld the angel, who refused the offer which he now made to turn back, and repeated the injunction to go with the men, but to speak only what HE[76] should say to him.

Balak went to meet Balaam at a city on the Arnon (perhaps Aroer), and brought him to the city of *Kirjath-huzoth*,[77] where the king held a great feast in the prophet's honor. On the morrow, Balak and Balaam began their unhallowed ceremonies.[78] Thrice they ascended those eminences, which were consecrated to the worship of the heathen deities,[79] as places whence the prophet might see and curse the people, and thrice did "Jehovah their God turn the curse into a blessing, because Jehovah loved them." Lest Balaam's courage should fail him at the sight of the vast encampment surrounding the tabernacle, with its sign of Jehovah's presence in the cloud, Balak took him first to a hill sacred to Baal, whence he could see the utmost part of the people. Here Balaam bade Balak prepare seven altars, on each of which he offered a bullock and a ram,[80] and then retired to another hill to consult Jehovah. From His mouth the prophet received the word; and he returned to confound Balak and his princes by asking, "How shall I curse whom God hath not cursed? or how shall I defy whom Jehovah hath not defied?"—at the same time prophesying Israel's separation from all nations and their countless numbers; and concluding by the oft-quoted ejaculation, "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his!"

The experiment was repeated from another eminence, "the field of Zophim, on the top of Pisgah," a more elevated point of observation, but still not commanding the great body of the camp. Here the same ceremonies were repeated, with the same result: and God's message by the prophet declared His own eternal truth; His forgiving love to His people; His perpetual presence among them, making them proof

[75] 2 Pet. ii. 16.

[76] Num. xxii. 22–35. Here is one of the many identifications of the *Angel-Jehovah* with God himself.

[77] Commonly interpreted a *city of streets;* but by others *of visions:* it may probably have been a sacred city, and therefore fit for the prophet's residence.

[78] Num. xxii. 41–xxiii. 26.

[79] Comp. Deut. xii. 2.

[80] From the allusion in Micah vi. 5, it was inferred by Jerome that Balak was ready to offer his son in sacrifice according to the abominations of the heathen whom Jehovah cast out from before the children of Israel (2 Kings xvi. 3), and as was actually done by a later king of Moab (2 Kings iii. 27). It is not certain, however, that the allusion to Balak and Balaam extends beyond ver. 5.

against enchantment; and their future career of lion-like prowess against their enemies. Balak vented his disappointment in the cry, "Neither curse them at all, nor bless them at all;" but he would not give up without a last trial.[81]

This third time he brought Balaam up to the very sanctuary of the national deity Peor, the same topmost summit—Nebo, the *head* of Pisgah—from which Moses soon after viewed the promised land. The sevenfold sacrifice was repeated, but Balaam laid aside his arts of divination, for he saw that it pleased Jehovah to bless Israel. His view embraced the whole camp of Israel, spread out among the acacia groves by the river at his feet; it ranged over their promised possessions in the hills of Judah, Ephraim, and Gilead;[82] and, as "he saw Israel abiding in their tents according to their tribes, the Spirit of God came upon him, and he took up his parable," the prophecy of the man whose eyes were at length opened. In the goodly array of their tents he saw the omen of the destruction of the nations around: and ended, "Blessed is he that blesseth thee; and cursed is he that curseth thee."[83] Heedless of the rage of Balak, or of his cruel sarcasm, "*I* thought to promote thee to great honor; but lo, *Jehovah* hath kept thee back from honor," Balaam declared that, before returning to his home, he must complete his prophecy of what the people should do to the heathen in the last days.[84] For the fourth time he opened his mouth, and proclaimed his distant vision of the "Star of Jacob," the "Sceptre of Israel," who should smite Moab—a prophecy in part fulfilled by the victories of David; but, as the titles plainly show, pointing forward to the kingdom of Messiah over the outcast branches of the chosen family. Then, as his eye ranged over the distant mountains of Seir, the home of Edom, and the table-land of the desert, over which the children of Amalek wandered, and the home of the Kenites full in his sight, among the rocks of Engedi on the farther shores of the Dead Sea, he predicted their destruction; till the vision carried him back to the banks of his native Euphrates, and he saw the conquests of Asshur overturned by ships coming from the coasts of Chittim, the unknown lands beyond the Western Sea, and he exclaimed, "Alas! who shall live when God doeth this!" And he rose up, and returned to the place assigned for his abode.[85]

Can we read the sublime prophecies of Balaam without wishing that his desire for his latter end might have been

[81] Num. xxiii. 14–26.

[82] See Dean Stanley's eloquent descriptions of the prospect, *Sinai and Palestine*, pp. 299–301, 321.

[83] Num. xxiii. 27–xxiv. 9.

[84] Num. xxiv. 10–14.

[85] Num. xxiv. 15–25.

fulfilled? Doubtless *it might have been*, had he renounced the vain hope of gain and honor, and returned to repent of his sin, and thank the God who had turned it into a blessing. But he remained among the Moabites and Midianites, clinging doubtless to the chance of reward; and provoked his fate by a new and more effectual plot against Israel. By his advice the people were tempted to share in the lascivious rites of Peor, and to commit whoredom with the daughters of Moab.[86] The wrath of Jehovah was shown in a plague which broke out in the camp, and destroyed 24,000 men. Moses doomed all the offenders to death, and Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the high-priest, set an example of zeal by transfixing with a javelin a man of Israel in the arms of a woman of Moab, whom he had brought into his tent in the face of the congregation as they wept before Jehovah. The plague was stayed, and the covenant of Jehovah was renewed with the house of Eleazar, assuring him a perpetual priesthood.[87]

For these plots against Israel, as well as for their former inhospitality, the Moabites were excluded from the congregation to the tenth generation;[88] and the Midianites were doomed to destruction.[89] The execution of this sentence was the last act of the government of Moses. All the men of Midian were slain, with the princes who had been allied with Balak, and Balaam died in the general slaughter. Their cities were burnt and their spoil taken, and the women, who had been saved alive, were slain by the command of Moses, the female children only being spared. At the same time a law was made for the equitable division of the spoil between those who went forth to battle and those who remained in the camp.[90]

Before this war another census had been taken, by which the number was found to be about the same as before Sinai, 38½ years before (the exact decrease was 820);[91] and JOSHUA was consecrated by the high-priest Eleazar to be the successor of Moses.[92]

§ 9. After the slaughter of the Midianites, the tribes of Reuben and Gad came to Moses and Eleazar and the elders, with the request that they might have for their possession the conquered land on the east of Jordan, the upland pastures of which made it desirable for their numerous cattle. Moses

[86] Num. xxv. 1-3, xxxi. 16.
[87] Num. xxv. 4-15.
[88] Deut. xxxi. 3-6: this is interpreted by Nehemiah (xiii. 1) to mean *forever.* The inclusion of the Amorites in the sentence is another proof of the close connection between the two peoples. The Edomites might enter the congregation in the third generation.
[89] Num. xxv. 16-18.
[90] Num. xxxi.
[91] Num. xxvi.
[92] Num. xxvii. 15-23.

at first rebuked them sharply, as if they were repeating the sin of their fathers at Kadesh-barnea; but on their promise that they would only leave their families and their cattle in their new abodes, while they themselves would march armed in the van of their brethren, till the whole land should be subdued, he yielded to their request, and bound them solemnly to their engagement.[93]

The tribe of Reuben was settled in the south of the region beyond Jordan, from the Arnon to the southern slopes of Mount Gilead. That mountain was given to Gad, whose northern border just touched the sea of Chinnereth (lake of Gennesareth). The north-east part of Gilead and the land of Bashan, as far as Mount Hermon, were at the same time allotted to half the tribe of Manasseh, who came under the same engagement as their brethren. In the final account of the settlement of the country we read how faithfully the two tribes and a half fulfilled their promise.[94] Still they can hardly be acquitted of a certain selfish grasping at present advantage; and their fault brought its own punishment, for their position exposed them to attack, and they were the first of the Israelites who were carried into captivity.[95]

§ 10. The work of Moses was now finished: he had already received the command of God to ascend Mount Abarim, and view the land into which he must not enter; and his successor had been solemnly ordained. But before his departure he assembled all the people, rehearsed to them the dealings of Jehovah and their own conduct since they had departed from Egypt; repeated the law, with certain modifications and additions, and enforced it with the most solemn exhortations, warnings, and prophecies of their future history. This address (or rather series of addresses) is contained in the Book of DEUTERONOMY (*the repetition of the law*). It was delivered in the plains of Moab, in the eleventh month of the fortieth year from the epoch of the Exodus (Adar=February, 1451, B.C.). It consists of *three discourses*, followed by the *Song of Moses*, the *Blessing of Moses*, and the *story of his death.*

i. In the *First Discourse*,[96] Moses strives briefly, but very earnestly, to warn the people against the sins for which their fathers failed to enter the promised land, and to impress upon them the one simple lesson of *obedience;* that they might in their turn, be ready to enter into the land. With this spe

[93] Num. xxxii.; Deut. iii. 12–20.
[94] Josh. iv. 12, 13, xxii. 4.
[95] 2 Kings xv. 29.
[96] Deut. i.–iv. 40.

cial object, he recapitulates the chief events of the last forty years in the wilderness, and especially those events which had the most immediate bearing on the entry of the people into the promised land.

ii. The *Second Discourse*[97] enters more fully into the actual precepts of the law: in fact, it may be viewed as the body of the whole address, the former being an introduction. It contains a recapitulation, with some modifications and additions, of the law already given on Mount Sinai. Yet it is not bare recapitulation, or naked enactment, but every word shows the heart of the lawgiver full at once of zeal for God and of the most fervent desire for the welfare of his nation. It is the Father no less than the Legislator who speaks. And while obedience and life are throughout bound up together, it is the obedience of a loving heart, not a service of formal constraint, which is the burden of his exhortations.[98]

iii. The *Third Discourse*[99] relates almost entirely to the solemn *sanctions* of the law: the *blessing* and the *curse*. Moses now speaks in conjunction with the elders of the people,[100] and with the priests and Levites,[101] whose office it would be to carry out the ceremony, which was prescribed in anticipation of the people's settlement in Palestine.

The place selected was that sacred spot in the centre of the land, where Abraham and Jacob had first pitched their tents, under the oaks of Moreh, and where the first altar to God had been erected. Here the green valley of Shechem is bounded by two long rocky hills on the north and south, the former being the MOUNT EBAL, the latter the MOUNT GERIZIM, of the passage before us.

As soon as they should have crossed over Jordan, the people were commanded to set up, on the summit of *Ebal*, great stones covered with plaster, and inscribed with the law of God. They were also to build an altar; and this seems to have been distinct from the stones, though the point is somewhat doubtful. Then (to use the historical form of expression, as the scene is described more fully here than on its actual performance under Joshua), the twelve tribes were divided between the two hills. On Gerizim stood Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Joseph, and Benjamin, to *bless* the people: on Ebal, Reuben, Gad, Asher, Zebulun, Dan, and Naphtali, to utter the *curses* which are then fully recited.[102]

Moses then proceeds to amplify the blessing and the curse,

[97] Deut. v.-xxvi. 19; vs. 44-49 of chap. iv. introduce the discourse.

[98] An account of the law is given at the close of the present book.

[99] Deut. xxvii.-xxx. [100] Deut. xxvii. 1. [101] Deut. xxvii. 9. [102] Deut. xxvii.

but chiefly the latter, as the warning was more needed. That sad prophetic anticipation of the course actually followed by the Israelites, which runs through the whole book, becomes now especially prominent; and he denounces, with terrible explicitness, the curses of disease and pestilence, death and famine, failure in every work, subjection to their own servants, invasion by a mighty nation, with all the horrors of defeat and siege, ending in the forlorn lot of the captive in a foreign land, oppressed by his tyrants and uncertain of his very life. "In the morning thou shalt say, Would God it were even! and at even thou shalt say, Would God it were morning!" and, to crown all, they would be led back at last to their bondage in Egypt.[103]

iv. Having finished these discourses, Moses encouraged the people and Joshua, their new leader, to go over Jordan and take possession of the land.[104] He then wrote "this law," and delivered it to the Levites, to be kept in the ark of the covenant, as a perpetual witness against the people; and he commanded them to read it to all Israel, when assembled at the Feast of Tabernacles, every seventh year, in the solemnity of the Sabbatic year.[105]

By the command of Jehovah, who appeared in the cloud to Moses and Joshua when they presented themselves at the door of the Tabernacle, Moses added to the book of the law a *song*, which the children of Israel were enjoined to learn, as a witness for Jehovah against them.[106] This "Song of Moses" recounts the blessings of God, the ROCK:—His perfect work, His righteous ways, and the corrupt requital of His foolish people, though He was their father, who bought and created and established them. It contrasts His mercies with their sins; declares their punishment and the judgment of their oppressors, as alike displaying the glory and vengeance of Him beside whom there is no god; and it concludes by prophesying the time when the Gentiles should rejoice with His people, and all should join to celebrate His marvellous works and judgments in "the song of Moses, the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb."[107]

v. Moses now received the final summons for his departure.[108] But first he uttered, not now as the legislator and teacher of his people, but as the prophet, wrapt in the vis-

[103] Deut. xxviii.

[104] Deut. xxxi. 1–8.

[105] Deut. xxxi. 9–13, 24–30. This is the most striking of the passages in which the books of Scripture contain in themselves the record of their composition.

[106] Deut. xxxi. 14–23.

[107] Deut. xxxii. 1–47; Rev. xv. 3, 4.

[108] Deut. xxxii. 48–52.

ions of the future, his blessing on the twelve tribes.[109] This *blessing of Moses* closely resembles, in its structure and contents, the dying blessing of Jacob on his sons, but with very interesting differences. Besides the new and fervent description of Levi's priesthood,[110] it is remarkable for the absence of those darker shades, which were cast over Jacob's language by the faults of his sons. It speaks only of the favors that God would shower on the tribes;[111] and it describes most richly the happiness of the whole people, who are mentioned, here and in the preceding song, by the symbolical name of JESHURUN, *the beloved*, which is only used again by Isaiah.[112]

vi. "And Moses went up from the plains of Moab unto the mountain of Nebo (the *head*), the summit of Pisgah (the *heights*), that is over against Jericho. And Jehovah showed him all the land of Gilead unto Dan, and all Naphtali, and the land of Ephraim, and Manasseh, and all the land of Judah, even unto the utmost sea, and the south, and the plain of the valley of Jericho the city of palm-trees, unto Zoar."[113] Thus minutely does the supplement to the Book of Deuteronomy describe the scene which lay open before Moses, when he was alone with God upon the sacred mountain of the Moabites; embracing the four great masses of the inheritance on the east, the north, the centre, and the south, with the plain that lay at his feet. Not that his eye, though still undimmed by his thrice forty years,[114] could literally behold all that is here named: "the foreground of the picture alone was clearly discernible; its dim distances were to be supplied by what was beyond, though suggested by what was within, the range of the actual prospect of the seer."[115] After receiving the last assurance that this was the land promised to Abraham and his seed, "Moses the servant of Jehovah died there in the land of Moab, according to the word of Jehovah."[116] God himself buried him "in a ravine before Bethpeor," in front of the very sanctuary of "the abomination of the Moabites." The allusion of St. Jude seems to imply that the fallen angel, who was really worshiped there, disputed this invasion of his sanctuary with the "divine prince, the chief of the angels" (Michael, the arch-

[109] Deut. xxxiii.

[110] Deut. xxxiii. 8–11.

[111] It is curious that *Simeon* is not named.

[112] Deut. xxxii. 15, xxxiii. 5, 26; Is. xliv. 2: the form *Jesurun* is a mistake of our translators.

[113] Deut. xxxiv. 1–3.

[114] Deut. xxxiv. 7.

[115] Stanley, *Sinai and Pal.*, p. 301.

[116] Deut. xxxiv. 5.

angel), who rebuked him with the same calm authority which He used on the mount of the temptation.[117] Another and a different profanation, by the idolatrous zeal of later ages for the so-called "Holy Places," was guarded against by the concealment of the spot; and we almost shrink from mentioning the absurd attempt to contradict the mystery by the rude mosque, on the opposite side of the Dead Sea, which pretends to mark "the tomb of the prophet Moses." That of him which it was really left for posterity to seek, besides the record of his deeds,[118] was his living likeness, in the prophet whom God promised to raise up of his brethren, as He had raised up him, even Christ.

The children of Israel mourned for Moses in the plains of Moab thirty days; and they rendered obedience to Joshua, the son of Nun, on whom Moses had laid his hands, and who was full of the spirit of wisdom.[119]

§ 11. In portraying the character of Moses, we avail ourselves of the graphic description of Dean Stanley:[120]

It has sometimes been attempted to reduce this great character into a mere passive instrument of the Divine Will, as though he had himself borne no conscious part in the actions in which he figures, or the messages which he delivers. This, however, is as incompatible with the general tenor of the scriptural account, as it is with the common language in which he has been described by the Church in all ages. The frequent addresses of the Divinity to him no more contravene his personal activity and intelligence, than in the case of Elijah, Isaiah, or St. Paul. In the New Testament the Mosaic legislation is especially ascribed to him:—"*Moses* gave you circumcision."[121] "*Moses*, because of the hardness of your hearts, suffered you."[122] "Did not *Moses* give you the law?"[123] "*Moses* accuseth you."[124] St. Paul speaks of him as the founder of the Jewish religion: "They were all baptized *unto Moses*."[125] He is constantly called "a Prophet." In the poetical language of the Old Testament,[126] and in the popular language both of Jews and Christians, he is known as "the Lawgiver." He must be considered, like all the saints and heroes of the Bible, as a man of marvellous gifts, raised up by Divine Providence for a special purpose; but as led into a closer communion with the invisi-

[117] Jude 9; compare Zech. iii. 2; Matt. iv. 10; Luke iv. 8.
[118] Deut. xxxiii. 10-12.
[119] Deut. xxxiii. 8, 9.
[120] *Dict. of Bible*, art. Moses.
[121] John vii. 22.
[122] Matt. xix. 8.
[123] John vii. 19.
[124] John v. 45.
[125] 1 Cor. x. 2.
[126] Numbers xxi. 18; Deut. xxxiii 21.

ble world than was vouchsafed to any other in the Old Testament.

There are two main characters in which he appears, as a leader and as a prophet.

i. Of his natural gifts as a *Leader*, we have but few means of judging. The two main difficulties which he encountered were the reluctance of the people to submit to his guidance, and the impracticable nature of the country which they had to traverse. The patience with which he bore their murmurs had been described—at the Red Sea, at the apostasy of the golden calf, at the rebellion of Korah, at the complaints of Aaron and Miriam. On approaching Palestine, the office of the leader becomes blended with that of the general or the conqueror. By Moses the spies were sent to explore the country. Against his advice took place the first disastrous battle at Hormah. To his guidance is ascribed the circuitous route by which the nation approached Palestine from the east, and to his generalship the two successful campaigns in which SIHON and OG were defeated. The narrative is told so shortly, that we are in danger of forgetting that at this last stage of his life Moses must have been as much a conqueror and victorious soldier as Joshua.

ii. His character as a *Prophet* is, from the nature of the case, more distinctly brought out. He is the first as he is the greatest example of a prophet in the Old Testament. The name is indeed applied to Abraham before,[127] but so casually as not to enforce our attention. But, in the case of Moses, it is given with peculiar emphasis. In a certain sense, he appears as the centre of a prophetic circle, now for the first time named. His brother and sister were both endowed with prophetic gifts. Aaron's fluent speech enabled him to act the part of prophet for Moses in the first instance, and Miriam is expressly called "the Prophetess." The seventy elders, and Eldad and Medad also, all "prophesied."[128] But Moses (at least after the Exodus) rose high above all these. The others are spoken of as more or less inferior. Their communications were made to them in dreams and figures.[129] But "Moses was not so." With him the divine revelations were made, "mouth to mouth, even apparently, and not in dark speeches, and the similitude of JEHOVAH shall he behold."[130]

The prophetic office of Moses, however, can only be fully considered in connection with his whole character and appearance. "By a prophet Jehovah brought Israel out of Egypt,

[127] Gen. xx. 7.
[128] Num. xi. 25-27.
[129] Deut. xiii. 1-4; Num. xii. 6.
[130] Num. xii. 8.

and by a prophet was he preserved."[131] He was in a sense peculiar to himself the founder and representative of his people. And, in accordance with this complete identification of himself with his nation, is the only strong personal trait which we are able to gather from his history. "The man Moses was very meek, above all the men that were upon the face of the earth."[132] The word "meek" is hardly an adequate reading of the Hebrew term, which should be rather "much enduring;" and, in fact, his onslaught on the Egyptian, and his sudden dashing the tables on the ground, indicate rather the reverse of what we should call "meekness." It represents what we should now designate by the word "disinterested." All that is told of him indicates a withdrawal of himself, a preference of the cause of his nation to his own interests, which makes him the most complete example of Jewish patriotism. He joins his countrymen in their degrading servitude.[133] He forgets himself to avenge their wrongs.[134] He desires that his brother may take the lead instead of himself.[135] He wishes that not he only, but all the nation, were gifted alike:— "Enviest thou for my sake?"[136] When the offer is made that the people should be destroyed, and that he should be made "a great nation,"[137] he prays that they may be forgiven —"if not, blot me, I pray Thee, out of Thy book which Thou hast written."[138] His sons were not raised to honor. The leadership of the people passed, after his death, to another tribe. In the books which bear his name, Abraham, and not himself, appears as the real father of the nation. In spite of his great pre-eminence, they are never "the children of Moses."

In the New Testament Moses is spoken of as a likeness of Christ; and, as this is a point of view which has been almost lost in the Church, compared with the more familiar comparisons of Christ to Adam, David, Joshua, and yet has as firm a basis in fact as any of them, it may be well to draw it out in detail.

1. Moses is, as it would seem, the only character of the Old Testament to whom Christ expressly likens Himself—"Moses wrote of me."[139] It is uncertain to what passage our Lord alludes, but the general opinion seems to be the true one— that it is the remarkable prediction[140]—"The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from *the midst of thee*, from thy brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken... I

131 Hos. xii. 13.
132 Num. xii. 3. 133 Ex. ii. 11, v. 4.
134 Ex. ii. 14. 135 Ex iv. 13.
136 Num. xi. 29. 137 Ex. xxxii. 10.
138 Ex. xxxii. 32. 139 John v. 46.
140 Deut. xviii. 15, 18, 19.

will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee, and will put my words in his mouth; and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him. And it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him." This passage is also expressly quoted by Stephen,[141] and it is probably in allusion to it, that at the transfiguration, in the presence of Moses and Elijah, the words were uttered, "Hear ye Him." It suggests three main points of likeness:—(*a.*) Christ was, like Moses, the great prophet of the people—the last, as Moses was the first. In greatness of position, none came between them. (*b.*) Christ, like Moses, is a lawgiver: "Him shall ye hear." (*c.*) Christ, like Moses, was a prophet out of the midst of the nation—"from their brethren." As Moses was the entire representative of his people, feeling for them more than for himself, absorbed in their interests, hopes, and fears, so, with reverence be it said, was Christ.

2. In Hebrews[142] and Acts[143] Christ is described, though more obscurely, as the Moses of the new dispensation—as the apostle, or messenger, or mediator, of God to the people—as the controller and leader of the flock or household of God.

3. The details of their lives are sometimes, though not often, compared. Stephen[144] dwells, evidently with this view, on the likeness of Moses in striving to act as a peacemaker, and misunderstood and rejected on that very account. The death of Moses suggests the ascension of Christ; and the retardation of the rise of the Christian Church, till after its founder was withdrawn, gives a moral as well as a material resemblance. But this, though dwelt upon in the services of the Church, has not been expressly laid down in the Bible.

[141] Acts vii. 37.
[142] Heb. iii. 1–19, xii. 24–29.
[143] Acts vii. 37.
[144] Actsvii. 24–28, 37.



The Golden Candlestick.

APPENDIX TO BOOK III.

THE LEGISLATION OF MOSES.

SECTION I.

THE PRINCIPLES AND CLASSIFICATION OF THE MOSAIC LAW.

§ 1. Divine origin of the Law of Moses—Its distinction from all other codes. § 2. Examination of the Law—Its leading principles—Its foundation in the THEOCRACY, accepted by the people, and ratified by God's Covenant with them—Whence follows the Religious, Moral, Civil, and Constitutional Law. § 3. Classification of the Law, based on the Two Tables of the Ten Commandments. § 4. Arrangement of the Ten Commandments. § 5. Classification of the Law into—A. Laws religious and ceremonial—B. Laws constitutional and political—C. Laws civil: human duties and rights—D. Laws criminal. § 6.—I. LAWS RELIGIOUS AND CEREMONIAL—The First Commandment. § 7. The Second Commandment. § 8. The Third Commandment. § 9. The Fourth Commandment.

§ 1. A LARGE portion of the *second* and *fourth* books of the Pentateuch (*Exodus* and *Numbers*), and nearly the whole of its *third* and *fifth* books (*Leviticus* and *Deuteronomy*), are occupied with the LAWS, which Moses was the instrument of giving to the Jewish people. He keeps ever before our eyes the fact that the Law was the LAW OF JEHOVAH. Its outline was given from Sinai by the voice of God himself.[1] One whole section of it, containing the ordinances of divine worship, was communicated to Moses by a special revelation, in the secrecy of the mount.[2] And even in the case of

[1] Ex. xx.–xxiii.

[2] Ex. xxv. xxxi.

those precepts, which were enacted as the occasion for each arose, we find Moses invariably referring the question to the express decision of Jehovah.

It is this character that distinguishes the legislation of Moses from that of all other great lawgivers, actual or mythical: Zoroaster, Menu, or Confucius; Zaleucus, Solon, or Lycurgus; besides that this is the only authentic case, in the history of the world, of a newly-formed nation receiving at once and from one legislator a complete code of laws for the direction of their whole future course of life.

§ 2. Before attempting to classify the enactments of this code, it is necessary to discover first its leading principles.

The basis of the whole commonwealth of Israel, as well as of its law, is the THEOCRATIC CONSTITUTION. Jehovah was present with the people, abiding in his tabernacle in their midst, visible by the symbol of His presence, and speaking to them through Moses and the High-priest. The whole law was the direct utterance of His will; and the government was carried on with constant reference to His oracular decisions. Thus He was to Israel what the king was to other nations; and hence their desire to have another king is denounced as treason to Jehovah. But more than this: He was, so to speak, the proprietor of the people. They were His *possession*, for He had redeemed them from their slavery in Egypt, and had brought them out thence to settle them in a new land of His own choice; and they, on their part, had accepted this relation to Jehovah by a solemn covenant. His right over their *persons* was asserted in the redemption of the first-born, and in the emancipation of the Jewish slave in the year of release. His right over their *land* was the fundamental law of property among the Jews. The tithes were a constant acknowledgment of this right; and the return of alienated land, in the year of jubilee, to the families who had at first received it by allotment from Jehovah, was the reassertion of His sole propriety.

On their part, the people were required to believe in this supreme and intimate relation of Jehovah to them. They accepted it at first by the "covenant in Horeb," and into it every Israelite was initiated by circumcision, the common seal of this covenant and of that with Abraham, of which this was the sequel. They were to observe it in practice by the worship of Jehovah as the only God, by abstaining from idolatry, and by obedience to the law as the expression of His will.

Of this relation of Jehovah to the people the whole law was the practical development; and from it each separate portion may be deduced.

(i.) The *Religious Law*, which prescribed first the eternal principle of God's worship, and next the special ceremonies of His service under this particular dispensation.

(ii.) The *Moral Law*, which declared those duties of personal holiness and uprightness which arise out of man's relation to God and to his fellow-man, apart from any peculiarity of race, or place, or time. To these precepts the Mosaic law appends certain special ordinances for regulating the details of life, which may be called the *Law of Manners*. Many of these minute observances are, no doubt, temporary. Some were typical of principles which, under a freer dispensation, belong to the province of the individual conscience, rather than of positive law, a distinction for which the Israelites were not yet prepared. Others were designed to impress upon

them, by the teaching of common acts, the great lesson of "*Holiness to Jehovah;*" and they were to be practiced as a means to the knowledge and love of God, and as a preparation for "the law of liberty," "the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus." We forget this truth when we speak of such ordinances as narrow and slavish just as the Jews did when they tried to observe them only in the letter, and so felt them as "a yoke which they were unable to bear."[3]

(iii.) The *Civil, Political,* and *Judicial Law.*—It is here that the Theocratic principle is most conspicuous, as distinguishing the legislation of Moses from all human constitutions. We have seen how it affected the tenure of property and the rights of persons: its influence on civil society is no less remarkable. All that is valuable in the theories on this subject is summed up, and many of their errors are corrected, in the axiom of Aristotle: "Civil society (the *Polis;* exists not for men to live, but for them to live well;" but, as applied to the Jews, it needs a supplement "for them to live well, *as the people of God.*"

In His presence, as the actual head of the State, "the right divine of kings to govern wrong" becomes blasphemy and treason, as we see practically in the case of Saul. His supreme authority over judges, priests, and kings, was actually asserted by the prophets, in their unsparing denunciation of wickedness in high places. Witness the behavior of Samuel toward Saul, and of Nathan to David, and the conflicts of Elijah, Elisha, and Jeremiah, with the kings of Israel and Judah. On the other hand, there is no room for the self-willed assertion of the "rights of man;" but those of them which deserve the name are secured by just and merciful laws, founded on right itself, as expressed by the will of God. There is no distinction between the provinces of action and thought, of free conscience and coercive law, nor between temporal and spiritual authority. It was not till, by the people's own sin, a worldly empire had usurped the theocratic throne, that they were bidden to "Render to Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's, and to God the things that were God's." All was God's at first, and the scope of the whole law was in the precept: "Thou shalt love Jehovah thy God with *all thy heart,* and with *all thy soul,* and with *all thy might;*" with its corollary, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

(iv.) *The Laws respecting Rewards and Punishments.*—These also differed from those of other states, both in their nature and in the object that they aimed at. Every breach of the law was an act of disobedience to God, and not merely an offense against society. The rewards of obedience and the punishment of sin had reference to the covenant under which the people lived. They are fully expressed in the "blessing and the curse," as set forth by Moses. The reward is summed up in the frequently-repeated phrase, "that it may go well with thee, and with thy children after thee, and that thou mayest prolong thy days in the land which Jehovah thy God giveth thee."[4] The highest punishment of the offender was that "his soul should be cut off from Israel," his life severed from the congregation, and from all the present benefits of the covenant, as he had broken it on his side. This explains the infliction of death for so many offenses, some of them beyond the cognizance of ordinary codes, but crimes against Jehovah. The

[3] Acts xv. 10. [4] Deut. iv. 40, v. 16, vi. 3, 18, xii. 25, 28, xxii. 7, etc

offender was put to death, not only as a warning to the living, but as the means of removing him from the congregation of the faithful.

The divine authority of the law was publicly exhibited by the intervention of God in carrying out its sanctions. The promised blessing and its opposite curse must, in their very nature, come from the general providence of God; and both are seen conspicuously in the history of the Jews, from the time of Moses to this day. But there are not wanting instances of a more special providence, as in the treble produce of each sixth year, to compensate for the rest of the land during the sabbatic year, and in the exemption of the country from attack during the three great festivals. So, too, in the infliction of punishments: besides the ordinary cases, which were left to the magistrate, sometimes however with a direct reference to God's judgment, there were other instances in which He "came out of his place" to cut off the rebels by fire or pestilence, venomous creatures, and wild beasts.

The object of this system of rewards and punishments was *disciplinary*: and to this its retributive element was subordinate. Legislation has regard generally to the safety of society and the protection of individual rights; but that of Moses aims at purity and righteousness, as fruits of piety, and seeks the perfection of society in brotherly love. Hence it deals as severely with sins against God and a man's own purity, as with those against society.

§ 3. We now proceed to give an abstract of the law under its several heads, following as nearly as possible the order of the Pentateuch itself, which has more system than is commonly supposed. The basis of the whole law is laid in the TEN COMMANDMENTS, as we call them, though they are nowhere so entitled in the Mosaic books; but the "TEN WORDS,"[5] the "COVENANT,"[6] or, very often, as the solemn attestation of the divine will, the TESTIMONY.[7] The term "Commandments" had come into use in the time of Christ.[8] Their division into *two tables* is not only expressly mentioned, but the stress laid upon the *two*, leaves no doubt that the distinction was important, and that it answered to that summary of the law, which was made both by Moses and by Christ into two precepts; so that the *First Table* contained *Duties to God*, and the *Second*, *Duties to our Neighbor*.

§ 4. But here arises a difficulty, not only as to the arrangement of the commandments between the "Two Tables," but as to the division of the "Ten Words" themselves. The division is not clearly made in the Scripture itself; and that arrangement, with which we are familiar from childhood, is only one of three modes, handed down from the ancient Jewish and Christian Churches, to say nothing of modern theories; and others are used at this day by Jews and Roman Catholics.

(1.) The modern Jews following the Talmuds, take the words which are often called the *Preface* as the *First* Commandment;[9] and the prohibitions both against having other gods, and against idolatry, as the second;[10] the rest being arranged as with us.

(2.) The Roman Catholic and Lutheran Churches, following St. Augus-

[5] Ex. xxxiv. 28; Deut. iv. 13, x. 4.

[6] Ex. Deut. *ll. cc.*; 1 K. viii. 21; 2 Chron. vi. 11, etc.

[7] Ex. xxv. 16, 21, xxxi. 18, etc.

[8] Αἱ ἐντολαί, Luke xviii. 20.

[9] Ex. xx. 2; Deut. v. 6: "I am Jehovah thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt, from the house of bondage."

[10] Ex. xx. 3–6; Deut. v. 7–10.

tine, regard the *First* Commandment as embracing all the above words, in one comprehensive law against false worship and idolatry. Thus our *Third* Commandment is their *Second*, and so on to our *Ninth*, which is their *Eighth*. They then make our *Tenth* against coveting their *Ninth* and *Tenth*. In the arrangement of the Two Tables, the First contains three commandments, closing with the Sabbath law, and the Second the remaining seven.

(3.) The arrangement adopted by the Greek and English Churches following Philo, Josephus, and Origen, and all the Latin fathers, makes the law against having other gods besides Jehovah the *First Commandment*, and that against idolatry the *Second*, though a slight difference of opinion remains, whether the first words[11] belong to the First Commandment, or form a *Preface* to the whole.

There are then three principal divisions of the Two Tables: (i.) That of the Roman Catholic Church mentioned above, making the First Table contain three commandments, and the second the other seven. (ii.) The familiar division, referring the first four to our duty toward God, and the six remaining to our duty toward man. (iii.) The division recognized by the old Jewish writers, Josephus and Philo, and supported by Ewald, which places five commandments in each Table; and thus preserves the pentade and decade grouping which pervades the whole code. It has been maintained that the law of filial duty, being a close consequence of God's fatherly relation to us, may be referred to the First Table. But this is to place human parents on a level with God, and, by parity of reasoning, the Sixth Commandment might be added to the First Table, as murder is the destruction of God's image in man. Far more reasonable is the view which regards the authority of parents as heading the Second Table, as the earthly reflex of that authority of the Father of His people and of all men which heads the first, and as the first principle of the whole law of love to our neighbors, because we are all brethren; and the family is, for good and ill, the model of the State.[12]

§ 5. From the Two Tables, then, we deduce the great division into— i. Duties toward God, or *Laws concerning Religion and Worship*. ii. Duties toward man, or *Laws of Civil Right*.

[11] Ex. xx. 2.

[12] To these Ten Commandments we find in the Samaritan Pentateuch an eleventh added: "But when the Lord thy God shall have brought thee into the land of Canaan, whither thou goest to possess it, thou shalt set thee up two great stones, and shalt plaister them with plaister, and shalt write upon these stones all the words of this Law. Moreover, after thou shalt have passed over Jordan, thou shalt set up those stones which I command thee this day, on Mount Gerizim, and thou shalt build there an altar to the Lord thy God, an altar of stones: thou shalt not lift up any iron thereon. Of unhewn stones shalt thou build that altar to the Lord thy God, and thou shalt offer on it burnt-offerings to the Lord thy God, and thou shalt sacrifice peace-offerings, and shalt eat them there, and thou shalt rejoice before the Lord thy God in that mountain beyond Jordan, by the way where the sun goeth down, in the land of the Canaanite that dwelleth in the plain country over against Gilgal, by the oak of Moreh, toward Sichem." In the absence of any direct evidence we can only guess as to the history of this remarkable addition. (1.) It will be seen that the whole passage is made up of two which are found in the Hebrew text of Deut. xxvii. 2–7, and xi. 30, with the *substitution*, in the former, of Gerizim for Ebal. (2.) In the absence of confirmation from any other version, Ebal must, as far as textual criticism is concerned, be looked upon as the true reading, Gerizim as a falsification, casual or deliberate, of the text. (3.) Probably the choice of Gerizim as the site of the Samaritan temple was determined by the fact that it had been the Mount of Blessings, Ebal that of Curses.

They do not explicitly lay down the principles of the *judicial and political law*, which are to be deduced from the fundamental idea of Jehovah's sovereignty as laid down in the First Commandment. Nor do they speak of the *sanctions* of the law by *rewards and punishments*, except in the general statement of the principle of retribution appended to the Second Commandment, and the special promise annexed to the Fifth. The first of these two great branches of the law may be regarded as a deduction from the First Table; the latter as the enforcement of both by necessary coercion.

Hence we may classify the whole law as follows:—

A. *Laws Religious and Ceremonial.*
B. *Laws Constitutional and Political.*
C. *Laws Civil: human duties and rights.*
D. *Laws Criminal:* the statement of which must be, to some extent, included under the former heads.

A. LAWS RELIGIOUS AND CEREMONIAL.

§ 6. LAWS RELIGIOUS and CEREMONIAL, or those concerning God and His worship, and the relation of the people to Him as their God. *The First Commandment* begins with the declaration, "I am JEHOVAH thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt, from the house of bondage."[13] This clause, often called the *Preface*, determines all God's relations to the people, and theirs to Him, involving as its consequences:—

(1.) The *belief in Jehovah as God*, the acceptance of His covenant, and the observance of His ordinances.

(2.) The *Holiness of the People*, as Jehovah's peculiar possession, with their families, servants, lands, and flocks, and all that belonged to them.

The remainder of the commandment forbids them to "have any other Gods *before*" Jehovah,[14] that is, not *in preference to*—such a height of impiety is not alluded to—but *in presence of* Jehovah, or as it is afterward expressed, *with* Him.[15] For false worship began, not with the positive rejection of the true God, but by associating with his worship that of other gods and their images; nay, even images which professed to represent Jehovah himself. This was the sin of Aaron in the matter of the golden calf; we meet it again and again in the history of Israel, and it reached its climax in the idolatries of Solomon, when the heathen gods

> "Durst fix
> Their seats long after *next* the seat of God,
> Their altars *by* His altar; gods adored
> Among the nations round; yea, often placed
> *Within His sanctuary itself* their shrines;
> And with their darkness durst affront his light."

In this passage Milton gives the exact idea of the "*with* me," and "*in my presence*," of the commandment. Under this prohibition was included, not only the worship of false gods, but every pretense to supernatural power or commerce with supernatural beings, except with God himself in his own ordinances. Hence the severe laws against witchcraft and divination, of which we shall speak under the head of the Criminal Law.

[13] Ex. xx. 2; Deut. v. 6; comp. Lev. xxvi. 1, 13; Ps. lxxxi. 10; Hos. xiii. 4, etc.
[14] Ex. xx. 3; Deut. v. 7.
[15] Ex. xx. 23.

§ 7. *The Second Commandment*, which is the necessary consequence of the first, prohibits both the making and the worshiping of any likeness of any object in the heaven, the earth, and the water; and adds the reason, often afterward repeated, that Jehovah is a God *jealous* of His own honor; and the sanction of accumulated punishments on generation after generation of those that hate him, and mercies innumerable to "those that love him and keep his commandments."[16] The peculiar form of the commandment is designed, not to forbid sculpture, which God enjoined in the case of the cherubim, but to guard against the sophistical distinction by which image-worship has ever since been defended, between bowing down *before* an image and bowing down to it, between worshiping God while adoring the image and worshiping the image itself.

§ 8. *The Third Commandment*[17] proceeds not only from outward acts to the *reverence of the lips* toward Jehovah and his holy NAME, in the act of worship; but it implies the *sanctity of oaths and vows*,[18] and it also embraces *common speech*. Thus it is interpreted by Christ and the Apostles, in the passages of the New Testament which refer to perjury and profane swearing.[19] It implies also the guilt of *falsehood*, in its aspect toward God, whose own truth is blasphemed, when man uses the speech with which He has endowed him to deceive; as the *Ninth* Commandment condemns falsehood between man and man. In all these points of view the emphatic warning of responsibility, annexed to the commandment, is a most needful guard against the commonest form of self-deception.[20]

§ 9. *The Fourth Commandment*, proceeding to the *regulation of the life* in reference to God, is based on the principle for which God had made provision from the creation, that our nature needs *seasons* for "remembering" our God and Maker. Of this more when we speak of the law of the Sabbath. Under it may be grouped all the ordinances for the observance of times and festivals.

The special laws based upon these commandments of the first table, besides their penalties in the criminal law, may be arranged as follows:—

I. *God's presence among the people: the Tabernacle and its Furniture, and its Ministers.*

II. *The bond of the Covenant between Him and the People by Sacrifices and Offerings.*

III. *The Holiness of the People, in person, act, and property.*

IV. *The Sacred Seasons, appointed for special acts of service.*

These four divisions will form the subjects of the following sections.

[16] Ex. xx. 4–6; Deut. v. 8–10; with many parallel passages.

[17] Ex. xx. 7; Deut. v. 11.

[18] Comp. Lev. xix. 12; Num. xxx. 2; Ps. xv. 4.

[19] Matt. v 33–37; xxiii. 16–22; Col. iv. 16; James v. 10.

[20] See especially the Epistle of James iii., a wonderful development of the Christian laws of speech.

SECTION II.

THE TABERNACLE

§ 1. God's presence with the people—The *Shechinah*. § 2. Establishment of the TABERNACLE. § 3. Description of the Tabernacle—The court of the Tabernacle. § 4. The Tabernacle itself—Divided into the Holy Place and the Holy of Holies. § 5 The sacred furniture and instruments of the Tabernacle—(i.) In the outer court: (α.) The altar of burnt-offering: (β.) The brazen serpent. § 6.—(ii.) In the Holy Place: (α.) The altar of incense: (γ.) The table of shew-bread: (γ.) The golden candlestick. § 7.—(iii.) In the Holy of Holies.

§ 1. APPEALING to the senses of a people whose spiritual discernment was undeveloped, "Jehovah, who brought them out of Egypt," represented himself as ever with them, to guide and guard them on their journeys, and to dwell with them when they rested, and when they should find a fixed abode. On the very night in which they began their march, the visible symbol of His presence went before them in the SHECHINAH, or pillar of fire by night and of a cloud by day, the advance or halt of which was the signal for their march or rest. There is reason to suppose that there was also from the first some kind of *sacred tent*, over which would be the place of the Shechinah when at rest. *Sacrifice* was contemplated as the very object of their journey,[1] and we read of its being offered by Jethro and Aaron before Sinai: but of its *place* we have no other notice than the command given in the first series of precepts, to make an elevated *altar* of earth or unhewn stone, which was to be approached with careful decency, *in all places where Jehovah would record His name*, and come and bless them.[3]

§ 2. It was soon intimated that He would fix one such place for His abode, where alone sacrifices might be offered. Meanwhile, the first ordinances given to Moses, after the proclamation of the outline of the law from Sinai, related to the ordering of the TABERNACLE, its furniture and its service, as the type which was to be followed when the people came to their own home and "found a place" for the abode of God. During the forty days of Moses's first retirement with God in Sinai, an exact pattern of the whole was shown him, and all was made according to it.[4]

The description of this plan is preceded by an account of the free-will offerings which the children of Israel were to be asked to make for its execution. The materials were :—

(*a*) Metals: *gold*, *silver*, and *brass*.

(*b*) Textile fabrics: *blue*, *purple*, *scarlet*, and *fine* (*white*) *linen*, for the production of which Egypt was celebrated ; also a fabric of *goats' hair*, the produce of their own flocks.

(*c*) Skins: of the *ram*, dyed red, and of the *badger*.

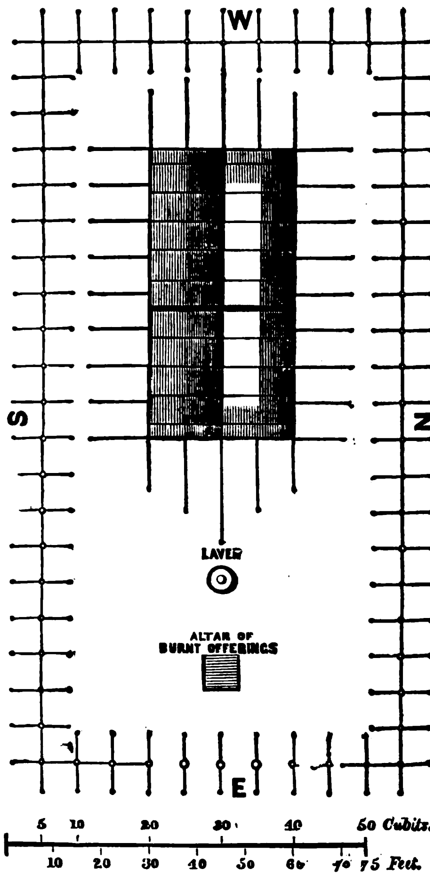
[1] Ex. viii. 25, 26. [2] Ex. xviii. 12, xxxii. 6.
[3] Ex. xx. 24–26.
[4] Ex. xxv. 9, 40, xxvi. 30, xxxix. 32, 42, 43; Num. viii. 4; Acts vii. 44; Heb. viii. 5. From 1 Chron. xxviii. 11, we learn that Solomon's temple was built according to a plan drawn for him by David. Its general resemblance to the Tabernacle is evident; but its permanent character involved large additions.

(*d*) Wood: the *shittim*-wood, the timber of the wild acacia of the desert itself, the tree of the "burning bush."

(*e*) *Oil*, *spices*, and *incense*, for anointing the priests, and burning in the tabernacle.

(*f*) Gems: *onyx* stones, and the *precious stones* for the breastplate of the high-priest.

The people gave jewels, and plates of gold and silver, and brass; wood, skins, hair, and linen; the women wove; the rulers offered precious stones, oil, spices, and incense; and the artists soon had more than they needed.[5] The superintendence of the work was intrusted to Bazaleel, of the tribe of Judah, and to Aholiab, of the tribe of Dan, who were skilled in "all manner of workmanship."[6]



Plan of the Court of the Tabernacle.

§ 3. The TABERNACLE was the *tent of Jehovah*, called by the same name as the tents of the people, in the midst of which it stood. It was also called the *sanctuary*, and the *tabernacle of the congregation*.[7] It was a portable building, designed to contain the sacred *ark*, the special symbol of God's presence, and was surrounded by an outer court.

(i.) The *Court of the Tabernacle*, in which the Tabernacle itself stood, was an oblong space, 100 cubits by 50 (*i. e.*, 150 feet by 75),[8] having its longer axis east and west, with its front to the *east*. It was surrounded by canvas screens—in the East called Kannauts—5 cubits

[5] Ex. xxv. 1–8, xxxv. 4–29, xxxvi. 5–7.

[6] Ex. xxxi. 2, 6, xxxv. 30, 34.

[7] See chap. xii. § 12, p. 173, note.

[8] The cubit here spoken of was the full cubit (see p. 697), equal to 18¼ English inches. A smaller cubit of 15 inches was used for vessels and metal-work. The plan shows the full extent of the *roof* of the Tabernacle, pro

in height, and supported by pillars of brass 5 cubits apart, to which the curtains were attached by hooks and fillets of silver.[9] This enclosure was only broken on the eastern side by the entrance, which was 20 cubits wide, and closed by curtains of fine twined linen, wrought with needle-work, and of the most gorgeous colors.

In the outer or eastern half of the court was placed the altar of burnt-offering, and between it and the Tabernacle itself, the laver at which the priests washed their hands and feet on entering the Temple.

§ 4. (ii.) The *Tabernacle itself* was placed toward the western end of this enclosure. It was an oblong rectangular structure, 30 cubits in length by 10 in width (45 feet by 15), and 10 in height; the interior being divided into two chambers, the first or outer of 20 cubits in length, the inner of 10 cubits, and consequently an exact cube. The former was the *Holy Place*, or *First Tabernacle*,[10] containing the golden candlestick on one side, the table of shew-bread opposite, and between them in the centre the altar of incense. The latter was the *Most Holy Place*, or the *Holy of Holies*, containing the ark, surmounted by the cherubim, with the two tables inside.

The two sides, and the further or western end, were enclosed by boards of shittim-wood overlaid with gold, twenty on the north and south side, six on the western side, and the corner-boards doubled. They stood upright, edge to edge, their lower ends being made with tenons, which dropped into sockets of silver, and the corner-boards being coupled at the top with rings. They were furnished with golden rings, through which passed bars of shittim-wood, overlaid with gold, five to each side, and the middle bar passing from end to end, so as to brace the whole together. Four successive coverings of curtains looped together were placed over the open top, and fell down over the sides. The first, or inmost, was a splendid fabric of linen, embroidered with figures of cherubim, in blue, purple, and scarlet, and looped together by golden fastenings. It seems probable that the ends of this set of curtains hung down *within* the Tabernacle, forming a sumptuous tapestry. The next was a woolen covering of goats' hair; the third, of rams' skins dyed red; and the outermost, of badgers' skins.[11] It has been usually supposed that these coverings were thrown over the walls, like a pall is thrown over a coffin; but this would have allowed every drop of rain that fell on the Tabernacle to fall through; for, however tightly the curtains might be stretched, the water could never run over the edge, and the sheepskins would only make the matter worse, as, when wetted, their weight would depress the centre, and probably tear any curtain that could be made. There can be no reasonable doubt that the tent had a ridge, as all tents have had from the days of Moses down to the present day.

The front of the Sanctuary was closed by a hanging of fine linen, embroidered in blue, purple, and scarlet, and supported by golden hooks, on *five* pillars of shittim-wood overlaid with gold, and standing in brass sockets; and the covering of goats' hair was so made as to fall down over this when required. A more sumptuous curtain of the same kind, embroidered with cherubim, hung on *four*[12] such pillars, with silver sockets, divided the

jecting beyond the walls 5 cubits on every side, as explained in the *Dict. of Bible*, vol. iii. p. 1452.

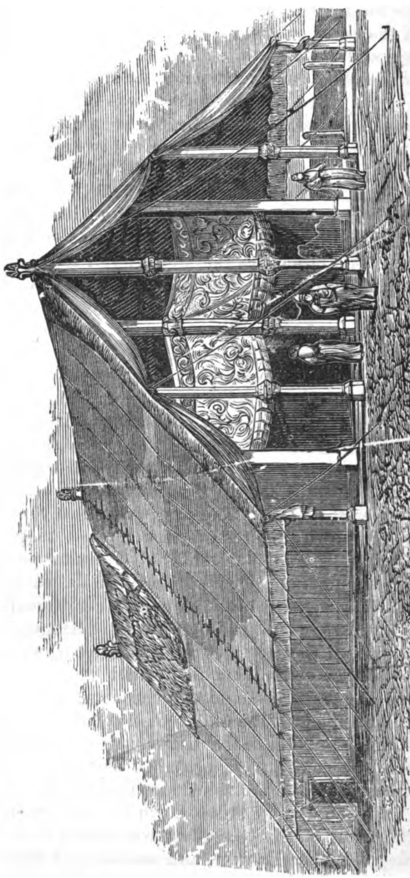
[9] Ex. xxvii. 9, etc.

[10] Heb. ix. 2.

[11] So called in our version; but the Hebrew word probably signifies seal-skins.

[12] It should be noticed that, while the Holy of Holies was divided from the Holy Place by

Holy from the Most Holy Place. It was called the VEIL,[13] as it hid from the eyes of all but the high-priest the inmost sanctuary, where Jehovah dwelt on his mercy-seat, between the cherubim above the ark. Hence, "to enter within the veil" is to have the closest access to God. It was only passed by the high-priest once a year, on the Day of Atonement, in token of the mediation of Christ, who, with his own blood, hath entered for us within the veil which separates God's own abode from earth.[14] In the temple, the solemn barrier was at length profaned by a Roman conqueror, to warn the Jews that the privileges they had forfeited were "ready to vanish away;" and the veil was at last rent by the hand of God himself, at the same moment that the body of Christ was rent upon the cross, to indicate that the entrance into the holiest of all is now laid open to all believers "by the blood of Jesus, by a new and living way which He hath consecrated for us, through the veil, that is to say, His flesh."[15] The *Holy Place* was only entered by the priests daily, to offer incense at the time of morning and evening prayer, and to renew the lights on the golden candlestick; and on the Sabbath, to remove the old shew-bread, and to place the new upon the table



South-east View of the Tabernacle, as restored.

§ 5. (iii.) *The Sacred Furniture and Instruments of the Tabernacle.*

a screen of *four* pillars supporting curtains, there were in the entrance *five* pillars in a similar space. Now, no one would put a pillar in the centre of an entrance without a motive; but the moment a ridge is assumed it becomes indispensable.

[13] Sometimes the *second veil*, either in reference to the first at the entrance of the Holy Place, or as being the veil of the second sanctuary (Heb. ix. 3).

[14] Heb. vi. 19.

[15] Heb. x. 19, 20.

3. In the Outer Court—

(α) The *Altar of Burnt-offering* stood in the midst of the court, and formed the central point of the outer services, in which the people had a part. On it all sacrifices and oblations were presented, except the sin-offerings, which were burnt without the camp. It was a large hollow case or coffer, 5 cubits square by 3 in height, made of shittim-wood, overlaid with plates of brass, and with a grating of brass in the middle to place the wood upon, and rings to lift the grating. At the four corners were projections called "horns," the "laying hold" of which was the sign of throwing one's self upon the mercy of God, and a means of fleeing to take sanctuary from man's vengeance. Like the ark, the altar of incense, and the table of shew-bread, it was furnished with rings, through which were passed bars to carry it when the people were on the march. Its utensils of brass are enumerated in Exod. xxxviii. 3. The priests went up to it, not by steps, but by a sloping mound of earth.

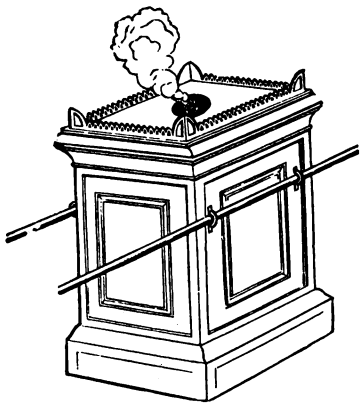
(β) The *Brazen Laver*, a vessel, on a foot, to hold water for the ablutions of the priests, stood between the altar of burnt-offering and the entrance to the holy place. It was made of the brass mirrors which were offered by the women. Its size and form are not mentioned: it is commonly represented as round; it need not have been very large, as the priests washed themselves *at*, not *in* it.

§ 6. (ii.) *In the Holy Place.*—The furniture of the court was connected with *sacrifice*, that of the sanctuary itself with the deeper mysteries of mediation and access to God. The *First Sanctuary* contained three objects: the *altar of incense* in the centre, so as to be directly in front of the ark of the covenant,[16] the *table of shew-bread* on its right or north side, and the *golden candlestick* on the left or south side. These objects were all considered as being placed before the presence of Jehovah, who dwelt in the holiest of all, though with the veil between.

(α) The *Altar of Incense*, a double cube of 1 cubit square by 2 high, with horns, was of shittim-wood, overlaid with gold, whence it is often called the *Golden Altar*,[17] to distinguish it from the altar of burnt-offering, which was called the *Brazen* Altar.[18] It had a cornice of gold, and four golden rings to receive the staves of shittim-wood overlaid with gold, for carrying it.[19] Neither burnt-offering, nor meat-offering, nor drink-offering, was to be laid upon it; but the blood of the sin-offering of atonement was sprinkled upon its horns once a year.[20] The incense burnt upon it was a sacred composition of spices of divine prescription.[21] It was offered every morning and evening, at first by Aaron and his sons, and afterward by the priests officiating in weekly course, and by the high-priest on great occasions. The priest took some of the sacred fire off the altar of burnt-offering in his censer, and threw the incense upon it: then, entering the holy place, he emptied the censer upon the altar, prayed, and performed the other duties of his office. Meanwhile the people prayed outside;[22] and thus was typified the intercession of Christ in heaven, making his people's prayers on earth ac-

[16] 1 K. vi. 22.
[17] Ex. xxxix. 38; Num. iv. 11.
[18] Ex. xxxviii. 30.
[19] Its appearance may be illustrated by the figure on p. 230.
[20] Ex. xxx. 1–10, xxxvii. 25–28.
[21] Exod. xxv. 6, xxx. 34: the ingredients were *stacte*, *onycha*, *galbanum*, and *pure frankincense*, with *salt*, as the symbol of incorruptness.
[22] Luke i. 10.

ceptable.[23] It was highly criminal to offer "strange" incense or "strange" fire upon the altar, or for any one to usurp the function of the priests, or to make, or apply to any other use, the sacred incense. Nadab and Abihu were slain for the second of these offenses;[24] King Uzziah was smitten with leprosy for the third;[25] and the punishment of death was appointed for the fourth.[26]



Supposed form of the Altar of Incense.

(β) The *Table of Shew-bread* was an oblong table, with legs, 2 cubits long, 1 broad, and 1½ high. It was of shittim-wood, covered with gold, and finished, like the altar, with a golden rim, and four rings and staves. It was furnished with dishes, spoons, covers, and bowls, of pure gold. It stood on the north, or right side of the altar of incense.[27] Upon this table were placed twelve cakes of fine flour, in two rows of six each, with frankincense upon each row. This "*Shew*-bread," as it was called from being exposed before Jehovah, was placed fresh upon the table every Sabbath by the priests, who ate the old loaves in the holy place.[28] The letter of this law was transgressed on one occasion, which is rendered most memorable by Christ's appeal to it in one of his arguments with the Pharisees. When David fled from Saul, Abimelech the priest gave to him and his companions, in their necessity, the shew-bread which had just been removed from the table. David pleaded for it as being in a manner common, since fresh bread had been sanctified in the sacred vessels, and the priest laid more stress on the purity of the young men than on the sacredness of the bread.[29] It would be difficult to say whether the whole proceeding, including David's pretense of a mission from Saul, was morally justifiable. The point to which our Saviour's argument is directed is somewhat different. He appeals to the case in which the sanctity both of the holy place and of holy things

[23] Ps. cxli. 2; Rev. v. 8, viii. 1-5: every clause of the last passage contains some allusion to the mode of offering the incense in the later temple service.

[24] Lev. x. 1-7. See chap. xiii. § 3.

[25] 2 Chron. xxvi. 16-21.

[26] Ex. xxx. 37, 38.

[27] Ex. xxv. 31-40, xxxvii. 17-24.

[28] Lev. xxiv. 5-9.

[29] 1 Sam. xxi. 1-6.

had been profaned by David's entrance into the sanctuary and use of the shew-bread, as an example of those necessities which override the letter of the law, and he seems to leave the justification of the act to the reverence of the Jews for David. In the same spirit he appeals to the case of the priests, who profaned the strict letter of the Sabbatic law by performing the necessary work of the sacrifices. Both are used as illustrations of the great principle: "I will have *mercy*, and not sacrifice."[30]

Besides the shew-bread, there was a *drink-offering* of wine placed in the covered bowls upon the table. Some of it was used for libations, and what remained at the end of the week was poured out before Jehovah.

These types are too expressive for their general meaning to be misunderstood. They represented under the old covenant the same truths which are set forth by the sacrament of the Lord's Supper under the new. In both cases we have a *table*, not an *altar;* for in the Tabernacle the altar was distinct, and in the Christian Church it is superseded, as the one sacrifice of Christ has been offered once for all. In the Tabernacle, moreover, as in the Church, it was the *Lord's Table;* for the whole sanctuary was the house of Jehovah, and in its ante-chamber was the table of Jehovah, ever furnished with food for the use of those to whom He granted entrance into it; and so is the table of the Lord Jesus spread in his Church on earth. Both tables are supplied with the same simple elements of necessary food, bread and wine, with the same reference to the body and blood of Christ, though this was still a mystery under the old covenant. Nor does the parallel fail in the point that the shew-bread might only be eaten by the priests; for now the people of Christ are all priests to Him.

(γ) The *Golden Candlestick*, or rather *Candelabrum* (*lamp-stand*),[31] was placed on the left or south side of the altar of incense. It was made of pure beaten gold, and weighed, with its instruments, a talent: its value has been estimated at £5076, besides workmanship. Its form, as described in the Book of Exodus, agrees with the figure of the candlestick of the second temple, as represented, together with the table of shew-bread and other Jewish trophies, on the arch of Titus.[32] It had an upright stem, from which branched out three pairs of arms, each pair forming a semicircle, and their tops coming to the same level as the top of the stem, so as to form with it supports for seven lamps. It was relieved by ornamental knobs and flowers along the branches and at their junction with the stem.[33] There were oil-vessels and lamp-tongs, or snuffers, for trimming the seven lamps, and dishes for carrying away the snuff; an office performed by the priest when he went into the sanctuary every morning to offer incense. All these utensils were of pure gold. The lamps were lighted at the time of the evening oblation. They are directed to be kept burning perpetually; but from their being lighted in the evening, this seems to mean only during the night. The Rabbis say that the central lamp only was alight in the day-time.[34]

[30] Matt. xii. 1–8; Mark ii. 23–28; Luke vi. 1–5; comp. Hos. vi. 6; Mic. vi. 6, 7.

[31] Throughout our version the words *candle* and *candlestick* are used for the *lamp* and *lamp-stand* of the original.

[32] See the drawing on p. 218.

[33] The statement of the Rabbis, that there were seventy of these ornaments, seems to have originated in the reverence for that number, and can hardly be reconciled with the description.

[34] Ex. xxv. 31–40, xxvii. 20, 21, xxxvii. 17–24, xxx. 8; Lev. xxiv. 1–4; Num. iv. 9–10; comp. 1 Sam. iii. 2; 2 Chron. xiii. 11.

As in a house light is as necessary as food, and the lamp-stand, with its lighted lamp, was a piece of furniture as needful as the bread-vessel,[35] so in the house of Jehovah, the candlestick symbolized the spiritual *light of life*, which he gives to His servants with the *words* by which they live. In the vision of the heavenly temple in the Apocalypse, the seven lights of the sanctuary before the Holiest of all are identified with "the *seven spirits* that are before the throne of God," the one perfect Spirit, whence come light, life, truth, and holiness; and the seven branches of the candlestick are made to symbolize the seven churches, the representatives of the whole Church on earth.[36] The figure is the full development of the words of Christ, "Ye are the light of the world;" "So let your light shine before men;"[37] and of St. Paul's exhortation, "Shine ye, as lights in the world, holding forth the word of life."[38]

§ 7. (iii.) In the *Holy of Holies*, within the veil and shrouded in darkness, there was but one object, the most sacred of the whole. The *Ark of the Covenant*, or the *Testimony*, was a sacred chest, containing the two tables of stone, inscribed with the Ten Commandments. It was two cubits and a half in length, by a cubit and a half both in width and height.[39] It was of shittim-wood, overlaid with pure gold, and had a golden mitre round the top. Through two pairs of golden rings on its sides passed two staves of shittim-wood, overlaid with gold, which were drawn forward so as to press against the veil, and thus to remind the priests in the holy place of the presence of the unseen ark. The cover of the ark was a plate of pure gold, overshadowed by two cherubim, with their faces bent down and their wings meeting. This was the very throne of Jehovah, who was therefore said to "dwell between the cherubim." It was also called the *mercy-seat* or *propitiatory*, because Jehovah there revealed himself, especially on the great Day of Atonement, as "God pardoning iniquity, transgression, and sin." Nor was it without the profoundest allusion to the coming dispensation of the Gospel, that God's throne of *mercy* covered and hid the tables of the *law*. The attitude of the cherubim was significant of the desire of angels to learn the Gospel mysteries that were hidden in the law.[40]

[35] Matt. v. 15, and the parallel passages, where the meaning is obscured by the omission of the article "*the* bushel," "*the* lamp-stand." The sense is "when a man lights his lamp in his house, he doesn't put it under the flour-vessel, but on the lamp-stand."

[36] Rev. i. 4, 12, 20; comp. xi. 4, and Zech. iv. [37] Matt. v. 14–16. [38] Philip. ii. 15, 16.

[39] It was also probably a reliquary for the pot of manna and the rod of Aaron. We read in 1 K. viii. 9, that "there was nothing in the ark save the two tables of stone which Moses put there at Horeb." Yet St. Paul asserts that, beside the two tables of stone, the "pot of manna" and "Aaron's rod that budded" (Heb. ix. 4), were inside the ark; and probably since there is no mention of any other receptacle for them, and some would have been necessary, the statement of 1 K. viii. 9, implies that by Solomon's time these relics had disappeared.

[40] 1 Pet. i. 12, εἰς ἃ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἄγγελοι παρακύψαι, where the last word evidently refers to the *bending down* of the cherubim over the ark.

Though the exact form of the cherubim is uncertain, they probably bore a general resemblance to the composite religious figures found upon the monuments of Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia. Compare the description in Ez. i. 5, seq., who speaks of them as living creatures with animal forms: that they are cherubim is clear from Ezek. x. 20. The symbolism of the visions of Ezekiel is more complex than that of the earlier Scriptures, and he certainly means that each composite creature-form had four faces so as to look four ways at once, was four-sided and four-winged, so as to move with instant rapidity in every direction without turning, whereas the Mosaic idea was probably single-faced, and with but one pair of wings.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

HISTORY OF THE TABERNACLE.

As long as Canaan remained unconquered, and the people were still therefore an army, the Tabernacle was probably moved from place to place, wherever the host of Israel was for the time encamped. It rested finally in "the place which the Lord had chosen," at SHILOH (Josh. ix. 27, xviii. 1). The reasons of the choice are not given. Partly, perhaps, its central position, partly its belonging to the powerful tribe of Ephraim, the tribe of the great captain of the host, may have determined the preference. There it continued during the whole period of the Judges (Josh. xix. 51, xxii. 12; Judg. xxi. 12). It was far, however, from being what it was intended to be, the one national sanctuary, the witness against a localized and divided worship. The old religion of the high places kept its ground. Altars were erected, at first with reserve, as being not for sacrifice (Josh. xxii. 26), afterward freely, and without scruple (Judg. vi. 24, xiii. 19). Of the names by which the one special sanctuary was known at this period, those of the "House," or the "Temple," of Jehovah (1 Sam. i. 9, 24, iii. 3, 15) are most prominent.

A state of things which was rapidly assimilating the worship of Jehovah to that of Ashtaroth, or Mylitta, needed to be broken up. The Ark of God was taken, and the sanctuary lost its glory; and the Tabernacle, though it did not perish, never again recovered it (1 Sam. iv. 22). Samuel treats it as an abandoned shrine, and sacrifices elsewhere, at Mizpeh (1 Sam. vii. 9), at Ramah (ix. 12, x. 3), at Gilgal (x. 8, xi. 15). It probably became once again a movable sanctuary. For a time it seems, under Saul, to have been settled at NOB (1 Sam. xxi. 1–6). The massacre of the priests and the flight of Abiathar must, however, have robbed it yet further of its glory. It had before lost the Ark; it now lost the presence of the high-priest (1 Sam. xxii. 20, xxiii. 6). What change of fortune then followed we do not know. In some way or other, it found its way to Gibeon (1 Chron. xvi. 39). The anomalous separation of the two things which, in the original order, had been joined, brought about yet greater anomalies; and while the Ark remained at Kirjath-jearim, the Tabernacle at Gibeon connected itself with the worship of the high places (1 K. iii. 4). The capture of Jerusalem and the erection there of a new Tabernacle, with the Ark, of which the old had been deprived (2 Sam. vi. 17; 1 Chron. xv. 1), left it little more than a traditional, historical sanctity. It retained only the old altar of burnt-offerings (1 Chron. xxi. 9). Such as it was, however, neither king nor people could bring themselves to sweep it away. The double

service went on; Zadok, as high-priest, officiated at Gibeon (1 Chron. xvi. 39); the more recent, more prophetic service of psalms and hymns and music, under Asaph, gathered round the Tabernacle at Jerusalem (1 Chron. xvi. 4, 37). The divided worship continued all the days of David. The sanctity of both places was recognized by Solomon on his accession (1 K. iii. 15; 2 Chron. i. 3). But it was time that the anomaly should cease. The purpose of David, fulfilled by Solomon, was that the claims of both should merge in the higher glory of the Temple. The Tabernacle at Gibeon might have been reverenced by adherents to old forms, even above the new Temple, and have caused a fatal schism. So Solomon removed it, with all its holy vessels, to Jerusalem (1 K. viii. 4), where it was doubtless laid up in the Temple, and finally perished with it.

SECTION III.

THE PRIESTS AND LEVITES.

§ 1. Institution of the priesthood. § 2.—I. THE HIGH-PRIEST—His consecration. § 3. His peculiar dress. § 4. His peculiar functions. § 5. Appointment, age, and qualifications. § 6. The sagan, or deputy high-priest. § 7. Mystic meaning of the priesthood. § 8.—II. THE PRIESTS—Their consecration and dress. § 9. Regulations respecting them. § 10. Their functions. § 11. Maintenance. § 12. Classification. § 13.—III. THE LEVITES—Their duties in general. § 14. Division into the three families of the Gershonites, the Kohathites, and the Merarites. § 15. Their support and settlement in the promised land. § 16. Their subsequent duties and history.

§ 1. "Now when these things were thus ordered, the priests went always into the first Tabernacle, accomplishing the service of God. But into the second went the high-priest alone once every year, not without blood, which he offered for himself and the errors of the people: the Holy Ghost this signifying, that the way into the holiest of all was not yet laid open, while the first Tabernacle was yet standing."[1] Such is the apostolic summary of the offices of the priesthood. The whole of the people were holy, and, in a spiritual sense, they were a nation of priests; but from among them the tribe of Levi were chosen, as the reward of their devotion in the matter of the golden calf, to be the immediate attendants on Jehovah, that they might "*minister* in His *courts*." Out of that tribe again, the house of Amram was chosen (we know not whether according to primogeniture), to perform the functions of the priesthood, which devolved on Aaron, as the head of that house. He was appointed to the office of HIGH-PRIEST, at first simply THE PRIEST,[2] as representing the whole order, the intercessor between Jehovah and the people; his sons became the *Priests*, who alone could offer sacrifices; and the rest of the tribe formed the class of *Levites*, who assisted in the services of the Tabernacle. For this purpose the Levites are said to be "given" to Aaron and his sons, and hence they were called *Nethinim* (*i. e.*, *given*);[3] but afterward they were relieved of some of their enormous labor by a separate class of servants, such as the Gibeonites, who were made "hewers of wood and drawers of water;" and in the later history of the Jews such servants formed a distinct body, under the same name of *Nethinim*.[4]

§ 2.—I. THE HIGH-PRIEST.—We find from the very first the following characteristic attributes of Aaron and the high-priests his successors, as distinguished from the other priests:—

(i.) In the consecration to the office Aaron alone was anointed,[5] whence one of the distinctive epithets of the high-priest was "the anointed

[1] Heb. ix. 6–8.

[2] See Ex. xxix. 30, 44; Lev. xvi. 32. Still more frequently "Aaron," or "Aaron the priest" (Num. iii. 6, iv. 33; Lev. i. 7, etc.). So too "Eleazar the priest" (Num. xxvii. 22, xxxi. 26, 29, 31, etc.).

[3] Num. iii. 9, viii. 19.

[4] 1 Chron. ix. 2; Ezra ii. 43; Neh. xi. 21.

[5] Lev. viii. 12.

priest."[6] This appears also from Exod. xxix. 29, 30. The anointing of the sons of Aaron, *i. e.*, the common priests, seems to have been confined to sprinkling their garments with the anointing oil.[7]

§ 3. (ii.) The high-priest had a peculiar dress, which passed to his successor at his death. This dress consisted of eight parts, the *breastplate*, the *ephod* with its curious girdle, the *robe* of the ephod, the *mitre*, the *broidered coat* or diapered tunic, and the *girdle*, the materials being gold, blue, red, crimson, and fine (white) linen.[8] To the above are added[9] the *breeches* or *drawers*[10] of linen; and to make up the number eight, some reckon the high-priest's mitre, or the plate separately from the bonnet; while others reckon the curious girdle of the ephod separately from the ephod. Of these eight articles of attire, four—viz., the coat or tunic, the girdle, the breeches, and the bonnet or turban instead of the mitre, belonged to the common priests. Taking the articles of the high-priest's dress in the order in which they are enumerated above, we have—(*a.*) The *Breastplate*, or, as it is further named,[11] the breastplate of judgment. It was, like the inner curtains of the Tabernacle, the veil, and the ephod, of "cunning work." The breastplate was originally two spans long, and one span broad, but when doubled it was square, the shape in which it was worn. It was fastened at the top by rings and chains of wreathen gold to the two onyx stones on the shoulders, and beneath with two other rings and a lace of blue to two corresponding rings in the ephod, to keep it fixed in its place above the curious girdle. But the most remarkable and most important parts of this breastplate were the twelve precious stones, set in four rows, three in a row, thus corresponding to the twelve tribes, and divided in the same manner as their camps were; each stone having the name of one of the children of Israel engraved upon it. It was these stones which probably constituted the *Urim* and *Thummim*.[12] The addition of precious stones and cost-

[6] Lev. iv. 3, 5, 16, xxi. 10; see Num. xxxv. 25.

[7] Ex. xxix. 21, xxviii. 41, etc. The anointing of the high-priest is alluded to in Ps. cxxxiii. 2. The composition of the anointing oil is prescribed Ex. xxx. 22–25. The manufacture of it was intrusted to certain priests, called apothecaries (Neh. iii. 8).

[8] Ex. xxviii.

[9] Ex. xxviii. 42.

[10] Lev. xvi. 4.

[11] Ex. xxviii. 15, 29, 30.

[12] *Urim* means "light," and *Thummim* "perfection." We are told that "the Urim and the Thummim" were to be on Aaron's heart, when he goes in before the Lord (Ex. xxviii. 15-30). When Joshua is solemnly appointed to succeed the great hero-lawgiver, he is bidden to stand before Eleazar, the priest, "who shall ask counsel for him after the judgment of Urim," and this counsel is to determine the movements of the host of Israel (Num. xxvii. 21). In the blessings of Moses they appear as the crowning glory of the tribe of Levi: "Thy Thummim and thy Urim are with thy Holy One" (Deut. xxxiii. 8, 9). In what way the Urim and Thummim were consulted is quite uncertain. Josephus and the Rabbins supposed that the stones gave out the oracular answer, by preternatural illumination. But it seems to be far simplest and most in agreement with the different accounts of inquiries made by Urim and Thummim (1 Sam. xiv. 3, 18, 19, xxiii. 2, 4, 9, 11, 12, xxviii. 6; Judge. xx. 28; 2 Sam. v. 23, etc.) to suppose that the answer was given simply by the word of the Lord to the high-priest (comp. John xi. 51), when he had inquired of the Lord, clothed with the ephod and breastplate. Such a view agrees with the true notion of the breastplate, of which it was not the leading characteristic to be oracular, but only an incidental privilege connected with its fundamental meaning. What that meaning was we learn from Ex. xxviii. 30, where we read, "Aaron shall bear the judgment of the children of Israel upon his heart before the Lord continually." Now the judicial sentence is one by which any one is either justified or condemned. In prophetic vision, as in actual Oriental life, the sentence of justification was often expressed by the nature of the robe worn. "He hath clothed me with the garments of salvation, He hath covered me with the robe of righteousness, as a bridegroom decketh himself with ornaments, and as a bride adorneth herself with her jewels" (Is. lxi. 10), is a good illustration of this; cf. lxii. 3. In like manner, in Rev. iii. 5, vii. 9, xix. 14, etc., the white linen robe expresses the righteousness or justification of saints.

ly ornaments expresses glory beyond simple justification.[13]—(*b.*) The *Ephod.* This consisted of two parts, of which one covered the back, and the other the front, *i. e.*, the breast and upper part of the body. These were clasped together on the shoulder with two large onyx stones, each having engraved on it six of the names of the tribes of Israel. It was further unifed by a "curious girdle" of gold, blue, purple, scarlet, and fine twined linen round the waist.—(*c.*) The *Robe of the Ephod.* This was of inferior material to the ephod itself, being all of blue,[14] which implied its being only of "woven work."[15] It was worn immediately under the ephod, and was longer than it. The blue robe had no sleeves, but only slits in the sides for the arms to come through. It had a hole for the head to pass through, with a border round it of woven work, to prevent its being rent. The skirt of this robe had a remarkable trimming of pomegranates in blue, red, and crimson, with a bell of gold between each pomegranate alternately. The bells were to give a sound when the high-priest went in and came out of the holy place.—(*d.*) The *mitre* or upper turban,[16] with its gold plate, engraved with HOLINESS TO THE LORD, fastened to it by a ribbon of blue.—(*e.*) The *broidered coat* was a tunic or long skirt of linen with a tessellated or diaper pattern, like the setting of a stone. The *girdle*, also of linen, was wound round the body several times from the breast downward, and the ends hung down to the ankles. The *breeches* or drawers, of linen, covered the loins and thighs; and the *bonnet* was a turban of linen, partially covering the head, but not in the form of a cone like that of the high-priest, when the mitre was added to it. These four last were common to all priests.

§ 4. (iii.) Aaron had peculiar functions. To him alone it appertained, and he alone was permitted to enter the Holy of Holies, which he did once a year, on the great Day of Atonement, when he sprinkled the blood of the sin-offering on the mercy-seat, and burnt incense within the veil.[17] He is said by the Talmudists not to have worn his full pontifical robes on this occasion, but to have been clad entirely in white linen.[18]

The high-priest had a peculiar place in the law of the manslayer, and his taking sanctuary in the cities of refuge. The manslayer might not leave the city of refuge during the lifetime of the existing high-priest, who was anointed with the holy oil.[19] It was also forbidden to the high-priest to follow a funeral, or rend his clothes for the dead, according to the precedent in Lev. x. 6. The other respects in which the high-priest exercised superior functions to the other priests arose rather from his position and opportunities, than were distinctly attached to his office, and they consequently varied with the personal character and abilities of the high-priest.

§ 5. It does not appear by whose authority the high-priests were appointed to their office before there were kings of Israel. But as we find it

[13] Comp. Is. lxii. 3; Rev. xxi. 11, 12–21.
[14] Ex. xxviii. 31.
[15] Ex. xxxix. 22.
[16] Josephus applies this term to the turbans of the common priests as well, but says that, in addition to this, and sewn on the top of it, the high-priest had another turban of blue; that besides this he had outside the turban a triple crown of gold, consisting, that is, of three rims one above the other, and terminating at top in a kind of conical calyx, like the inverted calyx of the herb hyoscyamus. Josephus doubtless gives a true account of the high-priest's turban as worn in his day. He also describes the lamina or gold plate, which he says covered the forehead of the high-priest.
[17] Lev. xvi.
[18] Lev. xvi. 4, 32.
[19] Num. xxxv. 25, 28.

invariably done by the civil power in later times, it is probable that, in the times preceding the monarchy, it was by the elders, or Sanhedrim.

The usual age for entering upon the functions of the priesthood[20] is considered to have been twenty years, though a priest or high-priest was not actually incapacitated if he had attained to puberty. Again,[21] no one that had a blemish could officiate at the altar, and illegitimate birth was also a bar to the high-priesthood. The high-priest held his office for life; and it was the universal opinion of the Jews that the deposition of a high-priest, which in later times became so common, was unlawful.

§ 6. The Rabbins speak very frequently of one second in dignity to the high-priest, whom they call the sagan, and who often acted in the high-priest's room. He is the same who in the Old Testament is called "the second priest."[22] Thus it is explained of Annas and Caiaphas,[23] that Annas was sagan. Ananias is also thought by some to have been sagan—acting for the high-priest.[24]

§ 7. The Epistle to the Hebrews sets forth the mystic meaning of his office, as a type of Christ, our great High-priest, who has passed into the heaven of heavens with his own blood, to appear in the presence of God for us; and this is typified in the minutest particulars of his dress, his functions, and his privileges.[25] In the Book of Revelation, the clothing of the son of man "with a garment down to the foot," and "with a golden girdle about the paps," are distinctly the robe and the curious girdle of the ephod, characteristic of the high-priest.

§ 8.—II. The PRIESTS.—All the sons of Aaron formed the order of the PRIESTS. They stood between the high-priest on the one hand and the Levites on the other. The ceremony of their consecration is described in Ex. xxix., Lev. viii. The dress which they wore during their ministrations consisted of linen drawers, with a close-fitting cassock, also of linen, white, but with a diamond or chessboard pattern on it. This came nearly to the feet, and was to be worn in its garment shape (comp. John xix. 23). The white cassock was gathered round the body with a girdle of needlework, into which, as in the more gorgeous belt of the high-priest, blue, purple, and scarlet, were intermingled with white, and worked in the form of flowers.[26] Upon their heads they were to wear caps or bonnets in the form of a cup-shaped flower, also of fine linen. In all their acts of ministration they were to be barefooted.

§ 9. Before they entered the Tabernacle they were to wash their hands and their feet.[27] During the time of their ministration they were to drink no wine or strong drink.[28] Except in the case of the nearest relationships,[29] they were to make no mourning for the dead. They were not to shave their heads. They were to go through their ministrations with the serenity of a reverential awe, not with the orgiastic wildness which led the priests of Baal in their despair to make cuttings in their flesh.[30] They were forbidden to marry an unchaste women, or one who had been divorced, or the widow of any but a priest.[31]

§ 10. Their chief duties were to watch over the fire on the altar of

[20] 2 Chron. xxxi. 17. [21] Lev. xxi. [22] 2 K. xxiii. 4, xxv. 18. [23] Luke iii. 2. [24] Acts xxiii. 2. [25] Heb. i. 13. [26] Ex. xxviii. 39, 40, xxxix. 2; Ezek. xliv. 17–19. [27] Ex. xxx. 17–21, xl. 30–32.

[28] Lev. x. 9; Ez. xliv. 21. [29] Six degrees are specified, Lev. xxi. 1–5, Ez. xliv. 25. [30] Lev. xix. 28; 1 K. xviii. 28. [31] Lev. xxi. 7, 14; Ezek. xliv. 22.

burnt-offerings, and to keep it burning evermore both by day and night,[32] to feed the golden lamp outside the veil with oil,[33] to offer the morning and evening sacrifices, each accompanied with a meat-offering and a drink-offering, at the door of the Tabernacle.[34] They were also to teach the children of Israel the statutes of the Lord.[35] During the journeys in the wilderness it belonged to them to cover the ark and all the vessels of the sanctuary with a purple or scarlet cloth before the Levites might approach them.[36] As the people started on each day's march they were to blow "an alarm" with long silver trumpets.[37] Other instruments of music might be used by the more highly-trained Levites and the schools of the prophets, but the trumpets belonged only to the priests.

§ 11. Functions such as these were clearly incompatible with the common activities of men. On these grounds therefore a distinct provision was made for them. This consisted—(1.) of one-tenth of the tithes which the people paid to the Levites, *i. e.*, one per cent., on the whole produce of the country.[38] (2.) Of a special tithe every third year.[39] (3.) Of the redemption-money, paid at the fixed rate of five shekels a head, for the first-born of man or beast.[40] (4.) Of the redemption-money paid in like manner for men or things specially dedicated to the Lord.[41] (5.) Of spoil, captives, cattle, and the like taken in war.[42] (6.) Of the shew-bread, the flesh of the burnt-offerings, peace-offerings, trespass-offerings,[43] and, in particular, the heave-shoulder and the wave-breast.[44] (7.) Of an undefined amount of the first-fruits of corn, wine, and oil.[45] Of some of these, as "most holy," none but the priests were to partake.[46] It was lawful for their sons and daughters,[47] and even in some cases for their home-born slaves, to eat of others.[48] The stranger and the hired servant were in all cases excluded.[49] (8.) On their settlement in Canaan the priestly families had thirteen cities assigned them, with "suburbs" or pasture-grounds for their flocks.[50] These provisions were obviously intended to secure the religion of Israel against the dangers of a caste of pauper-priests, needy and dependent, and unable to bear their witness to the true faith. They were, on the other hand, as far as possible removed from the condition of a wealthy order. The standard of a priest's income, even in the earliest days after the settlement in Canaan, was miserably low.[51]

§ 12. The earliest historical trace of any division of the priesthood, and corresponding cycle of services, belongs to the time of David. The priesthood was then divided into the four-and-twenty "courses" or orders,[52] each of which was to serve in rotation for one week, while the further assignment of special services during the week was determined by lot.[53] Each course appears to have commenced its work on the Sabbath, the outgoing priests taking the morning sacrifice, and leaving that of the evening to their successors.[54] In this division, however, the two great priestly houses did not stand on an equality. The descendants of Ithamar were found to

[32] Lev. vi. 12; 2 Chr. xiii. 11.
[33] Ex. xxvii. 20, 21; Lev. xxiv. 2.
[34] Ex. xxix. 38–44.
[35] Lev. x. 11; Deut. xxxiii. 10; 2 Chr. xv. 3; Ezek. xliv. 23, 24.
[36] Num. iv. 5–15.
[37] Num. x. 1–8.
[38] Num. xviii. 26–28.
[39] Deut. xiv. 28, xxvi. 12.
[40] Num. xviii. 14–19.
[41] Lev. xxvii.
[42] Num. xxxi. 25–47.
[43] Num. xviii. 8–14; Lev. vi. 26, 29, vii. 6–10.
[44] Lev. x. 12–15.
[45] Ex. xxiii. 19; Lev. ii. 14; Deut. xxvi. 1–10.
[46] Lev. vi. 29.
[47] Lev. x. 14.
[48] Lev. xxii. 11.
[49] Lev. xxii. 10.
[50] Josh. xxi. 13–19.
[51] Judg. xvii. 10.
[52] 1 Chr. xxiv. 1–19; 2 Chr. xxiii. 8; Luke i. 5.
[53] Luke i. 9.
[54] 2 Chr. xxiii. 8.

have fewer representatives than those of Eleazar, and sixteen courses accordingly were assigned to the latter, eight only to the former.[55] The division thus instituted was confirmed by Solomon, and continued to be recognized as the typical number of the priesthood. On the return from the Captivity there were found but four courses out of the twenty-four, each containing, in round numbers, about a thousand.[56] Out of these, however, to revive at least the idea of the old organization, the four-and-twenty courses were reconstituted, bearing the same names as before, and so continued till the destruction of Jerusalem.

§ 13.—III. The LEVITES were the assistants of the priests, and included all the males of the tribe of Levi who were not of the family of Aaron, and who were of the prescribed age, namely, from thirty to fifty.[57] Their duties required a man's full strength; after the age of fifty they were relieved from all service, except that of superintendence.[58] They had to assist the priests, to carry the Tabernacle and its vessels, to keep watch about the sanctuary, to prepare the supplies of corn, wine, oil, and so forth, and to take charge of the sacred treasures and revenues.

§ 14. The Levites were divided into three families, which bore the names of the three sons of Levi, the GERSHONITES, the KOHATHITES, and the MERARITES; and each had their appointed functions in the service of the Tabernacle.

(i.) The KOHATHITES had the precedence, as the house of Amran belonged to this family. They were to bear all the vessels of the sanctuary, the Ark itself included,[59] after the priests had covered them with the dark-blue cloth which was to hide them from all profane gaze.

(ii.) The GERSHONITES had to carry the tent-hangings and curtains.[60]

(iii.) The MERARITES had the heavier burden of the boards, bars, and pillars of the Tabernacle. But the Gershonites and Merarites were allowed to use the oxen and the wagons which were offered by the congregation.[61] The more sacred vessels of the Kohathites were to be borne by them on their own shoulders.[62]

The whole tribe of Levi encamped close round the Tabernacle, the priests in front, on the east; the Kohathites on the south; the Gershonites on the west; and the Merarites on the north.

§ 15. The Levites had no territorial possessions. In place of them, they received from the other tribes the tithes of the produce of the land, from which they, in their turn, offered a tithe to the priests.[63] On their settlement in the promised land, the most laborious parts of their duty were over, and they were relieved from others by the submission of the Gibeonites and the conquest of the Hivites, who became "hewers of wood and drawers of water."[64] Hence their concentration about the Tabernacle was no longer necessary, and it was the more important for them to live among their brethren as teachers and religious guides. Forty-eight cities were assigned to the whole tribe, that is, on an average, four in the territory of each tribe; thirteen being given to the priests, and the rest to the Levites. The following was their distribution throughout the tribes:

55 1 Chr. xxiv. 4. 56 Ezra ii. 36–39.
57 Num. iv. 23, 30, 35.
58 Num. viii. 25, 26.
59 Num. iii. 31, iv. 15; Deut. xxxi. 25.
60 Num. iv. 22–26. 61 Num. vii. 1–9.
62 Num. vii. 9.
63 Num. xviii. 21, 24, 26; Neh. x. 37. 64 Josh. ix. 27.

Family	Class	Tribe	Cities
I. KOHATHITES.			
	A. Priests	Judah and Simeon	9
		Benjamin	4
	B. Not Priests	Ephraim	4
		Dan	4
		Half-Manasseh (West)	2
II. GERSHONITES.			
		Half-Manasseh (East)	2
		Issachar	4
		Asher	4
		Naphtali	3
III. MERARITES.			
		Zebulun	4
		Reuben	4
		Gad	4
			48

Six of these cities, three on each side of Jordan, were *cities of refuge* for the manslayer; an institution which invested the Levites with the sacred character of protectors from danger. The suburbs of these cities gave pasture to their flocks.

§ 16. After their settlement in their cities they took the place of the household priests (subject, of course, to the special rights of the Aaronic priesthood), sharing in all festivals and rejoicings.[65] They preserved, transcribed, and interpreted the law,[66] which they solemnly read every seventh year at the Feast of Tabernacles.[67] They pronounced the curses from Mount Ebal.[68]

At a still later time they became the learned class in the community, the chroniclers of the time in which they lived. One of the first to bear the title of "Scribe" is a Levite,[69] and this is mentioned as one of their special offices under Josiah.[70] They are described as "officers and judges" under David,[71] and as such are employed "in all the business of Jehovah, and in the service of the king." They are the agents of Jehoshaphat and Hezekiah in their work of reformation, and are sent forth to proclaim and enforce the law.[72] Under Josiah the function has passed into a title, and they are "the Levites that taught all Israel."[73] The two books of Chronicles bear unmistakable marks of having been written by men whose interests were all gathered round the services of the Temple, and who were familiar with its records.

The former subdivisions of the tribe were recognized in the assignment of the new duties connected with the Temple, and the Kohathites retained their old pre-eminence. They have four "princes,"[74] while Merari and Gershon have but one each. They supplied, from the families of the Izharites and Hebronites, the "officers and judges."[75] To them belonged the sons of Korah, with Heman at their head,[76] playing upon psalteries and harps. They were "over the work of the service, keepers of the gates of the Tabernacle."[77] It was their work to prepare the shew-bread every Sabbath.[78] The Gershonites were represented in like manner in the temple-choir by the sons of Asaph;[79] Merari by the sons of Ethan or Jeduthun.[80] Now

65 Deut. xii. 19, xiv. 26, 27, xxvi. 11.
66 Deut. xvii. 9–12, xxxi. 26.
67 Deut. xxxi. 9–13. 68 Deut. xxvii. 14.
69 1 Chr. xxiv. 6. 70 2 Chr. xxxiv. 13.
71 1 Chr. xxvi. 29.
72 2 Chr. xvii. 8, xxx. 22.
73 2 Chr. xxxv. 3
74 1 Chr. xv. 5–10. 75 1 Chr. xxvi. 30.
76 1 Chr. ix. 19. 77 1 Chr. ix. 19.
78 1 Chr. ix. 32.
79 1 Chr. vi. 39, xv. 17.
80 1 Chr. vi. 44, xvi. 42, xxv. 1–7.

that the heavier work of conveying the Tabernacle and its equipments from place to place was no longer required of them, and that psalmody had become the most prominent of their duties, they were to enter on their work at the earlier age of twenty.[81]

[81] 1 Chr. xxiii. 24-27.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

HISTORY OF THE HIGH-PRIESTS.

THE history of the high-priests embraces a period of about 1370 years, and a succession of about eighty high-priests, beginning with Aaron, and ending with Phannias. They naturally arrange themselves into three groups—(*a.*) those before David; (*b.*) those from David to the Captivity; (*c.*) those from the return of the Babylonish Captivity till the cessation of the office at the destruction of Jerusalem.

(*a.*) The high-priests of the first group who are distinctly made known to us as such are—1. Aaron; 2. Eleazar; 3. Phinehas; 4. Eli; 5. Ahitub (1 Chron. ix. 11; Neh. xi. 11; 1 Sam. xiv. 3); 6. Ahiah; 7. Ahimelech, Phinehas, the son of Eli and father of Ahitub, died before his father, and so was not high-priest. Of the above, the three first succeeded in regular order, Nadab and Abihu, Aaron's eldest sons, having died in the wilderness (Lev. x). But Eli, the fourth, was of the line of Ithamar. What was the exact interval between the death of Phinehas and the accession of Eli, what led to the transference of the chief priesthood from the line of Eleazar to that of Ithamar, we have no means of determining from Scripture. Josephus asserts that the father of Bukki—whom he calls Joseph, and Abiezer, *i. e.*, Abishua—was the last high-priest of Phinehas's line before Zadok. If Abishua died, leaving a son or grandson under age, Eli, as head of the line of Ithamar, might have become high-priest as a matter of course, or he might have been appointed by the elders. If Ahiah and Ahimelech are not variations of the name of the same person, they must have been brothers, since both were sons of Ahitub. The high-priests, then, before David's reign, may be set down as *eight* in number, of whom *seven* are said in Scripture to have been high-priests, and *one* by Josephus alone.

(*b.*) Passing to the second group, we begin with the unexplained circumstance of there being two priests in the reign of David, apparently of nearly equal authority, viz., Zadok and Abiathar (1 Chr. xv. 11; 2 Sam. vii. 17). It is not unlikely that after the death of Ahimelech and the secession of Abiathar to David, Saul may have made Zadok priest, and that David may have avoided the difficulty of deciding between the claims of his faithful friend Abiathar and his new and important ally Zadok by appointing them to a joint priesthood: the first place, with the Ephod, and Urim and Thummim, remaining with Abiathar, who was in actual possession of them. The first considerable difficulty that meets us in the historical survey of the high-priests of the second group is to ascertain who was high-priest at the dedication of Solomon's Temple. Josephus says that

Zadok was, and the Seder Olam makes him the high-priest in the reign of Solomon; but 1 K. iv. 2 distinctly asserts that Azariah, the son of Zadok, was priest under Solomon, and 1 Chron. vi. 10 tells us of Azariah, "He it is that executed the priest's office in the temple that Solomon built in Jerusalem," obviously meaning at its first completion. We can hardly therefore be wrong in saying that Azariah the son of Ahimaaz was the first high-priest of Solomon's Temple. In the list of the succession of priests of this group there are several gaps; the insertions are mentioned below. The series ended with Seraiah, who was taken prisoner by Nebuzar-adan, and slain at Riblah by Nebuchadnezzar, together with Zephaniah, the second priest or sagan, after the burning of the Temple and the plunder of all the sacred vessels (2 K. xx. 18). His son Jehozadak or Josedech was at the same time carried away captive (1 Chron. vi. 15). The time occupied by these high-priests was about 454 years, which gives an average of something more than twenty-five years to each high-priest. It is remarkable that not a single instance is recorded after the time of David of an inquiry by Urim and Thummim. The ministry of the prophets seems to have superseded that of the high-priests (see *e. g.* 2 Chron. xv., xviii., xx. 14, 15; 2 K. xix. 1, 2, xxii. 12-14; Jer. xxi. 1, 2).

(*c.*) An interval of about fifty-two years elapsed between the high-priests of the second and third group, during which there was neither temple, nor altar, nor ark, nor priest. Jehozadak, or Josedech, as it is written in Haggai (i. 1, 14, etc.,) who should have succeeded Seraiah, lived and died a captive at Babylon. The pontifical office revived in his son Jeshua, of whom such frequent mention is made in Ezra and Nehemiah, Haggai and Zechariah, 1 Esd. and Ecclus.; and he therefore stands at the head of this third and last series, honorably distinguished for his zealous co-operation with Zerubbabel in rebuilding the Temple, and restoring the dilapidated commonwealth of Israel. His successors, as far as the Old Testament guides us, were Joiakim, Eliashib, Joiada, Johanan (or Jonathan), and Jaddua. Jaddua was high-priest in the time of Alexander the Great. Jaddua was succeeded by Onias I., his son, and he again by Simon the Just, the last of the men of the great synagogue. Upon Simon's death, his son Onias being under age, Eleazar, Simon's brother, succeeded him. The priesthood was brought to the lowest degradation by the apostasy and crimes of the last Onias or Menelaus, the son of Eleazar; but after a vacancy of seven years had followed the brief pontificate of Alcimus, his no less infamous successor, a new and glorious succession of high-priests arose in the Asmonean family, who united the dignity of civil rulers, and for a time of independent sovereigns, to that of the high-priesthood. The Asmonean family were priests of the course of Joiarib, the first of the twenty-four courses (1 Chron. xxiv. 7), whose return from captivity is recorded 1 Chron. ix. 10; Nehem. xi. 10. They were probably of the house of Eleazar, though this can not be affirmed with certainty. This Asmonean dynasty lasted from B.C. 153 till the family was damaged by intestine divisions, and then destroyed by Herod the Great. Aristobulus, the last high-priest of his line, brother of Mariamne, was murdered by order of Herod, his brother-in-law, B.C. 35. There were no fewer than twenty-eight high-priests from the reign of Herod to the destruction of the Temple by Titus, a period of 107

years. The New Testament introduces us to some of these later, and oft-changing high-priests, viz., Annas, Caiaphas, and Anannias. Theophilus, the son of Ananus, was the high-priest from whom Saul received letters to the synagogue at Damascus (Acts ix. 1, 14). Phannias, the last high-priest, was appointed by lot by the Zealots from the course of priests called by Josephus Eniachim (probably a corrupt reading for Jachim). The subjoined table shows the succession of high-priests, as far as it can be ascertained, and of the contemporary civil rulers.

First Group.

CIVIL RULER.	HIGH-PRIEST.
Moses	Aaron.
Joshua................	Eleazar.
Othniel...............	Phinehas.
Abishua..............	Abishua.
Eli....................	Eli.
Samuel..............	Ahitub.
Saul..................	Ahijah.

Second Group.

CIVIL RULER.	HIGH-PRIEST.
David................	Zadok and Abiathar.
Solomon.............	Azariah.
Abijah...............	Johanan.
Asa..................	Azariah.
Jehoshaphat.........	Amariah.
Jehoram.............	Jehoiada.
Ahaziah.............	"
Jehoash	Do. and Zechariah.
Amaziah............	?
Uzziah	Azariah.
Jotham..............	?
Ahaz	Urijah.
Hezekiah	Azariah.
Manasseh............	Shallum.
Amon	"
Josiah	Hilkiah.
Jehoiakim...........	Azariah?
Zedekiah............	Seraiah.
Evil-Merodach........	Jehozadak.

Third Group.

CIVIL RULER.	HIGH-PRIEST.
Zerubbabel (Cyrus and Darius).	Jeshua.
Mordecai? (Xerxes)...	Joiakim.
Ezra and Nehemiah (Artaxerxes).	Eliashib.
Darius Nothus........	Joiada.
Artaxerxes Mnemon..	Johanan.
Alexander the Great..	Jaddua.
Onias I. (Ptolemy Soter, Antigonus).	Onias I.
Ptolemy Soter.........	Simon the Just.
Ptolemy Philadelphus.	Eleazar.
"	Manasseh.
Ptolemy Euergetes....	Onias II.
Ptolemy Philopator...	Simon II.
Ptolemy Epiphanes & Antiochus.........--	Onias III.
Antiochus Epiphanes..	(Joshua, or) Jason.
"	Onias, or Menelaus.
Demetrius	Jacimus, or Alcimus.
Alexander Balas......	Jonathan, brother of Judas Maccabeus (Asmonean).
Simon (Asmonean)....	Simon (Asmonean).
John Hyrcanus (Asm.).	John Hyrcanus (Do.)
King Aristobulus (Asm.)	Aristobulus (Do.)
King Alexander Jannæus (Asmonean)...	Alexander Jannæus (Do.)
Queen Alexandra (Asm.)	Hyrcanus II. (Do.)
King Aristobulus II. (Asmonean).	Aristobulus II. (Do.)
Pompey the Great and Hyrcanus, or rather, toward the end of his pontificate, Antipater.	Hyrcanus II. (Do.)
Pacorus the Parthian..	Antigonus (Do.)
Herod, king of Judæa.	Ananelus.
"	Aristobulus (last of Asmoneans), murdered by Herod.
....	Ananelus restored.
Herod the Great......	Jesus, son of Faneus.
"	Simon, son of Boethus, father-in-law to Herod.
"	Matthias, son of Theophilus.
"	Jozarus, son of Simon.
Archelaus, king of Judæa.	Eleazar.
"	Jesus, son of Sie.
"	Jozarus (second time).
Cyrenius, governor of Syria, second time.	Ananus.
Valerius Gratus, procurator of Judæa.	Ishmael, son of Phabi.
"	Eleazar, son of Ananus.
"	Simon, son of Kamith.
Vitellius, governor of Syria.	Caiaphas, called also Joseph.
"	Jonathan, son of Ananus.
"	Theophilus, brother of Jonathan.
Herod Agrippa........	Simon Cantheras.
"	Matthias, brother of Jonathan, son of Ananus.
"	Elioneus, son of Cantheras.
Herod, king of Chalcis.	Joseph, son of Camei.
"	Ananias, son of Nebedeus.
"	Jonathan.
"	Ismael, son of Fabi.
"	Joseph, son of Simon. Ananus, son of Ananus, or Ananias.
Appointed by the people.	Jesus, son of Gamaliel.
....	Matthias, son of Theophilus.
Chosen by lot........	Phannias, son of Samuel.

SECTION IV.

SACRIFICES AND OBLATIONS.

§ 1. Distinction between sacrifices and oblations. § 2. Between bloody and unbloody sacrifices. § 3. A portion of the sacrifices used for food. § 4.—I. The burnt-offering. § 5.—II. The meat-offering and drink-offering, which always accompanied the burnt-offering. § 6.—III. The peace-offering. § 7.—IV. The sin-offering. § 8.—V. Trespass-offerings. § 9.—VI. Oblations.

§ 1. THE Law of Sacrifices and Oblations included a perpetual memorial of Jehovah's covenant with the people, an acknowledgment of His mercies and an expiation for sin.

Sacrifices had been offered ever since the fall. We read of the whole burnt-offerings, such as those of Abel and Noah, the *thank-offering*, as that of Jethro, and the sacrifices by which *covenants* were ratified. To these the law of Moses added the *special sacrifices for sins and trespasses*, and for particular classes of persons (as the priests) the *meat-offerings* and the *drink-offerings*. It established the distinction between *sacrifices* and *oblations:* in the former, the thing offered was wholly or partially destroyed, as being Jehovah's only; in the latter it was acknowledged to be His gift, and then enjoyed by the offerer.

§ 2. There is also the distinction between *bloody* and *unbloody* sacrifices; between slain victims, and offerings of meal, corn, cakes, or wafers, and libations of wine. The latter were sometimes mere oblations, but sometimes proper sacrifices, being offered either with the burnt-offerings, or, in the case of the poor, in substitution for them. The sacrifices of blood again are divided into those which were offered in expiation of sin, and those in which the offerer acknowledged God's mercies to him by the voluntary surrender of a costly thing, an act of piety, which is especially contemplated in the ordinary use of the word sacrifice. This idea involves the duty of bringing *our best* to God in proportion to our means, and stamps the offering of the maimed or what costs us nothing, as an impious insult to Jehovah.

§ 3. In those of the sacrifices, in which the victim was not entirely burnt, a portion of it was used as food, both by the priests, who were "to live of the altar," and also by the offerers themselves. This is a usage of the greatest antiquity among all nations; as we see, for example, in Homer. It seems natural that worshipers should rejoice and feast in the presence of the God with whom they were reconciled, or whose goodness they came to confess by sacrifice. But in the Mosaic dispensation, there seems to be a deeper significance in the partaking of the sacred things offered to God, a type of the spiritual sustenance which is received from Christ, who connects his death with our life, by saying, "Take, *eat;* this is my body, which is *broken for you.*" "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you."

This custom had also, like many of the laws of Moses, an indirect but

most important influence on the common life of the people. Natives of warm climates use but little animal food; nor are a pastoral people, like the Israelites, an exception to the rule. They live on the milk of their flocks and herds, but use their flesh very sparingly; they do not eat up their capital. Sacrifices, therefore, were their feasts when they partook of meat; but under restrictions, which, being established first on the ground of ceremonial cleanness, in relation to God, ministered to their personal purity and health. This will be presently seen, both with reference to the animals that might and might not be sacrificed, and to those parts of them which were burnt and those which were used for food.

§ 4. The sacrifices are divided into *burnt-offerings*, with the accompanying *meat*[1]*-offerings*, *peace-offerings*, *sin-offerings*, for sins of ignorance, and *trespass-offerings* for sins committed knowingly. The three former were of the nature of *gifts*, the two latter of *propitiatory* sacrifices; but even in the gift, as coming from a sinful man, there was present the idea of propitiation by the blood of the victim; and it was always preceded by a sin-offering.

1. The BURNT-OFFERING, or whole burnt-offering, or *perfect* sacrifice, was so called because the victim was wholly consumed by fire upon the altar of burnt-offering, and so, as it were, sent up to God on the wings of fire. This idea, which is expressed in the account of Noah's sacrifice, and which constantly recurs, both in the Scriptures and in profane authors, is implied in the Hebrew word which signifies to ascend. The sacrifice was a memorial of God's covenant, and signified that the offerer belonged wholly to God, and that he dedicated himself soul and body to Him, and placed his life at His disposal. And every such sacrifice was a type of the perfect offering made by Christ, on behalf of the race of man, of his human nature and will to the will of the Father.[3]

Burnt-offerings were either made on behalf of the whole people, or by one or more individuals, who must bring them of their own free-will.[4] Only three kinds of animals might be offered, and they must be free from disease or blemish. To offer the unclean, maimed, or diseased in sacrifice was an abomination to Jehovah. (1.) Of the *herd*, a young bullock, of not less than one nor more than three years, generally of the third year. (2.) Of the *flock*, a lamb or kid, a male of the like age, but generally of the first year. (3.) Of *birds*, turtle-doves or young pigeons, without distinction of sex. The victim was brought to the north side of the altar in the court of the Tabernacle, where the offerer laid his hand upon its head, in token of its being a substitute for his own life, and slew it himself by cutting its throat, or, if a bird, wringing off its head and pressing out the blood. In public sacrifices, these acts were done by the priest. The Levites assisted, and in later times they slew all the victims.[5] The blood, "which is the *life*," was received in a basin, and sprinkled by the priest round the altar. The victim was then flayed, the skin being the perquisite of the priest. It was cut in pieces, signifying the laying open to the eye of God of the inmost being of the offerer;[6] and the pieces were laid upon the wood on the altar and consumed, but the birds were not divided. Each day's sacrifices burnt on through the night,

[1] *Meat* is the word used in our version for food in general, more especially for corn and flour.

[2] Gen. viii. 21.

[3] Psalm xl. 10, li. 17, 19; Heb. v. 1, 3, 7.

[4] Lev. i., vi. 8–13.

[5] 2 Chr. xxix. 24, 34; Ezek. xlvi. 24.

[6] Heb. iv. 12, 13.

the sacred fire never being suffered to go out; and in the morning the ashes were carried by the priest into a clean place without the camp.[7]

Burnt-offerings were made on the following occasions:—(1.) The *Daily Sacrifice*, of a yearling lamb or kid, was offered at the times of morning and evening prayer, the third and ninth hours from sunrise, before the priest went into the Tabernacle to burn incense. This sacrifice especially typified the offering of Christ, who was pointed out by John the Baptist (about the third hour, it is supposed) as "the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world," and who died upon the cross at the very time of the evening sacrifice.

(2.) The *Sabbath burnt-offering* was the daily sacrifice doubled.[8]

(3.) The *burnt-offerings at the Festivals* of the *New Moon*, the *three great feasts*, the *Day of Atonement*, and the *Feast of Trumpets*, generally two bullocks, a ram, and seven lambs.[9]

(4.) *Private burnt-offerings prescribed by the law*, at the consecration of priests,[10] the purification of women,[11] the removal of leprosy or other ceremonial uncleanness,[12] the performance or the accidental breach of the vow of a Nazarite.[13]

(5.) *Free-will burnt-offerings* were made either in general acknowledgment of God's mercies (a *thank-offering*) or in performance of a vow.[14] They were chiefly brought on occasions of great solemnity, as at the dedication of the Tabernacle and of the Temple.[15]

§ 5.—II. The MEAT-OFFERING and the DRINK-OFFERING always accompanied the burnt-offering, for which indeed the meat-offering might be substituted by the poor. As the burnt-offering signified the consecration of *life* to God, both that of the offerer himself and of his living property, so in the meat-offering the produce of the land was presented before Jehovah, as being His gift; in both cases with the devout acknowledgment: "Of *thine* own have we given thee."[16] The name of the meat-offering, *Minchah*, signified in old Hebrew a *gift* in general, and especially one from an inferior to a superior.[17] It is applied alike to the offerings of Cain and Abel, as a general name for a sacrifice.[18]

In the law of Moses, it signifies an offering of corn, usually in the form of flour, with oil and frankincense, the quantities varying for a lamb, a ram, or a bullock. It was sometimes made with the oil into cakes or wafers, which must be free from leaven and honey. A special form of meat-offering was that of the first-fruits of corn in the ear, parched and bruised. All meat-offerings were to be seasoned with "the salt of the covenant," as a sign of incorruptness, and of the savor of earnest piety.[19] A portion of the meat-offering and of the oil was burnt by the priest upon the altar of burnt-offering, with all the frankincense; and the rest belonged to the priests, who must eat it without leaven beside the altar, as "a thing most holy of the offerings of Jehovah made by fire."[20] The meat-offerings of the priests themselves were to be wholly burnt. The drink-offerings of the daily and special sac-

[7] Ex. xxix. 38–42; Lev. i., vi. 8–13, ix. 12–14; Numb. xv. [8] Numb. xxviii. 8–10.
[9] xxviii. 11–xxix. 39. See § vi.
[10] Ex. xxix. 15; Lev. viii. 18, ix. 12.
[11] Lev. xii. 6, 8.
[12] Lev. xiv. 19, xv. 15, 30.
[13] Numb. vi.; Acts xxi. 26.
[14] Numb. xv. 1–3; comp. Ps. li. 19.
[15] Numb. vii.; 1 K. viii. 64.
[16] 1 Chr. xxix. 10–14.
[17] Gen. xxxii. 13, xliii. 11; 2 Sam. viii. 2, 6. [18] Gen. iv. 3–5.
[19] Lev. ii. 13; Ezek. xliii. 24; Mark ix. 49; Col. iv. 6. [20] Lev. ii. 3, x. 12, 13.

rifices were poured out before Jehovah in the holy place;[21] and it does not appear that the priests were ever permitted to partake of them. Indeed, to have done so would have been a breach of the prohibition of wine during their service.[22]

§ 6.—III. The PEACE-OFFERING was not an atoning sacrifice to make peace with God, but a joyful celebration of *peace made* through the covenant. In this part of the ritual, more than in any other, we see Jehovah present in His *house*, inviting the worshiper to *feast with Him*. Peace-offerings were presented either as a *thanksgiving*, or in fulfillment of a *vow*, or as a *free-will offering* of love and joy. They were of the flock or the herd, like the burnt-offerings, but they might be male or female. They were slain with the same ceremonies as the burnt-offering; but only a part was burnt upon the altar, namely, all the fat, the kidneys, the caul or midriff, and, in the case of a lamb, the rump. These parts formed, according to Oriental tastes, the delicacies of the feast, and therefore they were offered to Jehovah; and they are emphatically called His *bread*.[23] The breast and the shoulder were the portion of the priests, who might eat them in any clean place with their sons and daughters. They were called the *wave-breast* and the *heave-shoulder*, from the motions made in offering them before Jehovah. The priest also took one of the unleavened cakes or leavened loaves, which were offered as a meat-offering with the peace-offering, having first heaved it before God. These motions seem to indicate the joy of a feast; and with joy the worshiper was to eat the rest of the flesh of the sacrifice and the bread of the meat-offering, under certain restrictions, to insure ceremonial purity.[24]

Peace-offerings might be brought at any time; but they were prescribed on the following occasions: at the consecration of priests; the dedication of the Tabernacle; the purification of a leper; and the expiration of a Nazarite's vow.[25]

§ 7.—IV. The SIN-OFFERING was an expiatory sacrifice for sins of ignorance, committed either by a *priest*, unconsciously contracting sins from the people in his office; or by the *congregation*, incurring the displeasure of Jehovah for a reason not discovered; or by a *ruler*, ignorantly transgressing any of God's laws; or by one of the *people*, finding that he had unintentionally been guilty of any sin; and also as a purification from possible sin and uncleanness in general. For each of these cases special victims were to be offered with special ceremonies.[26] The most important of these were, in the two former cases, the sprinkling of the blood seven times before the veil, and placing it on the horns of the altar and burning the flesh of the victim without the camp—a type of Christ's suffering without the gate for the people's sin. The flesh of the other sin-offerings belonged to the priests: in all cases the fat was burnt on the altar. Sin-offerings formed a part of all great solemnities, especially on the day of atonement. They were also offered at the purification of a leper, or of a woman after child-birth. In the latter

21 Num. xxviii. 7, etc.

22 Deut. xxxii. 38; where to drink drink-offerings is a mark of idolatrous worship, coupled with eating the fat of sacrifices, which was forbidden to the Jews.

23 Ezek. xliv. 7; comp. Lev. xxi. 6, 8, 17, 22, xxii. 25; Mal. i. 7, 12. Some of these passages may refer to the shew-bread, but they seem rather to allude to the peace-offerings.

24 The eating of blood or fat was most strictly forbidden.

25 Lev. iii., vii. 11–34, ix. 18–21, x. 12–15.

26 Lev. iv., vi. 24–30.

case, the offering was a lamb, or for the poor, a pair of turtle-doves or pigeons, one for the burnt-offering and one for the sin-offering.[27]

§ 8.—V. TRESPASS-OFFERINGS, for sins committed knowingly, as well as for acts of ceremonial uncleanness, are not very clearly distinguished from sin-offerings. The chief difference of form,[28] besides some points in the ceremonial, was that they were offered only for individuals. As to spirit and motive, the distinction seems to be that sins committed in rashness, as by an oath, or in ignorance of a law that ought to have been known, came under the head of *trespass:* "Though he wish it not, yet he is guilty, and shall bear his iniquity."[29] The chief offenses which required trespass-offerings were, keeping back evidence, touching unclean things, swearing rash oaths, sins in holy things, violation of trust, and some others. In every case of injury to property, the offering must be accompanied with restitution to the whole value, and one-fifth in addition.[30]

§ 9.—VI. OBLATIONS are not clearly distinguished from those sacrifices which were in the nature of *gifts;* but some of them require to be mentioned separately:—

(1.) The *Shew-bread* and *Incense*, which were perpetually offered in the Holy Place. (See above.)

(2.) *Free Oblations*, the fruits of vows and promises.

(3.) *Prescribed Oblations*, namely—(*a.*) The *First-fruits* of corn, which were offered on the Day of Pentecost, and of wine, oil, and wool. These were the perquisites of the priests. (*β.*) The *First-born* of man and beast, which were redeemed, at first by exchange against the Levites, and afterward by a payment of five shekels per head; but the firstlings of clean animals, the cow, sheep, or goat, were unredeemable, and were offered in sacrifice in the same manner as a peace-offering. (*γ.*) *Tithes of the produce of the land:* the *first* annually, the *second* every three years for the Levites, and the *third* for the poor.

[27] This was the sacrifice brought by Joseph and Mary after the birth of Jesus. Luke ii. 24.

[28] The poor might substitute flour, without oil or frankincense, for the two turtle-doves or pigeons of the sin-offering, so as to leave no excuse for neglecting the sacrifice. Lev. v. 11-13.

[29] Lev. v. 17.

[30] Lev. v., vi. 1-7, vii. 1-10.

SECTION V.

THE HOLINESS OF THE PEOPLE.

§ 1. The principle of the holiness of the people. § 2. Circumcision. § 3. Dedication of the first-born. § 4. Personal purity. § 5. Provisions for purification. § 6. Clean and unclean animals. § 7. Law against personal disfigurement. § 8. Provisions for the poor. § 9. To enforce humanity.

§ 1. THE holiness of the people, as the children of God, His "saints who had made a covenant with Him by sacrifice," was a principle as sacred as the consecration of the priests.[1] They, like the children of the New Covenant, were "a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, *an holy nation*, a peculiar people," the purchased possession of Jehovah;[2] and for both there was the same simple law: "BE YE HOLY, FOR I AM HOLY."[3] This principle, from which Paul so often deduces the spiritual law of the complete devotion of the whole nature to God's service, was enforced upon the Jews by ceremonies and restrictions reaching to every detail of their daily lives. It is the central subject of the Book of Leviticus,[4] which gradually rises from the laws of sacrifice to the assertion and development of the holiness and purity of the people, in person, act, speech, and property.

The following institutions were founded on this principle:—

§ 2. *Circumcision* is only enjoined in one passage of the law of Moses.[5] It had already been fully established, and Moses alludes to its spiritual sense, the circumcision of the heart, in language similar to that of Paul.[6] The words of Christ, "Moses gave you circumcision, not because it is of Moses, but of the fathers,"[7] refer to the full account of the institution in the Book of Genesis, which rendered its repetition in the later books unnecessary.

§ 3. The *Dedication of the First-born*[8] of men and beasts, and the offering of the *First-fruits* of all produce.[9]

§ 4. The *Preservation of Personal Purity*, especially by the strict laws against all unnatural marriages and lusts, and against fornication and prostitution.[10] The law of Moses, like that of Christ, takes cognizance of sins against *a man's own self*, and that not so much in the light of self-interest, or even of self-respect, but from that principle of holiness to God which is so emphatically laid down by the Apostle Paul.[11]

§ 5. *Provisions for Purification:*—(1.) As a religious ceremonial, observed both by priests and people in divine worship.[12] (2.) From personal uncleanness.[13] (3.) From leprosy, in persons, clothes, or houses.[14] The means of purification were washing, the sprinkling of blood, anointing with oil, and

[1] Ps. l. 5; comp. Ex. xxiv. 2–8.
[2] 1 Pet. ii. 9; comp. Ex. xix. 5, 6; Deut. iv. 20, vii. 6, x. 15, xiv. 2, xxvi. 18, 19.
[3] Lev. xi. 44, xix. 2, xx. 7; 1 Pet. i. 14–16.
[4] Lev. xi.–xviii.
[5] Lev. xii. 3.
[6] Deut. x. 16, xxx. 6; Rom. ii. 25–29; 1 Cor. vii. 19.
[7] John vii. 22.
[8] Ex. xiii. 2, 12, 13, xxii. 29, 30.
[9] Deut. xxvi. 1–11.
[10] Lev. xviii. xix. 29, xx.; Deut. xxiii. 7.
[11] Rom. vi. 14–20.
[12] Num. xix.; Lev. viii.
[13] Lev. xi. xii. xv.; Num. xix.
[14] Lev. xiii. On LEPROSY, see *Notes and Illustrations.*

the lustration by the ashes of the *red heifer.*[15] In some cases, as in leprosy, unclean persons were shut out from the camp.[16]

§ 6. The distinction between *Clean* and *Unclean Animals* for food as well as sacrifice. Unclean animals were those strangled, or which had died a natural death, or had been killed by beasts or birds of prey; whatever beast did not both part the hoof and chew the cud; and certain other smaller animals rated as "creeping things;" certain classes of birds mentioned in Lev. xi. and Deut. xiv., twenty or twenty-one in all; whatever in the waters had not both fins and scales; whatever winged insect had not, besides four legs, the two hind-legs for leaping; besides things offered in sacrifice to idols; and all blood, or whatever contained it; as also all fat, at any rate that disposed in masses among the intestines, and probably wherever discernible and separable among the flesh.[17] The eating of blood was prohibited even to "the stranger that sojourneth among you."[18] The fat was claimed as a burnt-offering, and the blood enjoyed the highest sacrificial esteem. In the two combined the entire victim was by representation offered, and to transfer either to human use was to deal presumptuously with the most holy things. But besides this, the blood was esteemed as "the life" of the creature, and a mysterious sanctity beyond the sacrificial relation thereby attached to it. Hence we read, "Whatsoever soul it be that eateth any manner of blood, even that soul shall be cut off from his people."[19] Whereas the offender in other dietary respects was merely "unclean until even."[20] Sanitary reasons have been sought for these laws;[21] and there may be something in this view, though their first signification was religious. Under the New Covenant, the first lesson that was taught Peter, as a preparation of preaching the Gospel to Gentile proselytes, was "not to call any thing common or unclean."[22] On the other hand, the apostles and the primitive Church extended to Gentile converts the restriction from eating blood and things strangled,[23] apparently as a precaution against their taking part in heathen festivals, just as they were recommended by Paul to abstain from things offered to idols.[24] To make these restrictions a part of the permanent law of Christianity is opposed to the whole spirit of the Gospel.

§ 7. The *Laws against Personal Disfigurement*, by shaving the head and cutting the flesh, especially as an act of mourning, have also reference to the customs of the heathen.[25] The humane restriction on the number of stripes that might be inflicted was designed to prevent a man's degradation in the eyes of his brethren.[26]

§ 8. The *Provisions for the Poor*, regarded as brethren in the common bond of the covenant of God. *Gleanings* in the field and vineyard were their legal right:[27] *slight trespass* was allowed, such as plucking corn[28] while passing through a field, provided that it was eaten on the spot; the *second tithe* was to be bestowed partly in charity;[29] *wages* were to be paid day by day;[30]

[15] Numb. xix. [16] Num. xii. 15.
[17] Lev. iii. 14–17, vii. 23.
[18] Lev. xvii. 10, 12, 13, 14.
[19] Lev. vii. 27, comp. xvii. 10, 14.
[20] Lev. xi. 40, xvii. 15.
[21] We have not thought it necessary to discuss the now exploded view, which based a large part of the Mosaic law on similar grounds of expediency.
[22] Acts x. 9–16, 28; comp. 1. Tim. iv. 4.
[23] Acts xv. 20, 29. The phrase "pollutions of idols," may be best taken as including the specific prohibitions that follow.
[24] 1 Cor. viii.
[25] Lev. xix. 27, 28, xxi. 5; Deut. xiv. 1, 2.
[26] Deut. xxv. 3.
[27] Lev. xix. 9, 10; Deut. xxiv. 19–22.
[28] Deut. xxiii. 24, 25.
[29] Deut. xiv. 22–28.
[30] Deut. xxiv. 15.

loans might not be refused, nor usury taken from an Israelite;[31] *pledges* must not be insolently or ruinously exacted;[32] no favor must be shown between rich and poor in dispensing *justice;*[33] and besides all this, there are the most urgent injunctions to kindness to the poor, the widow and the orphan, and the strongest denunciations of all oppression.[34]

§ 9. The care taken to enforce *humanity* in general may be regarded as an extension of the same principle; for the truest motive to humanity is the constant sense of man's relation to his Heavenly Maker, Father, and Master. For example, the state of *slavery* was mitigated by the law that death under chastisement was punishable, and that maiming at once gave liberty.[35] *Fugitive slaves* from foreign nations were not to be given up;[36] and *stealing and selling a man* was punished with death.[37] The law even "cared for oxen," declaring, "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn."[38] It went further, and provided against that abominable law of our corrupt nature, which finds pleasure in wanton cruelty, adding such precepts as those which forbade the parent bird to be captured with its young,[39] or the kid to be boiled in its mother's milk.[40]

The institutions of the *Sabbatic Year* and the *Year of Jubilee* were a great public homage to the principle, that both the people and their property were sacred to Jehovah; but they may be most fitly described under the next head of Sacred Seasons. Indeed, if we were to carry out the principle to all its consequences, it might include the whole civil and criminal law.

But what strictly belongs to this head must not be dismissed without noticing the constant perversion of the idea of personal and national sanctity by the Jews in all their after history. They forgot the duty of purity toward God in the pride of superiority over other men, and became exclusive instead of truly holy. And just as their holiness was the type of Christian dedication to God, so is there the danger of our following their great mistake, especially by looking at the Old Testament otherwise than in the light of the New.

[31] Ex. xxii. 25–27; Deut. xxiii. 19, 20.
[32] Deut. xxiv, 6, 10–13, 17, 18.
[33] Ex. xx. 2, 3; Lev. xix. 15.
[34] Deut. xv. 7–11, etc.
[35] Ex. xxi. 20, 26, 27.
[36] Deut. xxiii. 15.
[37] Ex. xxi. 16.
[38] Deut. xxv. 4; comp. 1 Cor. ix. 9; 1 Tim. v. 18.
[39] Deut. xxii. 6, 7.
[40] Ex. xxiii. 44.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

LEPROSY.

THE predominant and characteristic form of leprosy in Scripture is a white variety, covering either the entire body or a large tract of its surface; which has obtained the name of *lepra Mosaica*. Such were the cases of Moses, Miriam, Naaman, and Gehazi (Ex. iv. 6; Num. xii. 10; 2 Kings v. 1, 27; comp. Levit. xiii. 13). The Egyptian bondage, with its studied degradations and privations, and especially the work of the kiln under an Egyptian sun, must have had a frightful tendency to generate this class of disorders; hence Manetho asserts that the Egyptians drove out the Israelites as infected with leprosy—a strange reflex, perhaps, of the Mosaic narrative of the "plagues" of Egypt, yet probably also containing a germ of truth. The principal morbid features mentioned in Leviticus are a rising or swelling, a scab or baldness, and a bright or white spot (xiii. 2). But especially a white swelling in the skin, with a change of the hair of the part from the natural black to white or yellow (3, 10, 4, 20, 25, 30), or an appearance of a taint going "deeper than the skin," or again, "raw flesh" appearing in the swelling (10, 14, 15), were critical signs of pollution.

SECTION VI.

THE SACRED SEASONS.

§ 1. Classification of the festivals. § 2.—I. FESTIVALS CONNECTED WITH THE SABBATH—The Sabbath. § 3. Feast of the New Moon. § 4. The Sabbatical Month and Feast of Trumpets. § 5. The Sabbatical Year. § 6. The Year of Jubilee. § 7.—II. THE THREE GREAT HISTORICAL FESTIVALS—Their general characteristics. § 8. The Passover—Difference between the Egyptian and the Perpetual Passover. § 9. Order of the observance of the Passover. § 10. Further details. § 11. The Feast of Pentecost. § 12. The Feast of Tabernacles. § 13.—III. THE DAY OF ATONEMENT. § 14. FESTIVALS AFTER THE CAPTIVITY—The Feast of Purim. § 15. The Feast of Dedication.

§ 1. THE religious times ordained in the law fall under three heads:—

I. Those connected with the institution of the Sabbath—namely,

1. The weekly Sabbath itself.
2. The Feast of the New Moon.
3. The Sabbatical Month and the Feast of Trumpets.
4. The Sabbatical Year.
5. The Year of Jubilee.

II. The Three Great Historical Festivals—namely,

1. The Passover.
2. The Feast of Pentecost.
3. The Feast of Tabernacles.

III. The Day of Atonement.

To these must be added IV., the festivals established after the Captivity—namely,

1. The Feast of Purim of Lots.
2. The Feast of Dedication.

I.—FESTIVALS CONNECTED WITH THE SABBATH.

§ 2. (1.) The SABBATH is so named from a word signifying *rest*. The consecration of the Sabbath was coeval with the Creation; for on no principle of sound criticism can the narrative of the Creation be severed from its concluding words: "And God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it; because that in it he had rested from all His work, which God created and made."[1] The opinion, that these words are an anticipatory reference to the Fourth Commandment, can only have arisen from the error of regarding the law of Sinai as altogether new. The only argument in support of that opinion is the absence of any record of the observance of the Sabbath between the Creation and the Exodus. It might just as well be said that the Fourth Commandment was not of immediate application, since the Sabbath is not mentioned from Moses to David. But this is just in accordance with the plan of the Scripture narrative, in which regular and ordinary events are unnoticed. The same is true of circumcision, which is not mentioned after its first institution, not even in the case of Isaac, till the time of Moses; but its observance by the patriarchs is implied by their imposing it on the Shechemites.[2] So likewise the celebration of sacrifice is only mentioned on

[1] Gen. ii. 3. [2] Gen. xxxiv. 13.

a few special occasions. And so with the Sabbath: there are not wanting indirect evidences of its observance, as the intervals between Noah's sending forth the birds out of the ark, an act naturally associated with the weekly service,[3] and in the *week* of a wedding celebration;[4] but, when a special occasion arises, in connection with the prohibition against gathering manna on the Sabbath, the institution is mentioned as one already known.[5] And that this was especially one of the institutions adopted by Moses from the ancient patriarchal usage, is implied in the very words of the law, "*Remember* the Sabbath day, to keep it holy." But even if such evidence were wanting, the *reason* of the institution would be a sufficient proof. It was to be a joyful celebration of God's completion of His creation: and, "when the morning stars sang together, and the sons of God shouted for joy" at only witnessing the work, is it to be supposed that the new-made man himself postponed his joy and worship for twenty-five centuries? It has indeed been said that Moses gives quite a different reason for the institution of the Sabbath, as a memorial of the deliverance from Egyptian bondage.[6] As if Moses, in his repetition of the law, had forgotten the reason given by God himself from Sinai.[7] The words added in Deuteronomy are a *special motive* for the joy with which the Sabbath should be celebrated, and for the kindness which extended its blessings to the slave and beast of burden as well as the master: "that thy man-servant and thy maid-servant may rest *as well as thou*."[8] These attempts to limit the ordinance proceed from an entire misconception of its spirit, as if it were a season of stern privation rather than of special privilege. But, in truth, the prohibition of work is only subsidiary to the positive idea of joyful rest and *recreation*, in communion with Jehovah, who himself "rested and was *refreshed*."[9] It was to be a sacred pause in the ordinary labor by which man earns his bread; the curse of the fall was to be suspended for one day; and, having spent that day in joyful remembrance of God's mercies, man had a *fresh start* in his course of labor. When God *sanctified* the day He *blessed* it; made it *happy* when He made it *holy;* and the practical difficulty in realizing this union arises, on the one hand, from seeking happiness in gain, and on the other from confounding recreation with sinful pleasure. A great snare, too, has always been hidden in the word *work*, as if the commandment forbade occupation and imposed idleness. A consideration of the spirit of the law and of Christ's comments on it will show that it is *work for worldly gain* that was to be suspended; and hence the restrictive clause is prefaced with the positive command: "Six days *shalt thou* labor, and do all thy work;" for so only could the Sabbatic rest be fairly earned. Hence, too, the stress constantly laid on permitting the servant and beast of burden to share the rest, which selfishness would grudge to them. Thus the spirit of the Sabbath was *joy*, *refreshment*, and *mercy*, arising from remembrance of God's goodness as the Creator, and as the deliverer from bondage.

These views are practically illustrated by the manner in which the Israelites were to spend, and in which the prophets afterward reprove them for

[3] Gen. viii. 7-12. [4] Gen. xxix. 27, 28.
[5] Ex. xvi. 22-30. All this is confirmed by the great antiquity of the division of time into weeks, and the naming the days after the sun, moon, and planets. See Archdeacon Hare "On the Names of the Days of the Week," in the "Philological Museum," vol. i.
[6] Deut. v. 15. [7] Ex. xx. 11.
[8] Deut. v. 14.
[9] Ex. xxxi. 17; comp. xxiii. 12.

not spending, the Sabbath and the other festivals. The Sabbath was a perpetual *sign* and *covenant*, and the holiness of the day is connected with the holiness of the people: "That ye may know that I am Jehovah that doth sanctify you."[10] *Joy* was the key-note of their service. Moses declared that a place of sacrifice should be given them; "And there shall ye eat before Jehovah your God, and ye shall rejoice, ye and your households."[11] The Psalmists echo back the same spirit: "This is the day which Jehovah hath made; we will rejoice, and be glad in it."[12] Isaiah reproves the fasts which were kept with mere outward observance, in place of acts of charity, by promising that those who called the Sabbath a *delight*, and honored God by doing His works in it, should *delight* themselves in Jehovah.[13] Nehemiah commanded the people, on a day holy to Jehovah, "Mourn not, nor weep: eat the fat, and drink the sweet, and send portions to them for whom nothing is prepared."[14]

The Sabbath is named as a day of special worship in the sanctuary.[15] It was proclaimed as a *holy convocation*.[16] The public religious services consisted in the doubling of the morning and evening sacrifice, and the renewal of the shew-bread in the holy place. In later times the worship of the sanctuary was enlivened by sacred music.[17] On this day the people were accustomed to consult their prophets,[18] and to give to their children that instruction in the truths recalled to memory by the day, which is so repeatedly enjoined as the duty of parents; it was "the Sabbath of Jehovah," not only in the sanctuary, but "in all their dwellings."[19] It is quite true that we have but little information on this part of the subject in the Scriptures themselves, but the inferences drawn from what is told us, and from the character of the day, are confirmed by the testimony of later writers, and by the system of public worship in the synagogues, which we find in full operation at the time of Christ.

The prohibitory part of the law is general; and the only special cases mentioned relate to the preparation of food. The manna was not given on the Sabbath, but a double supply was to be gathered on the day before,[20] just as the rest of the *Sabbatic year* was compensated by the extraordinary fertility of the year before. No fire was to be kindled on the Sabbath, under the penalty of death,[21] which was inflicted on a man who went out to gather sticks on the Sabbath.[22] Its observance is enjoined in the time of earing and harvest, when there was a special temptation to find an excuse for work.[23] The habitual transgression of these laws, by priests as well as people, was denounced by the prophets,[24] and excited the reforming zeal of Nehemiah after the Babylonish Captivity.[25] The later Rabbis treated the law as a matter of subtle casuistry; proceeding from the general rule of abstaining from *manual* acts to the minute enumeration of the prohibited ac-

[10] Ex. xxxi. 12–17; Ez. xx. 12.
[11] Deut. xii. 7, xiv. 26, xvi. 14, 15, xxvi. 11.
[12] Ps. cxviii. 24. [13] Is. lviii. 3–14.
[14] Neh. viii. 9–13.
[15] Lev. xix. 30, xxvi. 2.
[16] Lev. xxiii. 3.
[17] Ps. lxviii. 25–27, cl., etc.
[18] 2 K. iv. 23. [19] Lev. xxiii. 3.
[20] Ex. xvi. 22–30: "See for that Jehovah hath given you the Sabbath, therefore *He giveth you on the sixth day the bread of two days*"—a striking example of divine *encouragement* to keep the day sacred.
[21] Ex. xxxv. 2, 3; comp. xxxi. 14.
[22] Num. xv. 35; see chap. xiii. § 12.
[23] Ex. xxxiv. 21.
[24] Is. lvi. 2, lviii. 13; Ez. xxii. 26; comp. xliv. 22.
[25] Neh. xiii. 15–19.

tions; and it was in reply to objections based on such rules, that Christ maintained the true spirit of the law.[26]

§ 3. (2.) The completion of the month was observed by the FEAST OF THE NEW MOON. In every nation which uses a strictly lunar calendar, it is necessary to have a distinct public announcement of the beginning of each month, whether it be determined by an exact astronomical computation of the time of the moon's change, or by the first sight of her new crescent. This announcement was made to Israel by the sounding of the two sacred silver trumpets.[27] The day was not kept as a Sabbath, but, besides the daily sacrifice, a burnt-offering was made of two bullocks, a ram, and seven lambs, with a meat and drink offering, and a goat for a sin-offering.[28] In later times, the kings offered sacrifices and feasted on the new moon,[29] and pious disciples chose this as a stated period for visiting the prophets.[30] The feast seems to have been gradually corrupted by the heathen worship of the moon itself.[31] It is one of the feasts left by the Apostle to Christian liberty.[32]

§ 4. (3.) The SABBATICAL MONTH and the FEAST OF TRUMPETS.—The month of Tisri, being the seventh of the ecclesiastical, and the first of the civil year, had a kind of Sabbatic character [33] The calendar was so arranged that its first day fell on a Sabbath (that, no doubt, next after the new moon), and this, the civil *New Year's Day*, was ushered in by the blowing of trumpets, and was called the *Feast of Trumpets*. It was a holy convocation; and it had its special sacrifices, in addition to those of other new moons, namely, for the burnt-offering, a young bullock, a ram, and seven lambs, with a meat and drink offering, and a young goat for a sin-offering.[34] This month was also marked by the great Day of Atonement on the tenth, and the Feast of Tabernacles, the greatest of the whole year, which lasted from the fifteenth to the twenty-second of the month. Thus it completed the Sabbatic cycle of seven months, in which all the great festivals were kept.

§ 5. (4.) The SABBATICAL YEAR.—As each seventh day and each seventh month were holy, so was each seventh year. It was based on the principle of Jehovah's property in the land, which was therefore to keep its Sabbath to Him; and it was to be a season of rest for all, and of especial kindness to the poor. The land was not to be sown, nor the vineyards and olive-yards dressed; and neither the spontaneous fruits of the soil, nor the produce of the vine and olive, were to be gathered; but all was to be left for the poor, the slave, the stranger, and the cattle.[35] The law was accompanied by a promise of treble fertility in the sixth year, the fruit of which was to be eaten till the harvest sown in the eighth year was reaped in the ninth.[36] But the people were not debarred from other sources of subsistence, nor was the year to be spent in idleness. They could fish and hunt, take care of their bees and flocks, repair their buildings and furniture, and manufacture their

[26] Matt. xii. 1–15; Mark iii. 2; Luke vi. 1–5, xiii. 10–17; John v. 2–18, vii. 23, ix. 1–34.
[27] Num. x. 10; Ps. lxxxi. 3.
[28] Num. xxviii. 11–14; 1 Chron. xxiii. 31; 2 Chr. ii. 4, xxxi. 3; Ezra iii. 5; Neh. x. 33; Ez. xlvi. 1, 3, 6. [29] 1 Sam. xx. 5, 24–27.
[30] 2 K. iv. 23.
[31] Is. i. 13, 14; Ezek. xlv. 17; Hos. ii. 11.
[32] Col. ii. 16.
[33] Lev. xxiii. 24. [34] Num. xxix. 1–6.
[35] Ex. xxiii. 10, 11; Lev. xxv. 1–7; Deut. xv.
[36] Lev. xxv. 20–22. From this it would seem that the year was an ecclesiastical year, which began at the harvest; for the civil year, beginning on the 1st of Tisri (October), would include both seed-time and harvest, the cycle of which would be complete within the eighth year.

clothing. Still, as an agricultural people, they would have much leisure; they would observe the Sabbatic spirit of the year by using its leisure for the instruction of their families in the law, and for acts of devotion; and in accordance with this there was a solemn reading of the law to the people assembled at the Feast of Tabernacles.[37] The Sabbatic year is also called the "year of release," because in it creditors were bound to release poor debtors from their obligations; with a special injunction not to withhold a loan because the year of release was near.[38] The release of a Hebrew slave took place likewise, not only in the Sabbatic year, but in the seventh year of his captivity.[39]

The constant neglect of this law from the very first was one of the national sins that were punished by the Babylonian Captivity. Moses warned Israel of the retribution, that their land should be desolate till it had enjoyed its Sabbaths;[40] and the warning was fulfilled in the seventy years' duration of the Captivity.[41]

§ 6. (5.) The YEAR OF JUBILEE[42] was every fiftieth year, coming therefore after a Sabbatic series of Sabbatic years. The notion that it was in the forty-ninth and not the fiftieth year, is an assumption from the improbability of the land being left untilled for two successive years; but it is opposed to the plain statement of the law, which directs seven Sabbaths of years to be counted, even forty-nine years, and then that the jubilee should be proclaimed by the sounding of the trumpet.[43] Thus the Year of Jubilee completed each half-century; and formed a Pentecost of years.[44]

Its beginning is fixed for the tenth of the seventh month (Tisri), the great Day of Atonement. It was doubtless after the sacrifices of that solemn day were ended, that the trumpet of jubilee pealed forth its joyful notes, proclaiming "liberty to the captive, and the opening of the prison door to them that were bound." The land was left uncultivated, as in the Sabbatic year. The possessions which poverty had compelled their owners to alienate returned to the families to whom they had been allotted in the first division of the Holy Land. This applied to fields and houses in the country, and to the houses of Levites in the walled cities; but other houses in such cities, if not redeemed within a year from their sale, remained the perpetual property of the buyer. In all transfers of property, the value was to be computed by the number of "years of fruits" (that is, apparently, exclusive of Sabbatic years) till the next Jubilee: so that what was sold was the possession of the land for that term. A property might be redeemed at any intervening period, either by its owner, or by his nearest kinsman (the Goël), at a price fixed on the same principle. Land sanctified to Jehovah by the owner might be redeemed, at any time before the next Jubilee, by payment of one-fifth in addition to the estimated value of the crops; but, if not redeemed before the Jubilee, it then became devoted forever. Land sanctified by its owner after he had sold it could not be redeemed; and land devoted by the purchaser returned at the Jubilee to the owner.[45] The

[37] Deut. xxxi. 10–13. [38] Deut. xv. 1–11.
[39] Deut. xv. 12–18. [40] Lev. xxvi. 32–35.
[41] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21. Of the observance of the Sabbatic year after the Captivity we have a proof in 1 Macc. vi. 53.

[42] The word is of uncertain origin. The most probable explanation refers it to the ringing sound of the trumpet of jubilee.
[43] Lev. xxv. 8.
[44] Comp. Lev. xxiii. 15, 16, and xxv. 8–10.

[45] Lev. xxvii. 19–24.

whole institution was based on the principle that the land was God's, who granted to each family its own portion.[46] It was a practical solution of the most perplexing questions concerning the right of property in the land, and a safeguard against its accumulation in the hands of great proprietors.

All Hebrew slaves, whether to their brethren or to resident foreigners, were set free in the Year of Jubilee. This applied alike to those who had fallen into servitude since the last Sabbatic year, and to those who had chosen to remain in servitude by the ceremony of boring the ear.[47] Provision was made for the redemption of the slave meanwhile in a manner similar to that of the redemption of the land. Thus, as in the restitution of the land, the principle was asserted, that the people were Jehovah's only, his servants redeemed from Egypt, and incapable therefore of becoming bondmen to any one but him.[48]

It has been asserted that debts were remitted in the Year of Jubilee,[49] and some go so far as to maintain that the remission in the Sabbatic year was merely a suspension of their exaction.[50] But the Mosaic law plainly states that debts were remitted in the Sabbatic year, and says nothing of their remission at the Jubilee.

The Jubilee completed the great Sabbatic cycle, at the close of which, in a certain sense, "all things were made new." The trumpet which announced it, immediately after the reconciliation of the people to Jehovah by the atonement, was His voice proclaiming the restoration of the social order which He had at first established in the state, on the basis of liberty and the means of livelihood held from Himself. But it had a higher spiritual meaning, often alluded to by the prophets, and at length fulfilled by Christ, when he recited the words of Isaiah, proclaiming "the *acceptable year of the Lord*, good tidings to the poor, healing to the broken-hearted, deliverance to the captive, sight to the blind, and liberty to the oppressed; and added, "This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears."[51] But its full completion is reserved for the end of time, when, at the appearance of the new heavens and earth, and of the Tabernacle of God with men, He shall forever do away with pain and sorrow, and shall declare, "Behold, I make all things new."[52]

II.—The Three Great Historical Festivals.[53]

§ 7. In these the whole people were united to seek the face of God, and to celebrate His mercies. Thrice in the year, at these feasts, all males were required to appear before Jehovah, that is, at the Tabernacle or the Temple, not empty-handed, but to make an offering with a joyful heart.[54] No age is prescribed: we find Jesus going up with his parents to the Passover at the age of twelve, and Samuel still younger.[55] From the examples of Hannah and Mary, it appears that devout women went up to one of the annual festivals. There is no such requirement with reference to the Day of Atonement; but, viewing it as a public reconciliation of the people with

46 Lev. xxv. 23, 38; Josh. xiv. 2.
47 Lev. xxv. 39; Ex. xxi. 2–6; Lev. xxv. 10, 41.
48 Lev. xxv. 42, 55.
49 Joseph. *Ant.* iii. 12, § 3.
50 Jahn, *Arch. Bib.* § 349.
51 Luke iv. 18–21.
52 Rev. xxi. 1–5.
53 The Hebrew name for "festival" is derived from a word signifying *to dance.*
54 Ex. xxiii. 14–17, xxxiv. 23; Deut. xvi. 16; Deut. xxvii. 7; Nehem. viii. 9–12. They are called in the Talmud *Pilgrimage Feasts.*
55 Luke ii. 41; 1 Sam. i. 24.

Jehovah, preparatory to their most joyful feast, it seems natural to suppose that most of those who went up to the Feast of Tabernacles would go early enough to be present on the Day of Atonement. These periodical assemblages of the people, including in later times even those who lived in foreign countries,[56] were a powerful means of preserving the unity of the nation.

These festivals not only commemorated great events in the history of Israel, but they had each its significance in reference to God's gifts at the seasons of the year. The Passover marked the beginning of the harvest, the Pentecost its completion, and the Feast of Tabernacles the vintage and the ingathering of all the fruits of the year. We have here a striking example of the foresight of the Mosaic law in providing for a pastoral people festivals suited to their settled condition as agriculturists; and they were wisely arranged, so as not to interfere with the labors of the field. They are connected with one another, so as to form one great cycle. The Passover is in the first month of the sacred year, followed by Pentecost at an interval of seven complete weeks; and the Feast of Tabernacles in the seventh month. The days of holy convocation, including the Feast of Trumpets and the Day of Atonement, were seven: two at the Passover, one at the Pentecost, and two at the Feast of Tabernacles. There is also a cycle in their significance. At the Passover the Israelites commemorated the beginning of their history as a nation, and at the Feast of Tabernacles they marked the joyful contrast between their settlement in a fruitful land and their wanderings in the wilderness. So, in their spiritual sense, the Passover was signalized by the sacrifice of the Lamb of God, the beginning of the Christian's life, and by Christ's resurrection, as the first-fruits of the spiritual harvest of eternal life; Pentecost by the outpouring of the Spirit and the conversion of multitudes, the earnest of the full spiritual harvest of the world; while the Feast of Tabernacles is left as an unfulfilled symbol of the full fruition of eternal life in "the rest that remaineth for the people of God."

§ 8. (1.) The PASSOVER, which was the most solemn of the three festivals, as the memorial of the nation's birth and the type of Christ's death, was kept for *seven days*, from the evening which closed the fourteenth to the end of the twenty-first of the first month of the sacred year, Abib or Nisan (*April*). The Paschal Lamb was eaten on the first evening, and unleavened bread throughout the week, and the first and last days (the fifteenth and twenty-first) were holy convocations. We have already noticed its first institution in Egypt,[57] and its second celebration before Sinai.[58] It was slain in each house, and its blood was sprinkled on the door-posts; the supper was eaten by all members of the family, clean and unclean, standing and in haste, and without singing; and there were no days of holy convocation, from the nature of the case, though their future observance was named in the original law.[59] But in the "Perpetual Passover," as arranged by the law and by later usage, the Paschal Lamb was selected any time up to the day of the supper;[60] it was sacrificed at the altar of burnt-offering; its fat was burnt, and its blood was sprinkled on the altar;[61] the supper was eaten only by men,[62] and they

[56] Acts ii. 5–11.

[57] See p. 151.

[58] See p. 180. The significance of the Passover in connection with the dedication of the first-born has been already noticed.

[59] Ex. xii.

[60] Mark xiv. 12–16; Luke xxii. 7–9.

[61] Deut. xvi. 1–6; comp. 2 Chron. xxx. 17.

[62] Ex. xxiii. 17; Deut. xvi. 16.

must be ceremonially clean;[63] they sat or reclined at the feast, which they ate without haste,[64] with various interesting ceremonies, and with the accompaniment of the *Hallel*, or singing of Psalms cxiii.–cxviii.[65]

In the twelfth and thirteenth chapters of Exodus there are not only distinct references to the observance of the festival in future ages,[66] but there are several injunctions which were evidently not intended for the first Passover, and which indeed could not possibly have been observed. In the later notices of the festival in the books of the law, there are particulars added which appear as modifications of the original institution.[67] Hence it is not without reason that the Jewish writers have laid great stress on the distinction between "the Egyptian Passover" and "the Perpetual Passover." The peculiarities of the Egyptian Passover, which are pointed out by the Jewish writers, are, the selection of the lamb on the tenth day of the month, the sprinkling of the blood on the lintels and door-posts, the use of hyssop in sprinkling, the haste in which the meal was to be eaten, and the restriction of the abstinence from unleavened bread to a single day. There was no command to burn the fat on the altar, the pure and impure all partook of the paschal meal contrary to the law afterward given;[68] both men and women were then required to partake, but subsequently the command was given only to men.[69] Neither the Hallel nor any other hymn was sung, as was required in later times in accordance with Is. xxx. 29; there were no days of holy convocation, and the lambs were not slain in the consecrated place.

§ 9. The following was the general order of the observances of the Passover in later times:—On the fourteenth of Nisan every trace of leaven was put away from the houses, and on the same day every male Israelite, not laboring under any bodily infirmity or ceremonial impurity, was commanded to appear before the Lord at the national sanctuary with an offering of money in proportion to his means.[70] Devout women sometimes attended, as is proved by the instances of Hannah and Mary.[71] As the sun was setting, the lambs were slain, and the fat and blood given to the priests.[72] The lamb was then roasted whole, and eaten with unleavened bread and bitter herbs; no portion of it was to be left until the morning. The same night, after the fifteenth of Nisan had commenced, the fat was burned by the priest, and the blood sprinkled on the altar.[73] On the fifteenth, the night being passed, there was a holy convocation, and during that day no work might be done, except the preparation of necessary food.[74] On this and the six following days, an offering in addition to the daily sacrifice was made of two young bullocks, a ram, and seven lambs of the first year, with meat-offerings, for a burnt-offering, and a goat for a sin-offering.[75] On the sixteenth of the month, "the morrow after the Sabbath" (*i. e.*, after the day of holy convocation), the first sheaf of harvest was offered and waved

[63] Num. ix. 6–14. Those who were unclean or on a journey were permitted to keep the "Little Passover" a month later. Such was the Passover of Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxx.).

[64] Matt. xxvi. 20; Mark xiv. 17; Luke xxii. 14.

[65] Is. xxx. 29; Matt. xxvi. 30; Mark xiv. 26; and the Jewish authorities.

[66] See Ex. xii. 2, 14, 17 24–27, 42, xiii. 2, 5, 8–10.

[67] Lev. xxiii. 10–14; Num. xxviii. 16–25; Deut. xvi. 1–6.

[68] Num. xviii. 11.

[69] Ex. xxiii. 17; Deut. xvi. 16.

[70] Ex. xxiii. 15; Deut. xvi. 16, 17.

[71] 1 Sam. i. 7; Luke ii. 41, 42.

[72] 2 Chron. xxxv. 5, 6.

[73] 2 Chron. xxx. 16, xxxv. 11.

[74] Ex. xii. 16.

[75] Num. xxviii. 19–23.

by the priest before the Lord, and a male lamb was offered as a burnt sacrifice with a meat and drink offering. Nothing necessarily distinguished the four following days of the festival, except the additional burnt and sin offerings, and the restraint from some kinds of labor. On the seventh day, the twenty-first of Nisan, there was a holy convocation, and the day appears to have been one of peculiar solemnity. As at all the festivals, cheerfulness was to prevail during the whole week, and all care was to be laid aside.[76]

§ 10. Such was the general order of this observance; but further details require notice. (*a.*) *The Paschal Lamb.*—After the first Passover in Egypt there is no trace of the lamb having been selected before it was wanted. In later times, we are certain that it was sometimes not provided before the fourteenth of the month.[77] The law formally allowed the alternative of a kid,[78] but a lamb was preferred, and was probably nearly always chosen. It was to be faultless and a male, in accordance with the established estimate of animal perfection.[79] Either the head of the family, or any other person who was not ceremonally unclean,[80] took it into the court of the Temple on his shoulders. As the paschal lamb could be legally slain, and the blood and fat offered only in the national sanctuary,[81] it of course ceased to be offered by the Jews after the destruction of Jerusalem. The spring festival of the modern Jews strictly consists only of the feast of unleavened bread.

(*b.*) *The Unleavened Bread.*—There is no reason to doubt that the unleavened bread eaten in the Passover and that used on other religious occasions were of the same nature. It might be made of wheat, spelt, barley, oats or rye, but not of rice or millet. It appears to have been usually made of the finest wheat flour. It was probably formed into dry, thin biscuits, not unlike those used by the modern Jews.

(*c.*) *The Bitter Herbs and the Sauce.*—According to the Mishna, the bitter herbs[82] might be endive, chicory, wild lettuce, or nettles. These plants were important articles of food to the ancient Egyptians. The sauce, into which the herbs, the bread, and the meat were dipped as they were eaten,[83] is not mentioned in the Pentateuch.

(*d.*) *The Four Cups of Wine.*—There is no mention of wine in connection with the Passover in the Pentateuch; but the Mishna strictly enjoins that there should never be less than four cups of it provided at the paschal meal even of the poorest Israelite. Two of them appear to be distinctly mentioned in Luke xxii. 17, 20. "The cup of blessing"[84] was probably the latter one of these, and is generally considered to have been the third of the series, after which a grace was said;[85] though from the designation, "*cup of the Hallel,*" it may have been the fourth and last cup.

(*e.*) *The Hallel.*—The service of praise sung at the Passover is not mentioned in the law. The name is contracted from *Hallelujah.* It consisted of the series of Psalms from cxiii. to cxviii. The first portion, comprising Ps. cxiii. and cxiv., was sung in the early part of the meal, and the second part after the fourth cup of wine. This is supposed to have been the "hymn" sung by our Lord and His Apostles.[86]

76 Deut. xxvii. 7.
77 Luke xxii. 7–9; Mark xiv. 12–16.
78 Ex. xii. 5.
79 See Mal. i. 14.
80 2 Chron. xxx. 17.
81 Deut. xvi. 2.
82 Ex. xii. 8.
83 John xiii. 26; Matt. xxvi. 23.
84 1 Cor. x. 16.
85 Comp. Luke xxii. 20, where it is called "the cup after supper."
86 Matt. xxvi. 30; Mark xiv. 26.

(*f.*) *Mode and Order of the Paschal Meal.*—Adopting as much from Jewish tradition as is not inconsistent or improbable, the following appears to have been the usual custom :—All work, except that belonging to a few trades connected with daily life, was suspended for some hours before the evening of the fourteenth Nisan. It was not lawful to eat any ordinary food after midday. No male was admitted to the table unless he was circumcised, even if he was the seed of Israel.[87] Neither, according to the letter of the law, was any one of either sex admitted who was ceremonially unclean :[88] but this rule was on special occasions liberally applied. The Rabbinists expressly state that women were permitted, though not commanded, to partake ; but the Karaites, in more recent times, excluded all but full-grown men. It was customary for the number of a party to be not less than ten. When the meal was prepared, the family was placed round the table, the paterfamilias taking a place of honor, probably somewhat raised above the rest. There is no reason to doubt that the ancient Hebrews sat as they were accustomed to do at their ordinary meals. Our Lord and His Apostles conformed to the usual custom of their time, and reclined.[89] When the party was arranged, the first cup of wine was filled, and a blessing was asked by the head of the family on the feast, as well as a special one on the cup. The bitter herbs were then placed on the table, and a portion of them eaten, either with or without the sauce. The unleavened bread was handed round next, and afterward the lamb was placed on the table in front of the head of the family. Before the lamb was eaten the second cup of wine was filled, and the son, in accordance with Ex. xii. 26, asked his father the meaning of the feast. In reply, an account was given of the sufferings of the Israelites in Egypt, and of their deliverance, with a particular explanation of Deut. xxvi. 5, and the first part of the Hallel[90] was sung. This being gone through, the lamb was carved and eaten. The third cup of wine was poured out and drunk, and soon afterward the fourth. The second part of the Hallel[91] was then sung. A fifth wine-cup appears to have been occasionally produced, but perhaps only in later times. What was termed the greater Hallel[92] was sung on such occasions. The Israelites who lived in the country appear to have been accommodated at the feast by the inhabitants of Jerusalem in their houses, so far as there was room for them.[93] Those who could not be received into the city encamped without the walls in tents, as the pilgrims now do at Mecca.

(*g.*) *The first Sheaf of Harvest.*—The offering of the Omer, or sheaf, is mentioned nowhere in the law except Lev. xxiii. 10–14. It is there commanded that when the Israelites reached the land of promise, they should bring, on the sixteenth of the month, "the morrow after the Sabbath" (*i. e.*, the day of holy convocation),[94] the first sheaf of the harvest to the priest, to be waved by him before the Lord. The sheaf was of barley, as being the grain which was first ripe.[95]

(*h.*) *The Chagigah.*—The daily sacrifices are enumerated in the Pentateuch

[87] Ex. xii. 48.
[88] Num. ix. 6.
[89] Luke xxii. 14, etc.
[90] Ps. cxiii. cxiv.
[91] Ps. cxv.–cxviii.
[92] Ps. cxx.–cxxxviii.
[93] Luke xxii. 10–12 ; Matt. xxvi. 18.
[94] This sense of *Sabbath* is well established ; but the opinion, that the calendar was so arranged as to make the first of Nisan, and therefore the fifteenth, fall on the weekly Sabbath, deserves consideration
[95] 2 K. iv. 42.

only in Num. xxviii. 19–23, but reference is made to them Lev xxiii. 8. Besides these public offerings, there was another sort of sacrifice connected with the Passover, as well as with the other great festivals, called in the Talmud *Chagigah*, *i. e.*, "festivity." It was a voluntary peace-offering made by private individuals. The victim might be taken either from the flock or the herd. It might be either male or female, but it must be without blemish. The offerer laid his hand upon its head, and slew it at the door of the sanctuary. The blood was sprinkled on the altar, and the fat of the inside, with the kidneys, was burned by the priest. The breast was given to the priest as a wave-offering, and the right shoulder as a heave-offering.[96] What remained of the victim might be eaten by the offerer and his guests on the day on which it was slain, and on the day following; but if any portion was left till the third day it was burned.[97] The eating of the Chagigah was an occasion of social festivity connected with the festivals, and especially with the Passover.

(*i.*) *Release of Prisoners.*—It is a question whether the release of a prisoner at the Passover[98] was a custom of Roman origin resembling what took place at the lectisternium,[99] and, in later times, on the birthday of an emperor; or whether it was an old Hebrew usage belonging to the festival, which Pilate allowed the Jews to retain.

(*k.*) *The Second, or Little Passover.*—When the Passover was celebrated the second year in the wilderness, certain men were prevented from keeping it, owing to their being defiled by contact with a dead body. Being thus prevented from obeying the Divine command, they came anxiously to Moses to inquire what they should do. He was accordingly instructed to institute a second Passover, to be observed on the fourteenth of the following month, for the benefit of any who had been hindered from keeping the regular one in Nisan.[100] The Talmudists called this the Little Passover.[101]

§ 11. (2.) The PENTECOST,[102] or HARVEST FEAST, or FEAST OF WEEKS, may be regarded as a supplement to the Passover; and accordingly its common Jewish name is *Asartha*, the concluding assembly. It lasted only for one day; but the modern Jews extend it over two. The people, having at the Passover presented before God the first sheaf of the harvest, departed to their homes to gather it in, and then returned to keep the harvest feast before Jehovah. From the sixteenth of Nisan seven weeks were reckoned inclusively, and the next or fiftieth day was the Day of Pentecost, which fell on the sixth of Sivan (about the end of *May*).[103] The intervening period included the whole of the grain harvest, of which the wheat was the latest crop. Its commencement is also marked as from the time when "thou beginnest to put the sickle to the corn."

The Pentecost was the Jewish harvest home, and the people were espe-

[96] Lev. iii. 1–5, vii. 29–34.

[97] Lev. vii. 16–18.

[98] Matt. xxvii. 15; Mark xv. 6; Luke xxiii. 17; John xviii. 39.

[99] Liv. v. 13.

[100] Num. ix. 11.

[101] On the meaning of the Passover, see *Notes and Illustrations* at the end of this section. The question whether the meat at which our Lord instituted the Sacrament of the Eucharist was the paschal supper according to the Law, is discussed in the history of our Lord's life.

[102] This Greek name is not the translation of any corresponding word in the Pentateuch; but the later name of the feast, which naturally grew out of the calculation of its interval from the Passover.

[103] Ex. xxiii. 16, xxxiv. 22; Lev. xxiii. 15–22; Num. xxviii. 26–31; Deut. xvi. 9–12; 2 Macc. xii. 32; Acts ii. 1, xx. 16; 1 Cor. xvi. 8.

cially exhorted to rejoice before Jehovah with their families, their servants, the Levite within their gates, the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow, in the place chosen by God for His name, as they brought a freewill-offering of their hand to Jehovah their God.[104] That offering of course included the *Chagigah;* but the great feature of the celebration was the presentation of the *two loaves*, made from the first-fruits of the wheat-harvest, and *leavened*, that is, in the state fit for ordinary food. In this point, as contrasted with the unleavened bread of the Passover, we see the more homely and social nature of the feast; while its bounty to the poor is connected with the law which secured them plenty of gleanings.[105] With the loaves two lambs were offered as a peace-offering; and all were waved before Jehovah, and given to the priests: the loaves, being leavened, could not be offered on the altar. The other sacrifices were, a burnt-offering of a young bullock, two rams, and seven lambs, with a meat and drink offering, and a kid for a sin-offering.[106] Till the pentecostal loaves were offered, the produce of the harvest might not be eaten, nor could any other first-fruits be offered. The whole ceremony was the completion of that dedication of the harvest to God, as its giver, and to whom both the land and the people were holy, which was begun by the offering of the wave-sheaf at the Passover. The interval is still regarded as a religious season.

The Pentecost is the only one of the three great feasts which is not mentioned as the memorial of events in the history of the Jews. But such a significance has been found in the fact, that the Law was given from Sinai on the fiftieth day after the deliverance from Egypt.[107] In the Exodus, the people were offered to God, as living first-fruits; at Sinai their consecration to Him as a nation was completed. The point is noticed by several of the Christian fathers, and the modern Jews connect with the Pentecost special thanks for the giving of the Law.

The typical significance of the Pentecost is made clear from the events of the day recorded in the Acts of the Apostles.[108] The preceding Passover had been marked by the sacrifice upon the cross of the true Paschal Lamb, and by his offering to his Father as "the first-fruits of them that slept." The Day of Pentecost found his disciples assembled at Jerusalem, like the Israelites before Sinai, waiting for "the promise of the Father." Again did God descend from heaven in fire, to pour forth that Holy Spirit, which gives the spiritual discernment of His law; and the converts to Peter's preaching were the first-fruits of the spiritual harvest, of which Christ had long before assured his disciples. Just as the appearance of God on Sinai was the birthday of the Jewish nation, so was that Pentecost the birthday of the Christian Church. "As the possession of the Law had completed the deliverance of the Hebrew race, wrought by the hand of Moses, so the gift of the Spirit perfected the work of Christ in the establishment of His kingdom upon earth."[109] It has been observed that the Pentecost was the last Jewish feast that Paul was anxious to keep,[110] and that Whitsuntide, its successor, was the first annual festival adopted in the Christian Church.

§ 12. (3.) The FEAST OF TABERNACLES, OR FEAST OF INGATHERING, completed the cycle of the festivals of the year, and was celebrated with great

[104] Deut. xvi. 10, 11.
[105] Lev. xxiii. 22. [106] Lev. xxiii. 18, 19.
[107] Comp. Ex. xii. and xix.; and Selden, *de Jure Nat. et Gent.* iii. 11. [108] Acts ii.
[109] *Bib. Dict.* art. PENTECOST.
[110] 1 Cor. xvi. 8.

rejoicings. It was at once a thanksgiving for the harvest, and a commemoration of the time when the Israelites dwelt in tents during their passage through the wilderness.[111] It fell in the autumn, when the whole of the chief fruits of the ground, the corn, the wine, and the oil, were gathered in.[112] Its duration was strictly only seven days.[113] But it was followed by a day of holy convocation, distinguished by sacrifices of its own, which was sometimes spoken of as an eighth day.[114] It lasted from the fifteenth till the twenty-second of the month of Tisri.

During the seven days the Israelites were commanded to dwell in booths or huts (*tabernacles*) formed of the boughs of trees, etc. The boughs were of the olive, pine, myrtle, and other trees with thick foliage.[115] The command in Lev. xxiii. 40 is said to have been so understood, that the Israelites, from the first day of the feast to the seventh, carried in their hands "the fruit" (as in the margin of the A. V., not *branches*, as in the text) "of goodly trees, with branches of palm-trees, boughs of thick trees, and willows of the brook."

The burnt-offerings of the Feast of Tabernacles were by far more numerous than those of any other festival. There were offered on each day two rams, fourteen lambs, and a kid for a sin-offering. But what was most peculiar was the arrangement of the sacrifices of bullocks, in all amounting to seventy. Thirteen were offered on the first day, twelve on the second, eleven on the third, and so on, reducing the number by one each day till the seventh, when seven bullocks only were offered.[116] When the Feast of Tabernacles fell on a Sabbatical year, portions of the law were read each day in public to men, women, children, and strangers.[117]

There are two particulars in the observance of the Feast of Tabernacles which appear to be referred to in the New Testament, but are not noticed in the Old. These were, the ceremony of pouring out some water of the Pool of Siloam, and the display of some great lights in the court of the women.

We are told that each Israelite, in holiday attire, repaired to the Temple with a palm branch in one hand and the citron in the other, at the time of the ordinary morning sacrifice. One of the priests fetched some water in a golden ewer from the Pool of Siloam. At the top of the brazen altar were fixed two silver basins with small openings at the bottom. Wine was poured into that on the eastern side, and the water into that on the western side, whence it was conducted by pipes into the Cedron. The Hallel[118] was then sung. In the evening, both men and women assembled in the court of the women, expressly to hold a rejoicing for the drawing of the water of Siloam. In this court were set up two lofty stands, each supporting four great lamps. These were lighted on each night of the festival. Many in the assembly carried flambeaux. A body of Levites, stationed on the fifteen steps leading up to the women's court, played instruments of music, and chanted the fifteen psalms, called in the Authorized Version Songs of Degrees.[119] Singing and dancing were afterward continued for some time. The same ceremonies in the day, and the same joyous meeting in the evening, were renewed on each of the seven days.

[111] Ex. xxiii. 16, and Lev. xxiii. 43.
[112] Ex. xxiii. 16; Lev. xxiii. 39; Deut. xvi. 13–15.
[113] Deut. xvi. 13; Ez. xlv. 25.
[114] Lev. xxiii. 36; Neh. viii. 18.
[115] Neh. viii. 15, 16,
[116] Num. xxix. 12–38.
[117] Deut. xxxi. 10–13.
[118] See p. 262.
[119] Ps. cxx.–cxxxiv.

It appears to be generally admitted that the words of our Saviour[120]—"If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink. He that believeth on me, as the Scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water"—were suggested by the pouring out of the water of Siloam. The Jews seem to have regarded the rite as symbolical of the water miraculously supplied to their fathers from the rock at Meribah. But they also gave to it a more strictly spiritual signification, in accordance with the use to which our Lord appears to turn it. Maimonides applies to it the very passage which appears to be referred to it by our Lord[121]—"Therefore with joy shall ye draw water out of the well of salvation." The two meanings are of course perfectly harmonious, as is shown by the use which St. Paul makes of the historical fact[122]—"they drank of the spiritual rock that followed them: and that rock was Christ." It is also probable that our Lord's words[123]—"I am the light of the world"—refer to the great lamps of the festival.

III.—THE DAY OF ATONEMENT.

§ 13. The DAY OF ATONEMENT[124] is the one single fast, or day of humiliation prescribed by the Mosaic law; whence it is called the *Fast*,[125] and by the Talmudists *the Day*. It was observed on the tenth of Tisri, the seventh sacred and first civil month, five days before the Feast of Tabernacles. Thus it was interposed between the Feast of Trumpets, which ushered in the Sabbatic month, and the most joyous festival of the year.

It was kept as a most solemn Sabbath, when all must abstain from work, and "afflict their souls" on pain of being "cut off from among the people." Its ceremonies signified the public humiliation of the people for all the sins of the past year, and the remission of those sins by the atonement which the high-priest made within the veil, whither he entered on this day only. All the sacrifices of the day were performed by the high-priest himself. He first washed his body in the Holy Place, and put on his white linen garments, not the robes of state.[126] Coming out of the Tabernacle, he first brought forward the sacrifices for himself and his family, which were provided at his own cost; a young bullock for a sin-offering, and a ram for a burnt-offering. This part of the ceremony set forth the imperfection of the Levitical priesthood, even in its highest representative. Sanctified by God himself, washed with pure water, and clad in spotless garments, the high-priest was the type of the true Intercessor and eternal Priest; but still, as himself a sinner, he was infinitely below the "high-priest needed by us, who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, who needeth not, *as those high-priests*, to offer up sacrifice, *first for his own sins*, and then for the people's."[127]

The high-priest then led forward the victims for the people's sins, which were provided at the public cost. There were a ram for a burnt-offering, and two young goats for a sin-offering. Presenting the two goats before Jehovah, at the door of the Tabernacle, he cast lots upon them, the one lot being inscribed FOR JEHOVAH, the other FOR AZAZEL. The latter was called the *Scape-goat*.

[120] John vii. 37, 38. [121] Is. xii. 3.
[122] 1 Cor. x. 4. [123] John viii. 12.
[124] Lev. xvi., xxiii. 26–32; Num. xxix. 7–11. [125] Acts xxvii. 9.
[126] The Mishna says, in its account of the ceremonies of the second Temple, that he first performed the daily service, namely, the sacrifices, lighting the lamps, and offering incense, in his colored robes.
[127] Heb. vii. 26–28

The victims being thus prepared, the high-priest proceeded to offer the young bullock as the sin-offering for himself and his family. Having slain it at the altar, he took some of its blood, with a censer filled with live coals from the altar, and a handful of incense: and entering into the *Most Holy Place*, he threw the incense on the coals, thus enveloping the ark in a fragrant cloud, and partially shrouding it from his own eyes lest he should die for a profanely-curious gaze, and then sprinkled the blood seven times before the mercy-seat, on the east side of the ark.[128]

The goat "of Jehovah" was then slain as a sin-offering for the people, and the high-priest again went into the Most Holy Place and performed the same ceremonies with its blood. As he returned through the Holy Place, in which no one else was present, he purified it by sprinkling some of the blood of both victims on the altar of incense. This completed the purification of the sanctuary, the second stage of the atonement.[129]

Then followed the remission of the people's sins by the striking ceremony of devoting the *Scape-goat*, the one on which the lot had fallen "*for Azazel.*" The high-priest having laid his hands upon its head, and confessed over it the sins of the people, the victim, loaded as it were with those sins, was led out, by a man chosen for the purpose, to the wilderness, into "a land not inhabited," and there let loose. Unwise curiosity has attempted to follow its fate. Scandalized apparently by the idea of its being free to mix with other creatures, the Rabbis say that the man who had charge of the goat threw him backward from the top of a precipice, and so dashed him to pieces, in palpable contradiction of the law. Nor is there any ground for the beautiful conception of the great painter, who shows us the scape-goat on the shore of the Dead Sea, expressing the load of its devotion in every lineament. The simple meaning of the rite is the *full remission* of sins; and the animal who bore them away was thenceforth as free as the pardoned sinner. To trace it, or to endeavor to identify it, would be a profanation; just as the idea of remission is expressed by *not inquiring for sins*, not *finding* them, *casting them* behind the back. "As far as the east is from the west, so far hath He removed our transgressions from us." The "escaped goat" must be viewed in connection with the one which gave up its life "for Jehovah;" the death of the one being the price of the liberty of the other; and both together formed a type of Christ, who, by his death and resurrection, "took away the sin of the world." This idea of remission seems to be involved in the name to which the scape-goat was devoted; "for Azazel" signifying "for complete removal."[130]

The great ceremony of the remission of sins being thus completed, the high-priest, after again washing his body in the Holy Place, and resuming his robes of state, completed the offering of the slain victims. The two rams were burnt upon the altar, with the fat of the two sin-offerings; but the flesh

[128] The Mishna says eight times, once toward the ceiling, and seven times on the floor. It makes *four* entrances, one with the incense, and a second with the blood of the bullock, a third with the blood of the goat, and a fourth to fetch away the censer. Only *two* are implied in Lev. xvi. 12, 14, 15. The phrase "once each year" (Heb. vii. 7) evidently refers to the *one* day and ceremony, not to the number of entrances.

[129] Nothing is said of the purification of the brazen altar; but, according to Josephus and the Mishna, what was left of the blood of the two sin-offerings was poured out at its foot.

[130] The commoner view, which takes *Azazel* for the proper name of an evil spirit, lies at the root of the misconceptions above noticed.

of the latter was carried away and burnt without the camp. Those who performed this office, and the man who had led away the scape-goat, washed their bodies and their clothes before returning to the camp.

The significance of these types of the true atonement, not by the blood of bulls and goats, but by the precious blood of Christ himself, our high-priest, is set forth in the Epistle to the Hebrews.[131]

IV.—FESTIVALS AFTER THE CAPTIVITY.

§ 14. (1.) The FEAST OF PURIM, or of LOTS, was an annual festival instituted to commemorate the preservation of the Jews in Persia from the massacre with which they were threatened through the machinations of Haman.[132]

The festival lasted two days, and was regularly observed on the fourteenth and fifteenth of Adar. It is not easy to conjecture what may have been the ancient mode of observance, so as to have given the occasion something of the dignity of a national religious festival. According to modern custom, as soon as the stars begin to appear, when the fourteenth of the month has commenced, candles are lighted up in token of rejoicing, and the people assemble in the synagogue. After a short prayer and thanksgiving, the reading of the Book of Esther commences. When the reader comes to the name of Haman the whole congregation cry out, "May his name be blotted out," or "Let the name of the ungodly perish." When the names of the sons of Haman are read,[133] the reader utters them with a continuous enunciation, so as to make them into one word, to signify that they were hanged all at once. When the Megillah is read through, the whole congregation exclaim, "Cursed be Haman; blessed be Mordecai; cursed be Zoresh (the wife of Haman); blessed be Esther; cursed be all idolaters; blessed be all Israelites, and blessed be Harbonah, who hanged Haman." In the morning service in the synagogue, on the fourteenth, after the prayers, the passage is read from the law[134] which relates the destruction of the Amalekites, the people of Agag,[135] the supposed ancestors of Haman.[136] The Book of Esther is then read again in the same manner, and with the same responses from the congregation as on the preceding evening.

The fourteenth of Adar, as the very day of the deliverance of the Jews, is more solemnly kept than the thirteenth. But when the service in the synagogue is over, all give themselves up to merry-making.

§ 15. (2.) The FEAST OF DEDICATION was the festival instituted to commemorate the purging of the Temple and the rebuilding of the altar after Judas Maccabæus had driven out the Syrians, B.C. 164. It is named only once in the Canonical Scriptures, John x. 22. Its institution is recorded in 1 Macc. iv. 52–59. It commenced on the twenty-fifth of Chisleu, the anniversary of the pollution of the Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes, B.C. 167. Like the great Mosaic feasts, it lasted eight days, but it did not require attendance at Jerusalem. It was an occasion of much festivity. The writer of 2 Macc. tells us that it was celebrated in nearly the same manner as the

[131] Chap. ix.–x.

[132] It was probably called Purim by the Jews in irony. Their great enemy Haman appears to have been very superstitious and much given to casting lots (Esth. iii. 7). They gave the name Purim, or Lots, to the commemorative festival, because he had thrown lots to ascertain what day would be auspicious for him to carry into effect the bloody decree which the king had issued at his instance (Esth. ix. 24).

[133] Esth. ix. 7, 8, 9.

[134] Ex. xvii. 8–16.

[135] 1 Sam. xv. 8.

[136] Esth. iii. 1.

Feast of Tabernacles, with the carrying of branches of trees, and with much singing (x. 6, 7). Josephus states that the festival was called "Lights." In the Temple at Jerusalem the "Hallel" was sung every day of the feast.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

(A.) MEANING OF THE PASSOVER.

In the interpretation of this most significant of all the types of the Mosaic dispensation, we must trace the double reference to its immediate occasion and to its wider spiritual meaning; its twofold aspect, to the devout Israelite then, and to the Christian now. The following are the chief and obvious points: many more have been suggested by the sometimes too refined ingenuity of commentators.

I. *In its primary meaning.* — (1.) The Paschal Lamb was a *sacrifice.* The chief characteristics of a sacrifice are all distinctly ascribed to it. It was offered in the Holy Place (Deut. xvi. 5, 6); the blood was sprinkled on the altar, and the fat was burned (2 Chron. xxx. 16, xxxv. 11). The language of Ex. xii. 27, xxiii. 18; Num. ix. 7; Deut. xvi. 2, 5, together with 1 Cor. v. 7, would seem to decide the question beyond the reach of doubt. The lamb, the gentlest of all creatures, must be *without blemish*, to teach, not only the general principle of offering our best to God, but also the special doctrine, that an expiatory sacrifice must be that of the innocent for the guilty.

(2.) The Paschal Lamb was also a *feast.* Even amid the confusion of that awful night, they ate it with joy for their deliverance. But it was also their last feast in Egypt, from whose "flesh-pots" they were now forever starting. The bread which they had not had time to leaven, the bitter herbs, their haste, and their travelling equipment, all taught them that it was no season of sensual pleasure, and that henceforth they were dependent on God alone for food.

II. *In its perpetual spiritual sense:* CHRIST OUR PASSOVER IS SACRIFICED FOR US (1 Cor. v. 7). The blood of the first paschal lambs sprinkled on the doorways of the houses has ever been regarded as the best defined foreshadowing of that blood which has redeemed, saved, and sanctified us (Heb. xi. 28). The lamb itself, sacrificed by the worshiper without the intervention of a priest, and its flesh being eaten without reserve as a meal, exhibits the most perfect of peace-offerings, the closest type of the atoning Sacrifice who died for us and has made our peace with God (Is. liii. 7; John i. 29; cf. the expression "my sacrifice," Ex. xxxiv. 25; also Ex. xii. 27; Acts viii. 32; 1 Cor. v. 7; 1 Pet. i. 18, 19). The unleavened bread is recognized as the figure of the state of sanctification which is the true element of the believer in Christ (1 Cor. v. 8). The haste with which the meal was eaten, and the girt-up loins, the staves and the sandals, are fit emblems of the life of the Christian pilgrim, ever hastening away from the world toward his heavenly destination (Luke xii. 35; 1 Pet. i. 13, ii. 11; Eph. v. 15; Heb. xi. 13).

The offering of the Omer (see p. 263) found full expression only in that First-born of all creation, who

having died and risen again, became "the first-fruits of them that slept" (1 Cor. xv. 20). As the first of the first-fruits, no other offering of this sort seems so likely as the Omer to have immediately suggested the expressions used (Rom. viii. 23, xi. 16; James i. 18; Rev. xiv. 4).

The crowning application of the paschal rites to the truths of which they were the shadowy promises appears to be that which is afforded by the fact that our Lord's death occurred during the festival. According to the Divine purpose, the true Lamb of God was slain at nearly the same time as "the Lord's Passover," in obedience to the letter of the Law.

(B.) THE JEWISH CALENDAR.

The Jewish year being strictly lunar, and the day of the new moon common to the preceding and succeeding month, the correspondences with our month vary in different years according to the intercalation. Generally speaking, the months appended below to the Jewish are to be taken with ten days (or less) of the preceding month; but sometimes the overrunning is the other way. For example, according to the present calendar of the Jews, the 1st of Nisan fell on March 21st., April 7th, and March 28th, in 1863, 1864, and 1865, respectively.

(B.) THE JEWISH CALENDAR.

Corresponding Dates for Three Years.			Jewish Calendar. (In the Sacred Order of the Months.)
A.M. 5623. A.D. 1863.	A.M. 5624. A.D. 1864.	A.M. 5625. A.D. 1865.	
			I. ABIB or NISAN. April.
Mar. 21......	Apr. 7........	Mar. 28........	1. New Moon.
Apr. 4, 5, 10, 11	Apr. 21, 22, 27, 28	Apr. 11, 12, 17, 18	15, 16, 21, 22. PASSOVER DAYS, 1, 2, 7, last.
Apr 19......			30. New Moon.
			II. JYAR (Yiah). May.
Apr. 20......	May 7........	Apr. 27........	1. New Moon.
Apr. 29......	May 24........	May 14........	10. Death of Elijah (Lag B' Omer). *Fast.*
May 1......			12.
May 17......			28. Death of Samuel. *Fast.*
May 19......			30. New Moon.
			III. SIVAN. June.
May 19......	June 5........	May 26........	1. New Moon.
May 24, 25...	June 10, 11.....	May 31, June 1.	6, 7. PENTECOST or Sebuoth.
June 17......			30. New Moon.
			IV. THAMMUZ. July.
June 18......	July 5........	June 25........	1. New Moon.
July 5......	July 21........	July 11........	17. Taking of Jerusalem by Titus. *Fast.*
			V. AB. August.
July 17......	Aug. 3........	July 24........	1. New Moon.
July 26......	Aug. 11........	Aug. 1........	9. Destruction of Temple. *Fast.*
July 31......			15. Tubeah. *Little Festival.*
Aug. 15......			30. New Moon.
			VI. ELUL. September.
Aug. 16......	Sept. 2........	Aug. 23........	1. New Moon.
Aug. 22......			7. Dedication of Walls by Nehemiah. *Feast.*
Sept. 1......			17 Expulsion of the Greeks.

(B.) THE JEWISH CALENDAR—*Continued.*

Corresponding Dates for Three Years.			Jewish Calendar. (Beginning of Civil Year.)
A.M. 5624. A.D. 1863–4.	A.M. 5625. A.D. 1864–5.	A.M. 5626. A.D. 1865–6.	
			VII TISRI. October.
Sept. 14, 15	Oct. 1, 2	Sept. 21, 22	1, 2. New Year and New Moon.
Sept. 16	Oct. 3	Sept. 24	3. Death of Gedaliah. *Fast.*
Sept. 23	Oct. 10	Sept. 30	10. Kipur. Day of Atonement. *Fast.*
Sept. 28, 29	Oct. 15, 16	Oct. 5, 6	15, 16. Feast of Tabernacles.
Oct. 1			18. Hosanna Rabba.
Oct. 4	Oct. 21	Oct. 11	21. Feast of Branches or of Palms
Oct. 5	Oct. 22	Oct. 12	22. End of Feast of Tabernacles.
Oct. 6	Oct. 23	Oct. 13	23. Feast of the Law.
			VIII. CHESVAN (Marchesvan). November.
Oct. 14	Oct. 31	Oct. 21	1. New Moon.
			IX. CHISLEU. December.
Nov. 12	Nov. 30	Nov. 19	1. New Moon.
Dec. 6	Dec. 24	Dec. 13	25. Hanuca. Dedication of Temple.
			X. THEBET. January.
Dec. 11	Dec. 30	Dec. 19	1. New Moon.
	1865.		
Dec. 20	Jan. 8	Dec. 28	10. Siege of Jerusalem. *Fast.*
1864.		1866.	XI. SEBAT. February.
Jan. 9	Jan. 28	Jan. 17	1. New Moon.
			XII. ADAR. March.
Feb. 8	Feb. 27		1. New Moon.
Feb. 21			14. Little Purim.
			XII.* VEADAR (Intercalary.) Latter part of March and beginning of April.
Mar. 9			1. New Moon.
Mar. 21	Mar. 9		13. Feast of Esther.
Mar. 22, 23	Mar. 12, 13		14, 15. Feast of Purim and Shusham Purim.
Apr. 6			Last Day of the Year.

MEM.—The Jewish year contains 354 days, or 12 lunations of the moon: but in a cycle of 19 years an intercalary month (*Veadar*) is seven times introduced to render the average length of the year nearly correct.

SECTION VII.

Laws Constitutional, Civil, and Criminal.

§ 1.—B. Laws Constitutional and Political: First Stage—The government theocratic. § 2. Second Stage—Continuance of the theocracy—The Judges. § 3. Third Stage—Appointment of a king. § 4. The princes of the congregation. § 5. Judges. § 6. The seventy elders. § 7.—C. Laws Civil: I. *Laws of persons*—Father and Son. § 8. Husband and wife. § 9. Master and slave. § 10. Strangers. § 11.—II. *Laws of things*—Laws of land and property. § 12. Laws of debt. § 13. Taxation. § 14.—D. Laws Criminal—Offenses against God—The first four Commandments. § 15. Offenses against man—The last six Commandments.

B. LAWS CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL.[1]

§ 1. The Political Constitution of the Jewish Commonwealth, as we have seen, is founded entirely upon a religious basis. In its form it is Theocrat-

[1] The Laws Religious and Ceremonial have formed the subject of the preceding six sections. For the division of the law, see p. 223.

ic—a *monarchy*, with JEHOVAH for the only king, all magistrates and judges being His ministers: in its *substance* and *spirit*, it is a *commonwealth*, in the strict sense, its object being the highest welfare of the whole people, who enjoy equal rights as being all the children of God, and united by the bond of holiness. The formal constitution grew out of the wants of the people. When the people left Egypt, they could not be called a nation, in the political sense; but a body of tribes, united by the bonds of grace and religion, and especially by "the promise given to the fathers."

Each of these tribes had its own patriarchal government by the "princes" of the tribe, and the "heads" of the respective families, and we find their authority subsisting through the whole history of the nation. But no central government was as yet provided. God preserved it in his own hands, and committed its administration to Moses as His servant. The people were all collected in one encampment around the tabernacle of Jehovah, their ever present king. They were commanded by His voice, whether directly or through Moses, and their movements were guided by His visible signs. If any doubtful case arose of law or policy, there was His oracle to be consulted. If any opposition was made to the authority of His minister, Jehovah summoned the rebels to His presence at the door of the tabernacle, smote them with leprosy, consumed them with pestilence, devoured them with fire, or sent them down alive into the pit. Such was the simple constitution of this period; God governing by His will, while embodying that will in the Law.

§ 2. In the second stage of their history, their first settlement in Canaan, the constitution was essentially the same. Jehovah was still their king, present in His tabernacle to exercise the supreme government, and to give oracles for all doubtful cases, and committing the executive power to Joshua, who is distinctly recognized as the successor of Moses, only he was a military leader instead of a lawgiver. He ends his course, like Moses, by gathering the people together at Gilgal, around the sanctuary of Jehovah, and binding them once more to the covenant of their God and King.

All this time, no distinct provision had been made in the Law for any successor to the authority of Moses and Joshua, except the prospective law of the kingdom, which does not yet come into force. Nor is it easy to determine the form which the Theocracy would have assumed, had the people remained faithful to its principles; whether a *hierarchy*, or a *senate* of the princes, or the government of a chief magistrate, not as a king in his own right, but as the vicegerent of Jehovah. By omitting to refer the case to the oracle of Jehovah, the nation settled down into a disorderly compound of the first and second forms, so far as they had any central government at all. But, in truth, the several tribes were so occupied in securing their new possessions, that it required a common danger to bring them together at all. Meanwhile they neglected the sanctuary, and began to worship the gods of the country; and so their oppressions by the neighboring nations were at once the fruit of their disunion, and a judicial punishment for their disloyalty to Jehovah.

The *judges* were temporary and special deliverers, sent by God to meet these several emergencies, not supreme magistrates, succeeding to the authority of Moses and Joshua. Their power only extended over portions of the

country, and some of them were contemporaneous.[2] Still they supplied, to some extent, the want of a chief magistrate; and the house of Gideon founded a brief dynasty in the centre of the country. But the only recognized central authority was still the oracle at Shiloh, which sunk into a system of priestly weakness and disorder under Eli and his sons. Even while the administration of Samuel gave something like a settled government to the south, there was scope for the irregular exploits of Samson on the borders of the Philistines; and Samuel at last established his authority as judge and prophet, but still as the servant of Jehovah, only to see it so abused by his sons as to exhaust the patience of the people, who now at length demanded a KING, after the pattern of the surrounding nations.

§ 3. This demand was treated as an act of treason to Jehovah, who punished it by granting such a king as they desired. The government of Saul was an experiment, in which the self-will of the king was ever attempting to set him free from his true position as the minister of the theocracy; and Jehovah's supreme authority was as constantly asserted by the intervention of His prophet Samuel, and finally by Saul's disastrous end and the extinction of his family.

The monarchy of the people's own choice being thus cast down, "God found David, the son of Jesse, a man after God's own heart" (that is, of His own choice); and his elevation marks the establishment of the true *Hebrew monarchy*, in which the king, though externally on an equal footing with other monarchs, acknowledged himself the servant of Jehovah, and the guardian of His law, and submitted to guidance and rebuke by the prophets. This constitution was designed to reconcile, in condescension to the wants of the people, the government of man with the authority of God, and so to be a type of Christ's kingdom. How hard it was for human nature to conform to this model was proved by Solomon, whose character exhibits both the good and bad sides of royal power; and the same conflict was worked out in the separate kingdoms of Israel and Judah; the former developing the consequences of open rebellion against Jehovah, though checked by the prophets, especially Elijah and Elisha, the latter preserving the profession of godliness, and having its true spirit from time to time revived by such kings as Hezekiah and Josiah, and privileged to continue the line of Messiah's kingdom, but surely though slowly tending to the retribution of the people's original disloyalty, in the captivity at Babylon. The lesson was so far effective, that the *principle* of the theocracy was never again violated till Herod's usurpation, which only formed a contrast to the kingdom of Christ now "at hand."

The state of things thus exemplified was provided for in the law of Moses; and there can be no better example of the prospective adaptation of the law to the people's wants. Even while forbidding them to desire a king, because Jehovah was their king already, Moses traced out the constitution of the future kingdom.[3] The king was to be chosen by God himself. The manner in which he was elected and anointed is seen in the cases of Saul and David, Solomon, and several of the later kings. The principle of a *covenant or mutual contract* between the king and the people is distinctly recognized.[4]

The positive law of the kingdom was summed up in the one great duty

[2] See chap. xvii. [3] Deut. xvi. 14–20. [4] 2 Sam. v. 3; 2 K. xi. 17.

of governing according to the law of God, of which the king was to write out a copy in a book, and read therein all the days of his life, that by his obedience his kingdom and life might be prolonged. He was warned against assuming despotic authority over his brethren; and we find the princes and the congregation not only using remonstrance,[5] but exercising control over him.[6] He was forbidden to maintain a cavalry force—a check on aggressive warfare, designed especially to guard against any attempt to return to Egypt.[7] Neither was he to have many wives or great treasures; and the case of Solomon is an example of the fatal effect of transgressing this prohibition. To these laws of Moses the first king added the prerogative of compulsory service, of making war, and of exacting a tithe.[8] From the first, the king assumed judicial power, and exercised summary jurisdiction, even to the extent of deposing the high-priest.[9] In religious matters, he might guide the nation, as in building and dedicating the Temple, but the attempt to enter the sanctuary was punished as impiety, as in Uzziah's case.

§ 4. The *Princes of the Congregation*, or heads of tribes, seem to have always retained a certain power in the State. In the desert they appear as representatives of their several tribes. They unite with Joshua in making the treaty with the Gibeonites.[10] Under David they are named next to the captains of the host.[11] In later times, as already stated, they are found controlling the king.

§ 5. The *Judges*.—There can be no doubt that, in the old patriarchal constitution, justice was administered, as among the Arabs to the present day, by the heads of houses or "patriarchal seniors."[12] In Egypt these must have been the only judges among the people;[13] and from the important place afterward assigned to them, it may be inferred that they never quite forfeited this privilege.[14] Their authority was superseded by the mission of Moses, for justice was regarded as proceeding from God himself. But when, finding the burden of justice too great for him, he appointed judges over tens, fifties, hundreds, and thousands, with an appeal to himself, these *official judges* seem to have been chosen out of the former class.[15] Under Joshua we find a similar order of judges, forming a supreme court of judicature.[16] These seem to be the judges to whom, in conjunction with the priests, there was an appeal from the inferior magistrates;[17] but in what manner they were chosen we are not informed, except in the case of the reformation of government by Jehoshaphat.[18] They were required to be able, godly, truthful, and incorrupt;[19] their persons and characters were sacred from attack or slander, and they are dignified with the title of "gods."[20] The Levites were associated with them, as local judges, from the settlement in Canaan. The supreme judicial authority was vested in the high-priest, as the organ for "inquiring of Jehovah," and under the monarchy in the king. There seems to have been no material distinction between

[5] 1 K. xii. 1–6.
[6] Jerem. xxvi. 10–14, xxxviii. 4, 5, etc.
[7] Deut. xvi. 16; comp. Josh. xi. 6; 2 Sam. viii. 4; 1 K. x. 26–29. [8] 1 Sam. viii. foll.
[9] 1 Sam. xxii. 11–19; 2 Sam. xii. 1–5, xiv. 4–11; 1 K. ii. 26–27, iii. 16–28.
[10] Josh. ix. 15. [11] 1 Chr. xxvii. 16–22.
[12] Job xxix. 7, 8, 9. [13] See Ex. ii. 14.
[14] Num. vii. 2, 10, 11, xvii. 6, xxxiv. 18; Josh. xxii. 14.
[15] Ex. xviii.; Deut. i. 15, 16.
[16] Josh. iv. 2, 4, xxii. 14, xxiv. 1.
[17] Deut. xvii. 8–13. [18] 2 Chr. xix. 8.
[19] Ex. xviii. 21; Deut. xvi. 18–20.
[20] Ex. xxi. 6, xxii. 8, 9, 28; Ps. lxxxii. 6; John x. 34; Acts xxiii. 5.

civil and criminal procedure, as both fell under the same principle of obedience to God's law.

§ 6. *The Seventy Elders* associated with Moses were a special council, not only for the administration of justice, but to assist in the government.[21] They must not be confounded with the *Sanhedrim*, or great ecclesiastical council of Seventy (so often mentioned in the New Testament), which was only founded after the Captivity.

C. LAWS CIVIL.

§ 7. It has already been observed that the *principles* of the civil law of Moses are based on the religious position of the people, as the holy children of God and brethren to one another. Its details doubtless embodied much of the old patriarchal law, and in some instances the circumstances are recorded out of which new laws arose. Our limits will permit us to give only a brief analysis of these laws, as well as of the criminal laws. Their chief provisions may be classified as follows:—

I. The Law of Persons.

§ 8. (*a*) Of Father and Son.—*The power of a Father* to be held sacred; cursing, or smiting (Ex. xxi. 15, 17; Lev. xx. 9), or stubborn and willful disobedience, to be considered capital crimes. But uncontrolled power of life and death was apparently refused to the father, and vested only in the congregation (Deut. xxi. 18–21).

Right of the First-born to a double portion of the inheritance not to be set aside by partiality (Deut. xxi. 15–17).[22]

Inheritance by Daughters to be allowed in default of sons, provided that heiresses married in their own tribe (Num. xxvii. 6–8; comp. xxxvi.).

Daughters unmarried to be entirely dependent on their father (Num. xxx. 3–5).

§ 9. (*b*) Husband and Wife.—*The power of a Husband* to be so great that a wife could never be *sui juris*, or enter independently into any engagement even before God (Num. xxx. 6–15). A widow or divorced wife became independent, and did not again fall under her father's power (ver. 9).

Divorce (for uncleanness) allowed, but to be formal and irrevocable (Deut. xxiv. 1–4).

Marriage within certain degrees forbidden (Lev. xviii. etc.).

A Slave Wife, whether bought or captive, not to be actual property, nor to be sold; if ill-treated, to be, *ipso facto*, free (Ex. xxi. 7–9; Deut. xxi. 10–14).

Slander against a wife's virginity to be punished by fine, and by deprival of power of divorce; on the other hand, ante-connubial uncleanness in her to be punished by death (Deut. xxii. 13–21).

The raising up of seed (Levirate law) a formal right to be claimed by the widow, under pain of infamy, with a view to preservation of families (Deut xxv. 5–10).

§ 10. (*c*) Master and Slave.—*Power of master so far limited*, that death

[21] Num. xi. 16–25.

[22] For an example of the authority of the first-born, see 1 Sam. xx. 29 ("my brother he hath commanded me to be there").

under actual chastisement was punishable (Ex. xxi. 20); and maiming was to give liberty *ipso facto* (ver. 26, 27).

The Hebrew Slave to be freed at the Sabbatical year,[23] and provided with necessaries (his wife and children to go with him only if they came to his master with him), unless by his own formal act he consented to be a perpetual slave (Ex. xxi. 1–6; Deut. xv. 12–18). In any case (it would seem), to be freed at the Jubilee (Lev. xxv. 10), with his children. If sold to a resident alien, to be always redeemable, at a price proportional to the distance of the Jubilee (Lev. xxv. 47–54).

Foreign Slaves to be held and inherited as property forever (Lev. xxv. 45, 46); and fugitive slaves from foreign nations not to be given up (Deut. xxiii. 15).

§ 11. (*d*) STRANGERS.—They seem never to have been *sui juris*, or able to protect themselves, and accordingly protection and kindness toward them are enjoined as a sacred duty (Ex. xxii. 21; Lev. xix. 33, 34). These strangers correspond to the class afterward called *Proselytes.*

II. LAW OF THINGS.

§ 12. (*a*) LAWS OF LAND (AND PROPERTY).—(1.) *All Land to be the property of God alone*, and its holders to be deemed His tenants (Lev. xxv. 23).

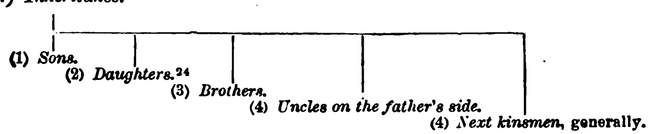
(2.) *All sold Land* therefore to *return to its original owners* at the Jubilee, and the price of sale to be calculated accordingly; and redemption on equitable terms to be allowed at all times (xxv. 25–27).

A House sold, to be redeemable within a year; and, if not redeemed, to pass away altogether (xxv. 29, 30).

But the Houses of the Levites, or those in unwalled villages, to be redeemable at all times, in the same way as land; and the Levitical suburbs to be inalienable (xxv. 31–34).

(3.) *Land or Houses sanctified*, or tithes or unclean firstlings, to be capable of being redeemed, at the addition of one-fifth their value (calculated according to the distance from the Jubilee-year by the priest); if devoted by the owner and unredeemed, to be hallowed at the Jubilee forever, and given to the priests; if only by a possessor, to return to the owner at the Jubilee (xxvii. 14–34).

(4.) *Inheritance.*



§ 13. (*b*) LAWS OF DEBT.—(1.) *All Debts* (to an Israelite) to be released at the 7th (Sabbatical) year; a blessing promised to obedience, and a curse on refusal to lend (Deut. xv. 1–11).

(2.) *Usury* (from Israelites) not to be taken (Ex. xxii. 25–27; Deut. xxiii. 19, 20).

(3.) *Pledges* not to be insolently or ruinously exacted (Deut. xxiv. 6, 10–13, 17, 18).

[23] The difficulty of enforcing this law is seen in Jer. xxxiv. 8–16.

[24] Heiresses to marry in their own tribe (Num. xxvii 6–8, xxxvi.).

§ 14. (*c*) TAXATION.—(1.) *Census-money*, a poll-tax (of a half-shekel) to be paid for *the service of the tabernacle* (Ex. xxx. 12–16).

All spoil in war to be halved; of the combatant's half, $\frac{1}{500}$th, of the people's, $\frac{1}{50}$th, to be paid for a "heave-offering" to Jehovah.

(2.) *Tithes.*

(*a*) *Tithes of all produce* to be given for maintenance of the Levites (Num. xviii. 20–24).

(Of this, $\frac{1}{10}$th to be paid as a heave-offering for maintenance of the priests, Exod. xxx. 24–32.)

(β) *Second Tithe* to be bestowed in religious feasting and charity, either at the Holy Place, or every 3d year at home (?) (Deut. xiv. 22–28).

(γ) *First-fruits* of corn, wine, and oil (at least $\frac{1}{60}$th, generally $\frac{1}{40}$th, for the priests) to be offered at Jerusalem, with a solemn declaration of dependence on God the King of Israel (Deut. xxvi. 1–15; Num. xviii. 12, 13).

Firstlings of clean beasts; the redemption-money (5 shekels) of man, and (half-shekel, or one shekel) of unclean beasts, to be given to the priests after sacrifice (Num. xviii. 15–18).

(3.) *Poor Laws.*

(*a*) *Gleanings* (in field or vineyard) to be a legal right of the poor (Lev. xix. 9, 10; Deut. xxiv. 19–22).

(β) *Slight Trespass* (eating on the spot) to be allowed as legal (Deut. xxiii. 24, 25).

(γ) *Second Tithe* (see 2 β) to be given in charity.

(δ) *Wages to be paid day by day* (Deut. xxiv. 15).

(4.) *Maintenance of Priests* (Num. xviii. 8–32).

(*a*) *Tenth of Levites' Tithe.* (See 2 *a*.)

(β) *The heave and wave offerings* (breast and right shoulder of all peace-offerings).

(γ) *The meat and sin offerings* to be eaten solemnly, and only in the Holy Place.

(δ) *First-fruits* and redemption-money. (See 2 γ.)

(ε) *Price of all devoted things*, unless specially given for a sacred service. A man's service, or that of his household, to be redeemed at 50 shekels for man, 30 for woman, 20 for boy, and 10 for girl.

D. LAWS CRIMINAL.

§ 15. (*a*) OFFENSES AGAINST GOD (of the nature of treason).—*First Commandment.*—Acknowledgment of false gods (Ex. xxii. 20), as, *e. g.*, Moloch (Lev. xx. 1–5), and generally all *idolatry* (Deut. xiii., xvii. 2–5).

Second Commandment.—*Witchcraft and false prophecy* (Ex. xxii. 18; Deut. xviii. 9–22; Lev. xix. 31).

Third Commandment.—*Blasphemy* (Lev. xxiv. 15, 16).

Fourth Commandment.—*Sabbath-breaking* (Num. xv. 32–36).—*Punishment, in all cases, death by stoning.* Idolatrous cities to be utterly destroyed.

§ 16. (*b*) OFFENSES AGAINST MAN.—*Fifth Commandment.*—*Disobedience to*, or cursing or smiting of *parents* (Ex. xxi. 15, 17; Lev. xx. 9; Deut. xxi. 18–21), to be punished by death by stoning, publicly adjudged and inflicted;

so also of disobedience to the priests (as judges) or Supreme Judge.—Comp. 1 K. xxi. 10–14 (Naboth); 2 Chr. xxiv. 21 (Zechariah).

Sixth Commandment.—(1.) *Murder*, to be punished by death without sanctuary or reprieve, or satisfaction (Ex. xxi. 12, 14; Deut. xix. 11–13). Death of a slave actually under the rod to be punished (Ex. xxi. 20, 21). (2.) *Death by Negligence* to be punished by death (Ex. xxi. 28–30). (3.) *Accidental Homicide*, the avenger of blood to be escaped by flight to the cities of refuge till the death of the high-priest (Num. xxxv. 9–28; Deut. iv. 41–43, xix. 4–10). (4.) *Uncertain Murder*, to be expiated by formal disavowal and sacrifice by the elders of the nearest city (Deut. xxi. 1–9). (5.) *Assault* to be punished by *lex talionis*, or damages (Ex. xxi. 18, 19, 22–25; Lev. xxiv. 19, 20).

Seventh Commandment.—(1.) *Adultery* to be punished by death of both offenders; the rape of a married or betrothed woman, by death of the offender (Deut. xxii. 13–27). (2.) *Rape or Seduction* of an unbetrothed virgin, to be compensated by marriage, with dowry (50 shekels), and without power of divorce; or, if she be refused, by payment of full dowry (Ex. xxii. 16, 17; Deut. xxii. 28, 29). (3.) *Unlawful Marriages* (incestuous, etc.) to be punished, some by death, some by childlessness (Lev. xx.).

Eighth Commandment.—(1.) *Theft* to be punished by fourfold or double restitution; a nocturnal robber might be slain as an outlaw (Ex. xxii. 1–4). (2.) *Trespass* and injury of things lent to be compensated (Ex. xxii. 5–15). (3.) *Perversion of Justice* (by bribes, threats, etc.), and especially oppression of strangers, strictly forbidden (Ex. xxiii. 9, etc.). (4.) *Kidnapping* to be punished by death (Deut. xxiv. 7).

Ninth Commandment.—*False Witness* to be punished by *lex talionis* (Ex. xxiii. 1–3; Deut. xix. 16–21). Slander of a wife's chastity by fine, and loss of power of divorce (Deut. xxii. 18, 19).

Tenth Commandment.—The sin of coveting could not be brought under the scope of a definite criminal law. But the numerous acts of meanness, injustice, oppression, and unkindness, which are its consequences, are repeatedly forbidden, and their punishment is referred to the curse which God would bring on the disobedient. Indeed the final and highest system of rewards and punishments is to be found in the "Blessing and the Curse" which Moses set before the people.



Lebanon.

BOOK IV.

JOSHUA TO SAUL; OR, TRANSITION FROM THE THEOCRACY TO THE MONARCHY. A.M. 2553–2948. B.C. 1451–1095.

CHAPTER XV.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE HOLY LAND.

§ 1. Names of the land. § 2. Its size. § 3. Its position on the map of the world. § 4. Its mountainous character. § 5. Divided by Mount Carmel—Plain of Esdraelon. § 6. Exact limits of the Holy Land—Galilee, Samaria, Judæa. § 7. The water-shed of the country and the valleys on each side. § 8. Aspect of the south country (Judæa). § 9. Aspect of Judæa in ancient times. § 10. Aspect of the central country (Samaria). § 11. Aspect of the northern country (Galilee). § 12. Habitations of the Israelites on the hills. § 13. The maritime plains—The Philistine Plain and the Plain of Sharon. § 14. The Philistine Plain continued independent of the Israelites. § 15. The port of the Israelites—Joppa. § 16. The Jordan. § 17. Appearance of the country to the Israelites.

§ 1. BEFORE accompanying the Israelites into the *Land of Promise*,[1] it will be well to take a brief survey of its physi-

[1] Heb. xi. 9.

cal features, since they exercised an important influence upon the history of the chosen people. But first as to its name.

The name of the "Holy Land," which has been most frequently used to designate the country from the Middle Ages down to our own time, occurs but once in Scripture.[2] The name of "Palestina" or "Palestine," which was applied to the country soon after the Christian era, is used in Scripture as equivalent to "Philistia," or the land of the Philistines.[3] The ordinary names by which the land is designated in the Bible are the following:—

(1.) During the Patriarchal Period, the Conquest, and the Age of the Judges, and also where those early periods are referred to in the later literature,[4] it is spoken of as "Canaan," or more frequently "the land of Canaan," meaning thereby "the country west of the Jordan, as opposed to "the land of Gilead" on the east.[5]

(2.) During the Monarchy the name usually, though not frequently, employed, is "the land of Israel."[6] It is Ezekiel's favorite expression. The pious and loyal aspirations of Hosea find vent in the expression "land of Jehovah."[7] In Zechariah it is, as we have already seen, "the Holy Land;"[8] and in Daniel "the glorious land."[9] Occasionally it appears to be mentioned simply as "the land;" as in Ruth i. 1;

[2] Zech. ii. 12.

[3] Palestina and Palestine occur in the Authorized Version but four times in all, always in poetical passages: the first in Ex. xv. 14, and Is. xiv. 29, 31; the second, Joel iii. 4. In each case the Hebrew is *Pelêsheth*, a word found, besides the above, only in Ps. lx. 8, lxxxiii. 7, lxxxvii. 4, and cviii. 9, in all which our translators have rendered it by "Philistia" or "Philistines." The apparent ambiguity in the different renderings of the A. V. is in reality no ambiguity at all, for at the date of that translation "Palestine" was synonymous with "Philistia." Thus Milton, with his usual accuracy in such points, mentions Dagon as

> "Dreaded through the coast
> Of Palestine, in Gath and Ascalon,
> And Accaron and Gaza's frontier bounds"—
> (*Par. Lost*, i. 464),

and again as

> "That twice-battered god of Palestine"—
> (*Hymn on Nat.* 199).

[4] Ps. cv. 11.

[5] Thus: "Our little ones and our wives shall be here in the cities of Gilead . . . . but we will pass over armed into the land of Canaan" (Num. xxxii. 26–32), and see xxxiii. 51: "Phineas . . . . returned from the children of Reuben and the children of Gad out of the land of Gilead into the land of Canaan to the children of Israel" (Josh. xxii. 32. See also Gen. xii. 5, xxiii. 2, 19, xxxi. 18, xxxiii. 18, xxxv. 6, xxxvii. 1, xlviii. 4, 7, xlix. 30; Num. xiii. 2, 17, xxxiii. 40, 51; Josh. xvi. 2; Judg. xxi. 12).

[6] 1 Sam. xiii. 19; 2 K. v. 2, 4, vi. 23; 1 Chron. xxii; 2 Chron. ii. 17. Of course this must not be confounded with the same appellation as applied to the northern kingdom only (2 Chron. xxx. 25; Ex. xxvii. 17).

[7] Hos. ix. 3; comp. Is. lxii. 4, etc., and indeed Lev. xxv. 23, etc.

[8] Zech. ii. 12.

[9] Dan. xi. 41.

Jer. xxii. 27; 1 Macc. xiv. 4; Luke iv. 25, and perhaps even xxiii. 44.

(3.) Between the Captivity and the time of our Lord the name "Judæa" had extended itself from the southern portion to the whole of the country, even that beyond Jordan.[10] In the Book of Judith it is applied to the portion between the plain of Esdraelon and Samaria,[11] as it is in Luke;[12] though it is also used in the stricter sense of Judæa proper,[13] that is, the most southern of the three main divisions west of Jordan. In this narrower sense it is employed throughout the 1st Book of Maccabees.[14]

(4.) The Roman division of the country hardly coincided with the biblical one, and it does not appear that the Romans had any distinct name for that which we understand by Palestine.

§ 2. The Holy Land is not in size or physical characteristics proportioned to its moral and historical position, as the theatre of the most momentous events in the world's history. It is but a strip of country about the size of Wales, less than 140 miles in length, and barely 40 in average breadth, on the very frontier of the East, hemmed in between the Mediterranean Sea on the one hand, and the enormous trench of the Jordan Valley on the other, by which it is effectually cut off from the main-land of Asia behind it. On the north it is shut in by the high ranges of Lebanon and Ante-Lebanon, and by the chasm of the *Litâny*. On the south it is no less enclosed by the arid and inhospitable deserts of the upper part of the Peninsula of Sinai.

§ 3. Its position on the map of the world—as the world was when the Holy Land first made its appearance in history—is a remarkable one. (1.) It is on the very outpost—on the extremest western edge of the East. On the shore of the Mediterranean it stands, as if it had advanced as far as possible toward the West, separated therefrom by that which, when the time arrived, proved to be no barrier, but the readiest medium of communication—the wide waters of the "Great Sea." Thus it was open to all the gradual influences of the rising communities of the West, while it was saved from the retrogression and decrepitude which have ultimately been the doom of all purely Eastern States whose connections were limited to the East only. (2.) There was, however, one channel, and but one, by which it could reach and be reached by the great Oriental empires. The only

[10] Matt. xix. 1; Mark x. 1.
[11] Judith xi. 19. [12] Luke xxiii. 5.
[13] John iv. 3, vii. 1. [14] See especially ix. 50, x. 30, 38, xi. 34.

road by which the two great rivals of the ancient world could approach one another—by which alone Egypt could get to Assyria, and Assyria to Egypt—lay along the broad flat strip of coast which formed the maritime portion of the Holy Land, and thence by the plain of the Lebanon to the Euphrates. (3.) After this, the Holy Land became (like the Netherlands in Europe) the convenient arena on which, in successive ages, the hostile powers who contended for the empire of the East fought their battles.

§ 4. It is essentially a mountainous country. Not that it contains independent mountain chains, as in Greece, for example, but that every part of the highland is in greater or less undulation. But it is not only a mountainous country. The mass of hills which occupies the centre of the country is bordered or framed on both sides, east and west, by a broad belt of lowland, sunk deep below its own level. The slopes or cliffs which form, as it were, the retaining walls of this depression, are furrowed and cleft by the torrent beds which discharge the waters of the hills, and form the means of communication between the upper and lower level. On the west this lowland interposes between the mountains and the sea, and is the PLAIN OF PHILISTIA and of SHARON. On the east it is the broad bottom of the JORDAN VALLEY, deep down in which rushes the one river of Palestine to its grave in the Dead Sea.[15] Such is the first general impression of the physiognomy of the Holy Land. It is a physiognomy compounded of the three main features already named—the plains, the highland hills, and the torrent beds: features which are marked in the words of its earliest describers,[16] and which must be comprehended by every one who wishes to understand the country, and the intimate connection existing between its structure and its history. In the accompanying sketch-map (p. 285) an attempt has been made to exhibit these features with greater distinctness than is usual, or perhaps possible, in maps containing more detail.

§ 5. About half-way up the coast the maritime plan is sud denly interrupted by a long ridge thrown out from the central mass, rising considerably above the general level, and terminating in a bold promontory on the very edge of the Mediterranean. This ridge is MOUNT CARMEL. On its upper side, the plain, as if to compensate for its temporary displacement, invades the centre of the country and forms an undulating hollow right across it from the Mediterranean to the Jor

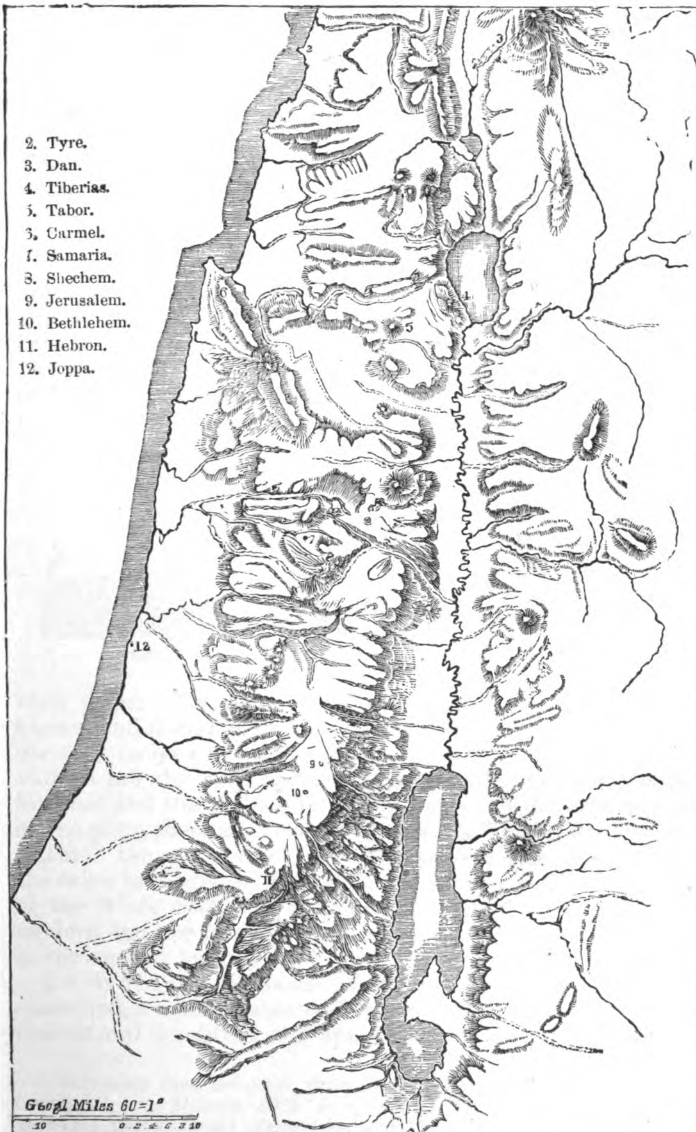
[15] See §§ 15, 18. [16] Num. xiii. 29; Josh. xi. 16, xii. 8.

dan Valley. This central lowland, which divides with its broad depression the mountains of Ephraim from the mountains of Galilee, is the PLAIN OF ESDRAELON or JEZREEL, the great battle-field of Palestine. North of Carmel the lowland resumes its position by the sea-side till it is again interrupted, and finally put an end to, by the northern mountains which push their way out of the sea, ending in the white promontory of the *Ras Nakhûra*. Above this is the ancient Phœnicia. Behind Phœnicia—north of Esdraelon, and enclosed between it, the *Litâny*, and the upper valley of the Jordan—is a continuation of the mountain district, rising gradually in occasional elevation until it reaches the main ranges of Lebanon and Ante-Lebanon (or Hermon), as from their lofty heights they overlook the whole land below them.

§ 6. The country thus roughly portrayed, and which, as before stated, is less than 140 miles in length, and not more than 40 in average breadth, is, to all intents and purposes, the whole land of Israel. The northern portion is GALILEE; the centre, SAMARIA; the south, JUDÆA. This is the land of Canaan which was bestowed on Abraham; the covenanted home of his descendants. The two tribes and a half remained on the uplands beyond Jordan;[17] and the result was, that these tribes soon ceased to have any close connection with the others, or to form any virtual part of the nation. But even this definition might without impropriety be further circumscribed; for during the greater part of the Old Testament times the chief events of the history were confined to the district south of Esdraelon, which contained the cities of Hebron, Jerusalem, Bethel, Shiloh, Shechem, and Samaria, the Mount of Olives, and Mount Carmel. The battles of the Conquest and the early struggles of the era of the Judges once passed, Galilee subsided into obscurity and unimportance till the time of Christ.

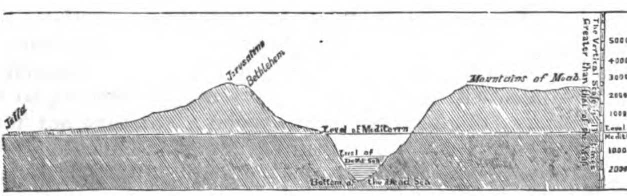
§ 7. The highland district, surrounded and intersected by its broad lowland plains, preserves from north to south a remarkably even and horizontal profile. Its average height may be taken as 1500 to 1800 feet above the Mediterranean. It can hardly be denominated a plateau, yet so evenly is the general level preserved, and so thickly do the hills stand behind and between one another, that, when seen from the coast or the western part of the maritime plain, it has quite the appearance of a wall. This general monotony of profile is, however, accentuated at intervals by certain centres of eleva-

[17] See pp. 209, 210.



Map of Palestine.

tion.[18] Between these elevated points runs the water-shed of the country, sending off on either hand—to the Jordan Valley on the east, and the Mediterranean on the west—the long tortuous arms of its many torrent beds. The valleys on the two sides of the water-shed differ considerably in character. Those on the east are extremely steep and rugged. This is the case during the whole length of the southern and middle portions of the country. It is only when the junction between the plain of Esdraelon and the Jordan Valley is reached, that the slopes become gradual, and the ground fit for the manœuvres of any thing but detached bodies of foot-soldiers. But, rugged and difficult as they are, they form the only access to the upper country from this side; and every man, or body of men, who reached the territory of Judah, Benjamin, or Ephraim, from the Jordan Valley, must have climbed one or other of them. The western valleys are more gradual in



Section of the Country from Jaffa to the Mountains of Moab.

their slope. The level of the external plain on this side is higher, and therefore the fall less, while at the same time the distance to be traversed is much greater. Here, again, the valleys are the only means of communication between the lowland and the highland. From Jaffa and the central part of the plain there are two of these roads "going up to Jerusalem;" the one to the right by *Ramleh* and the *Wady Aly;* the other to the left by Lydda, and thence by the Beth-horons, or the *Wady Suleiman*, and Gibeon. The former of these is modern, but the latter is the scene of many a famous incident in the ancient history.

§ 8. When the highlands of the country are more closely examined, a considerable difference will be found to exist in the natural condition and appearance of their different por-

[18] Beginning from the south, these elevations are, Hebron, 3029 feet above the Mediterranean; Jerusalem, 2610; and Mount of Olives, 2724, with *Neby Samwil* on the north, 2650; Bethel, 2400; *Sinjil*, 2685; Ebal and Gerizim, 2700; "Little Hermon" and Tabor (on the north side of the plain of Esdraelon), 1900; *Safed*, 2775; *Jebel Jurmuk*, 4000.

tions. The south, as being nearer the arid desert, and farther removed from the drainage of the mountains, is drier and less productive than the north. The tract below Hebron, which forms the link between the hills of Judah and the desert, was known to the ancient Hebrews by a term originally derived from its dryness (*Negeb*). This was THE SOUTH country. As the traveller advances north of this tract there is an improvement; but perhaps no country equally cultivated is more monotonous, bare, or uninviting in its aspect, than a great part of the highlands of Judah and Benjamin during the largest portion of the year. The spring covers even those bald, gray rocks with verdure and color, and fills the ravines with torrents of rushing water; but in summer and autumn the look of the country from Hebron up to Bethel is very dreary and desolate. At Jerusalem this reaches its climax. To the west and north-west of the highlands, where the sea-breezes are felt, there is considerably more vegetation.

Hitherto we have spoken of the central and northern portions of Judæa. Its eastern portion—a tract some nine or ten miles in width, by about thirty-five in length—which intervenes between the centre and the abrupt descent to the Dead Sea, is far more wild and desolate, and that not for a portion of the year only, but throughout it. This must have been always what it is now—an uninhabited desert, because uninhabitable.

No descriptive sketch of this part of the country can be complete which does not allude to the caverns, characteristic of all limestone districts, but here existing in astonishing numbers. Every hill and ravine is pierced with them, some very large, and of curious formation—perhaps partly natural, partly artificial—others mere grottoes. Many of them are connected with most important and interesting events of the ancient history of the country. Especially is this true of the district now under consideration. Machpelah, Makkedah, Adullam, Engedi, names inseparably connected with the lives, adventures, and deaths of Abraham, Joshua, David, and other Old Testament worthies, are all within the small circle of the territory of Judæa. Moreover, there is perhaps hardly one of these caverns, however small, which has not at some time or other furnished a hiding-place to some ancient Hebrew from the sweeping incursions of Philistine or Amalekite.

The bareness and dryness which prevail more or less in Judæa are owing partly to the absence of the wood, partly to its proximity to the desert, and partly to a scarcity of water, arising from its distance from the Lebanon. But to this

discouraging aspect there are some important exceptions. The valley of *Urtâs*, south of Bethlehem, contains springs which in abundance and excellence rival even those of *Nablûs;* the huge "Pools of Solomon" are enough to supply a district for many miles round them; and the cultivation now going on in that neighborhood shows what might be done with a soil which requires only irrigation and a moderate amount of labor to evoke a boundless produce.

§ 9. It is obvious that in the ancient days of the nation, when Judah and Benjamin possessed the teeming population indicated in the Bible, the condition and aspect of the country must have been very different. Of this there are not wanting sure evidences. There is no country in which the ruined towns bear so large a proportion to those still existing. Hardly a hill-top of the many within sight that is not covered with vestiges of some fortress or city. But, besides this, forests appear to have stood in many parts of Judæa until the repeated invasions and sieges caused their fall; and all this vegetation must have reacted on the moisture of the climate, and, by preserving the water in many a ravine and natural reservoir where now it is rapidly dried by the fierce sun of the early summer, must have influenced materially the look and the resources of the country.

§ 10. Advancing northward from Judæa, the country (Samaria) becomes gradually more open and pleasant. Plains of good soil occur between the hills, at first small, but afterward comparatively large. The hills assume here a more varied aspect than in the southern districts, springs are more abundant and more permanent, until at last, when the district of *Jebel Nablûs* is reached—the ancient Mount Ephraim—the traveller encounters an atmosphere and an amount of vegetation and water which is greatly superior to any thing he has met with in Judæa, and even sufficient to recall much of the scenery of the West. Perhaps the springs are the only objects which in themselves, and apart from their associations, really strike an English traveller with astonishment and admiration. Such glorious fountains as those of *Ain-jalûd* or the *Ras el-Mukâtta*, where a great body of the clearest water wells silently but swiftly out from deep blue recesses worn in the foot of a low cliff of limestone rock, and at once forms a considerable stream, are very rarely to be met with out of irregular, rocky, mountainous countries; and being such unusual sights, can hardly be looked on by the traveller without surprise and emotion. The valleys which lead down from the upper level in this district to the valley of the Jordan are

less precipitous than in Judæa. The eastern district of the *Jebel Nablûs* contains some of the most fertile and valuable spots in the Holy Land. Hardly less rich is the extensive region which lies north-west of the city of Shechem (*Nablûs*), between it and Carmel, in which the mountains gradually break down into the plain of Sharon. But with all its richness, and all its advance on the southern part of the country, there is a strange dearth of natural wood about this central district. It is this which makes the wooded sides of Carmel and the park-like scenery of the adjacent slopes and plains so remarkable.

§ 11. No sooner, however, is the plain of Esdraelon passed, than a considerable improvement is perceptible. The low hills which spread down from the mountains of Galilee, and form the barrier between the plains of Akka and Esdraelon, are covered with timber, of moderate size, it is true, but of thick vigorous growth, and pleasant to the eye. Eastward of these hills rises the round mass of Tabor, dark with its copses of oak, and set off by contrast with the bare slopes of *Jebel el-Duhy* (the so-called "Little Hermon") and the white hills of Nazareth. North of Tabor and Nazareth is the plain of *El-Buttauf*, an upland tract hitherto very imperfectly described, but apparently of a similar nature to Esdraelon, though much more elevated. The notices of this romantic district in the Bible are but scanty; in fact, till the date of the New Testament, when it had acquired the name Galilee, it may be said, for all purposes of history, to be hardly mentioned. And even in the New Testament times the interest is confined to a very small portion—the south and south-west corner, containing Nazareth, Cana, and Nain, on the confines of Esdraelon, Capernaum, Tiberias, and Gennesareth, on the margin of the lake.

§ 12. Few things are a more constant source of surprise to the stranger in the Holy Land than the manner in which the hill-tops are, throughout, selected for habitation. A town in a valley is a rare exception. On the other hand scarce a single eminence of the multitude always in sight but is crowned with its city or village, inhabited or in ruins, often so placed as if not accessibility but inaccessibility had been the object of its builders. And indeed such was their object. These groups of naked forlorn structures, piled irregularly one over the other on the curve of the hill-top, are the lineal descendants, if indeed they do not sometimes contain the actual remains, of the "fenced cities, great and walled up to heaven," which are so frequently mentioned in the records of the Is-

raelite conquest. These hill-towns were not what gave the Israelites their main difficulty in the occupation of the country. Wherever strength of arm and fleetness of foot availed, there those hardy warriors, fierce as lions, sudden and swift as eagles, sure-footed and fleet as the wild deer on the hills,[19] easily conquered. It was in the plains, where the horses and chariots of the Canaanites and Philistines had space to manœuvre, that they failed in dislodging the aborigines. "Judah drove out the inhabitants of the mountain, but could not drive out the inhabitants of the valley, because they had chariots of iron . . . neither could Manasseh drive out the inhabitants of Bethshean . . . nor Megiddo," in the plain of Esdraelon . . . "nor could Ephraim drive out the Canaanites that dwelt in Gezer," on the maritime plain near Ramleh . . . "nor could Asher drive out the inhabitants of Accho" . . . "and the Amorites forced the children of Dan into the mountain, for they would not suffer them to come down into the valley."[20] Thus in this case the ordinary conditions of conquest were reversed—the conquerors took the hills, the conquered kept the plains. To a people so exclusive as the Jews there must have been a constant satisfaction in the elevation and inaccessibility of their highland regions. This is evident in every page of their literature, which is tinged throughout with a highland coloring. The "mountains" were to "bring peace," the "little hills, justice to the people:" when plenty came, the corn was to flourish on the "top of the mountains."[21] In like manner the mountains were to be joyful before Jehovah when He came to judge His people.[22] What gave its keenest sting to the Babylonian conquest, was the consideration that the "mountains of Israel," the "ancient high places," were become a "prey and a derision;" while on the other hand, one of the most joyful circumstances of the restoration is, that the mountains "shall yield their fruit as before, and be settled after their old estates."[23] We have the testimony of the heathens that in their estimation Jehovah was the "God of the mountains,"[24] and they showed their appreciation of the fact by fighting, when possible, in the lowlands. The contrast is strongly brought out in the repeated expression of the psalmists. "Some," like the Canaanites and Philistines of the lowlands, "put their trust in chariots, and some in horses; but we"—we mountaineers, from our "sanctuary" on the heights of

[19] 1 Chron. xii. 8; 2 Sam. i. 23, ii. 18.
[20] Judg. i. 19-35.
[21] Ps. lxxii. 3, 16.
[22] Ps. xcviii. 8.
[23] Ezek. xxxvi. 1, 8, 11.
[24] 1 K. xx. 28.

"Zion"—"will remember the name of Jehovah our God," "the God of Jacob our Father," the shepherd-warrior, whose only weapons were sword and bow—the God who is now a high fortress for us—"at whose command both chariot and horse are fallen," "who burneth the chariots in the fire."[25]

§ 13. A few words must be said in general description of the maritime lowland, which intervenes between the sea and the highlands. This region, only slightly elevated above the level of the Mediterranean, extends without interruption from *El-Arish*, south of Gaza, to Mount Carmel. It naturally divides itself into two portions, each of about half its length:—the lower one the wider; the upper one the narrower. The lower half is the plain of the Philistines—Philistia, or, as the Hebrews called it, the *Shefelah*, or lowland. The upper half is the Sharon or Saron of the Old and New Testaments. The PHILISTINE PLAIN is on an average fifteen or sixteen miles in width from the coast to the first beginning of the belt of hills, which forms the gradual approach to the high land of the mountains of Judah. The larger towns, as Gaza and Ashdod, which stand near the shore, are surrounded with huge groves of olive, sycamore, and palm, as in the days of King David.[26] The whole plain appears to consist of brown loamy soil, light, but rich, and almost without a stone. It is now, as it was when the Philistines possessed it, one enormous cornfield; an ocean of wheat covers the wide expanse between the hills and the sand dunes of the sea-shore, without interruption of any kind—no break or hedge, hardly even a single olive-tree. Its fertility is marvellous; for the prodigious crops which it raises are produced, and probably have been produced almost year by year for the last forty centuries, without any of the appliances which we find necessary for success. The PLAIN OF SHARON is much narrower than Philistia. It is about ten miles wide from the sea to the foot of the mountains, which are here of a more abrupt character than those of Philistia, and without the intermediate hilly region there occurring.

§ 14. It is probable that the Israelites never permanently occupied more than a small portion of this rich and favored region. Its principal towns were, it is true, allotted to the different tribes;[27] but this was in anticipation of the intended conquest.[28] The five cities of the Philistines remained in their possession;[29] and the district was regarded as one independ-

[25] Ps. xx. 1, 7, xlvi. 7-11, lxxvi. 2, 6.

[26] 1 Chron. xxvii. 28.

[27] Josh. xv. 45-47, xvi. 3, Gezer; xvii. 11, Dor, etc.

[28] Josh. xiii. 3-6.

[29] 1 Sam. v. xxi. 10, xxvii.

ent of and apart from Israel.[30] In like manner Dor remained in the hands of the Canaanites,[31] and Gezer in the hands of the Philistines till taken from them in Solomon's time by his father-in-law.[32] We find that toward the end of the monarchy the tribe of Benjamin was in possession of Lydd, Jimzu, Ono, and other places in the plain;[33] but it was only by a gradual process of extension from their native hills, in the rough ground of which they were safe from the attack of cavalry and chariots. But, though the Jews never had any hold on the region, it had its own population, and towns probably not inferior to any in Syria. Both Gaza and Askelon had regular ports. Ashdod, though on the open plain, resisted for twenty-nine years the attack of the whole Egyptian force: a similar attack to that which reduced Jerusalem without a blow,[34] and was sufficient on another occasion to destroy it after a siege of a year and a half, even when fortified by the works of a score of successive monarchs.[35]

§ 15. The one ancient port of the Jews, the "beautiful" city of Joppa, occupied a position central between the Shefelah and Sharon. Roads led from these various cities to each other, to Jerusalem, Neapolis, and Sebaste in the interior, and to Ptolemais and Gaza, on the north and south. The commerce of Damascus, and, beyond Damascus, of Persia and India, passed this way to Egypt, Rome, and the infant colonies of the West; and that traffic, and the constant movement of troops backward and forward, must have made this plain one of the busiest and most populous regions of Syria at the time of Christ.

§ 16. The characteristics already described are hardly peculiar to Palestine. Her hilly surface and general height, her rocky ground and thin soil, her torrent beds wide and dry for the greater part of the year, even her belt of maritime lowland—these she shares with other lands, though it would perhaps be difficult to find them united elsewhere. But there is one feature, as yet only alluded to, in which she stands alone. This feature is the Jordan—the one river of the country. The valley through which the Jordan rushes down its extraordinary descent begins with the river at its remotest springs of *Hasbeiya*, on the N.W. side of Hermon, and accompanies it to the lower end of the Dead Sea, a length of about 150 miles. During the whole of this distance its course is straight, and its direction nearly due north and

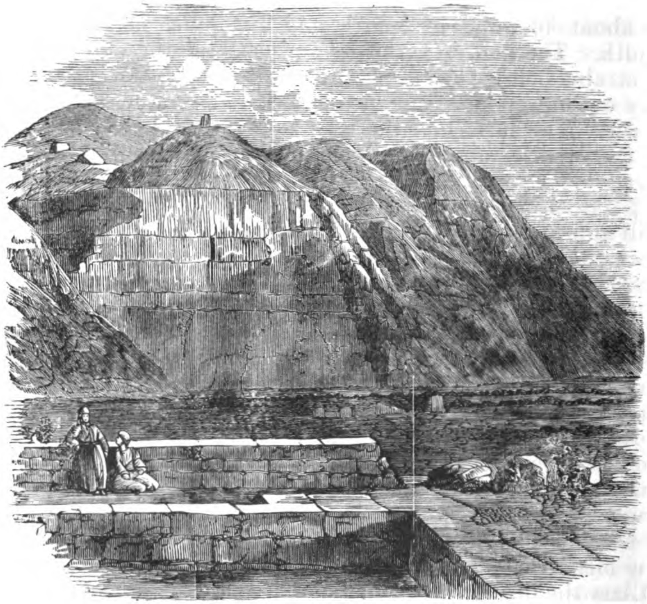
[30] 1 Sam. xxvii. 2; 1 K. ii. 39; 2 K. viii. 2, 3.
[31] Judg. i. 27.
[32] 1 K. ix. 16.
[33] Neh. xi. 34; 2 Chron. xxviii. 18.
[34] 2 Chron xii.
[35] 2 K. xxv. 1–3.

south. The springs of Hasbeiya are 1700 feet above the level of the Mediterranean, and the northern end of the Dead Sea is 1317 feet below it, so that between these two points the valley falls with more or less regularity through a height of more than 3000 feet. But though the *river* disappears at this point, the *valley* still continues its descent below the waters of the Dead Sea till it reaches a further depth of 1308 feet. So that the bottom of this extraordinary crevasse is actually more than 2600 feet below the surface of the ocean. In width the valley varies. In its upper and shallower portion, as between Banias and the Lake of Merom (*Hûleh*), it is about five miles across. Between the Lake of Merom and the Sea of Galilee it contracts, and becomes more of an ordinary ravine or glen. It is in its third and lower portion that the valley assumes its more definite and regular character. During the greater part of this portion, it is about seven miles wide from the one wall to the other. The eastern mountains preserve their straight line of direction, and their massive horizontal wall-like aspect, during almost the whole distance. The western mountains are more irregular in height, their slopes less vertical. North of Jericho they recede in a kind of wide amphitheatre, and the valley becomes twelve miles broad, a breadth which it thenceforward retains to the southern extremity of the Dead Sea. Buried as it is between such lofty ranges, and shielded from every breeze, the climate of the Jordan Valley is extremely hot and relaxing. Its enervating influence is shown by the inhabitants of Jericho. All the irrigation necessary for the towns, or for the cultivation which formerly existed, is obtained from the torrents and springs of the western mountains. For all purposes to which a river is ordinarily applied, the Jordan is useless. So rapid that its course is one continued cataract; so crooked that, in the whole of its lower and main course, it has hardly half a mile straight; so broken with rapids and other impediments, that no boat can swim for more than the same distance continuously; so deep below the surface of the adjacent country that it is invisible, and can only with difficulty be approached; resolutely refusing all communication with the ocean, and ending in a lake, the peculiar conditions of which render navigation impossible—with all these characteristics, the Jordan, in any sense which we attach to the word "river," is no river at all:—alike unless for irrigation and navigation, it is in fact, what its Arabic name signifies, nothing but a "great watering-place."

The DEAD SEA, which is the final receptacle of the Jordan,

is about 46 miles in length, and $10\frac{1}{3}$ miles in its greatest width. The depression of its surface, and the depth which it attains below that surface, combined with the absence of any outlet, render it one of the most remarkable spots on the globe. The surface of the lake is 1316 feet below the level of the Mediterranean at Jaffa, and its greatest depth 1308 feet.

§ 17. Monotonous and unviting as much of the Holy Land will appear from the above description to English readers, accustomed to the constant verdure, the succession of flowers, lasting almost throughout the year, the ample streams and the varied surface of our own country, we must remember that its aspect to the Israelites after that weary march of forty years through the desert, and even by the side of the brightest recollections of Egypt that they could conjure up, must have been very different. After the "great and terrible wilderness," with its "fiery serpents," its "scorpions," "drought," and "rocks of flint"—the slow and sultry march all day in the dust of that enormous procession—the eager looking forward to the well at which the encampment was to be pitched—the crowding, the fighting, the clamor, the bitter disappointment round the modicum of water when at last the desired spot was reached—the "light bread" so long "loathed"—the rare treat of animal food when the quails descended, or an approach to the sea permitted the "fish" to be caught; after this daily struggle for a painful existence, how grateful must have been the rest afforded by the land of promise!—how delicious the shade, scanty though it were, of the hills and ravines, the gushing springs and green plains, even the mere wells and cisterns, the vineyards and olive-yards and "fruit-trees in abundance," the cattle, sheep, and goats, covering the country with their long black lines, the bees swarming round their pendant combs in rock or wood! Moreover, they entered the country at the time of the Passover, when it was arrayed in the full glory and freshness of its brief spring-tide, before the scorching sun of summer had had time to wither its flowers and embrown its verdure. Taking all these circumstances into account, and allowing for the bold metaphors of Oriental speech, it is impossible not to feel that those way-worn travellers could have chosen no fitter words to express what their new country was to them than those which they so often employ in the accounts of the conquest—"a land flowing with milk and honey, the glory of all lands."



Jericho.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CONQUEST AND DIVISION OF THE HOLY LAND. B.C. 1451–1426.

§ 1. Joshua, the leader of Israel. § 2. Two spies sent to Jericho, and saved by Rahab. § 3. Passage of the Jordan. § 4. Circumcision and Passover at GILGAL—Cessation of the Manna—State of the country. § 5. Jehovah appears to Joshua—Jericho taken, and devoted to Jehovah—The curse on the city, and the blessing on Rahab. § 6. Sin of Achan and capture of Ai—Results of the first campaign—The blessing and the curse at Shechem. § 7. The Gibeonites obtain a treaty by a stratagem. § 8. Confederacy of five kings against Gibeon—Battle of Beth-horon—Conquest of the south. § 9. Confederacy of the north under Jabin—Conquest of the whole land—Considerable exceptions. § 10. Division of the land east of Jordan—Reuben, Gad, Manasseh. § 11. West of Jordan—Judah, Ephraim, Manasseh. § 12. The Tabernacle set up at Shiloh—Possessions of Benjamin, Simeon, Zebulun, Issachar, Asher, Naphtali, and Dan—Lot of Joshua. § 13. Cities of Refuge and of the Levites. § 14. Altar of the two-and-a-half tribes—The schism healed. § 15. Last exhortations of Joshua. § 16. The covenant renewed at Shechem—Deaths of Joshua and Eleazar—Burial of Joseph's bones—Bright period of national fidelity.

§ 1. MOSES, the lawgiver, was succeeded by JOSHUA, the military chief, on whom devolved the work of leading the people into their inheritance, and giving them "rest."[1] He was the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim.[2] His name at first was Oshea (*help* or *Saviour*), which Moses changed, by prefixing the name of Jehovah, to JOSHUA,[3] that is, *God is the Saviour;* and this name, so descriptive of his work, was a type of the higher work of JESUS, in "saving his people from their sins."[4] He was probably above eighty years of age, having been above forty at the beginning of the wandering in the wilderness.[5] He had grown up to mature age in the state of Egyptian bondage; he had shared the experience and trials of the wilderness, as the chosen servant of Moses; he had proved his military capacity at Rephidim and in the conquest of the land east of Jordan; and his steadfast obedience at Kadesh, when he stood alone with Caleb, "faithful among the faithless;" and he lived for about twenty-five years more to finish his allotted work. These three periods of his life thus embrace the whole history of the moulding of the nation from its state of hopeless bondage, when Moses fled to Midian, till God "brought them in and planted them in the mountain of his inheritance."[6] His character was in accordance with his career: a devout warrior, blameless and fearless, who has been taught by serving as a youth how to command as a man; who earns by manly vigor a quiet, honored old age; who combines strength with gentleness, ever looking up for and obeying the Divine impulse with the simplicity of a child, while he wields great power, and directs it calmly, and without swerving, to the accomplishment of a high unselfish purpose. He is one of the very few worthies of the Old Testament on whose character there is no stain, though his history is recorded with unusual fullness. We have already noticed his appointment and consecration as the successor of Moses.

§ 2. As soon as the mourning for Moses was ended, God appeared to Joshua, and commanded him to lead the people over Jordan, with a renewed description of their land, an assurance of victory, an exhortation to courage and to obedience maintained by meditation on the book of the law, and a promise of God's presence.[7] Joshua prepared the host

[1] Heb. iv. 8. [2] 1 Chron. vii. 27.
[3] The fuller form is *Jehoshua;* another form is *Jeshua;* and in Greek the name is *Jesus*, as in Acts vii. 45; Heb. iv. 8. [4] Matt. i. 21.
[5] The Jewish tradition made him eighty-five: Joseph. *Ant.* v. 1, § 29, which agrees with his age at his death, Josh. xxiv. 29.
[6] Ex. xv. 17. [7] Josh. i. 1–10.

against the third day, and summoned the two tribes and a half to perform their promise of marching in the van. He had already sent two spies to Jericho, which was to be the first object of attack. This great city[8] stood in a spacious plain, about six miles west of Jordan, and opposite to the camp of Israel, in the midst of a grove of noble palm-trees, whence it was called "Jericho, the city of palms."[9] It had a "king," like all the great cities of Canaan. The description of its spoil proves the wealth it derived from its position on the high road of the commerce that passed from the East over the Jordan to Philistia and Egypt; and the "goodly Babylonish garment" in particular attests its use of the products of the Chaldæan capital. It appeared to possess advantages for a capital far exceeding those of Jerusalem, to which it might have become a formidable rival, but for the curse laid upon it by Joshua. It was strongly fortified and well guarded, the gates being shut at night.[10] The houses on the walls indicate the solidity of the walls themselves.

The two spies were received into one of these houses by a harlot named RAHAB, in whose mind the terror that had fallen on the Canaanites, when they heard all that God had done for Israel, had produced belief in Jehovah, as the God of heaven and of earth, and in his purpose to give them the land. In this faith she hid the spies; misdirected the officers of the king, who came in search of them, and sent them out of the city in fruitless pursuit; and then let down the spies from a window of her house over the city wall, after they had sworn to save her family in the destruction of the city.[11] A scarlet thread, in the window from which she had let them down, was the sign by which the house was to be known. The spies fled to the mountain for three days, to avoid the pursuers who had gone out in search of them, and then returned to Joshua, with the report that Jehovah had delivered the land into their hands; for all the inhabitants were fainting with fear because of them.[12]

§ 3. The next morning Joshua broke up the camp at Shittim, and moved down to the edge of the Jordan, which at this season, the harvest (*April*),[13] overflowed its banks, in consequence of the melting of the snow about its sources in the Antilibanus. On the third day, the officers instructed the

[8] The name is derived either from a root signifying *fragrance*, or from one meaning *to be broad*.

[9] Deut. xxxiv. 3.

[10] Josh. ii.–vii.

[11] It was in the same way that St. Paul escaped from Damascus (2 Cor. xi. 32, 33).

[12] Josh. ii.; comp. Ex. xv. 14, 15.

[13] Josh. iii. 15.

people in the order of their march, and Joshua bade them sanctify themselves in preparation for the wonder that God should do on the morrow. In the morning, the priests that bore the ark advanced in front of the host to the water's edge; and their feet were no sooner dipped in the water, than the river was divided, the waters that came down from above being heaped up as a wall, and the lower portion flowing down toward the Dead Sea, and leaving the channel bare.[14] The priests advanced into the midst of the river's bed with the ark, and there stood firm till all the people had passed over.[15] Meanwhile twelve chosen men, one from each tribe, took twelve stones from the spot where the priests stood firm, and brought them out of the river, leaving in their place twelve other stones from the dry land. When all this was done, Joshua commanded the priests to come up out of Jordan; and the moment that their feet were lifted over the margin of the water into the dry land, the waters of the river returned, and overflowed the banks as before.

The host encamped that night at Gilgal, in the plains of Jericho,[16] and there Joshua set up the twelve stones that had been brought out of the river's bed, for a perpetual memorial of the division of the waters before the ark of Jehovah, to let his people pass into their land, just as the Red Sea had been divided to let them pass out of Egypt.[17]

§ 4. The passage of the Jordan was completed on the tenth day of the first month (Nisan=April, B.C. 1451).[18] This was the day appointed for the selection of the Paschal Lamb, and on the evening of the fourteenth the people kept the Passover for the first time on the sacred soil of their inheritance, exactly forty years after their fathers had first kept it before leaving Egypt.[19] But first, God commanded Joshua to circumcise the people; for the circumcised generation, who had left Egypt, had died in the wilderness, and none of the present generation had been circumcised.[20] It seems strange that this essential seal of the covenant should have been neglected under the leadership of Moses himself; but his attention may have been too closely occupied with the

[14] Joshua iii. 16. Comparing this passage with Ex. xiv. 22, we see how exactly the two descriptions suit the two cases of the river and the sea.

[15] The passage of the Israelites was probably near the present southern fords, crossed at the time of the Christian era by a bridge (Stanley, *Jewish Church*, p. 229, First Series).

[16] Gilgal was at the eastern side, Jericho at the western side of the plain. Gilgal was about five miles from the Jordan

[17] Josh. iii. iv. [18] Josh. iv. 19.

[19] Josh. v. 10. [20] Josh. v. 2-9.

public affairs of the people to inquire into a matter which rested with the heads of families. Be this as it may, the omission led to a great national observance, which may be regarded as a renewal of the covenant with Abraham in the very land the promise of which had been sealed with the same sign. Perhaps this is implied in the terms of the command to Joshua to "circumcise the people *again*." In memory of the "rolling away of their reproach," the place was called *Gilgal*, i.e., *rolling*.

Here, on the morrow after the Passover, the new generation tasted bread for the first time. They ate unleavened bread and parched corn of the old crop of the land; and at the same time the manna ceased. From that day forward they began to eat the fruits of the year.[21]

We must not fail to notice the picture of their security and their command of the open country, implied in these proceedings. They were not only unmolested during their circumcision and the Passover, but they were supplied with old and new corn, whether by the agency or by the flight of the country people, while the cities were "closely shut up for fear of them;[22] and the news of their passage of the Jordan had so terrified the kings of the Amorites and the Canaanites, from the Jordan to the sea, "that their heart melted, neither was there any spirit in them any more, because of the children of Israel.[23]

§ 5. As Joshua was meditating how to attack Jericho, a vision was vouchsafed to him, to teach him that the work was God's. Looking up toward the city, he saw a warrior opposite to him with a drawn sword in his hand, who, in reply to Joshua's challenge, announced that he had come forth as the "Captain (or prince) of the host of Jehovah." This title, so often afterward applied to the Son of God, revealed him to Joshua, who fell down before him to worship, and to receive the commands of his supreme general. After bidding him to put off his shoe, for the place was holy,[24] Jehovah promised him the conquest of Jericho, and prescribed the manner of its capture. The host were to compass the city for seven days: the first six days once, the chosen warriors marching in front of the ark, before which seven priests

[21] Josh. v. 12. [22] Josh. vi. 1.
[23] Josh. v. 1.
[24] Josh. v. 13, 15. Of all the many faults in the division of our chapters, this is perhaps the most unhappy. Not only is the narrative cut in two, and the mere parenthesis in vi. 1 made to begin a chapter, but the break obscures the identity of the personage who appears to Joshua in chap. v. with Jehovah, who speaks to him in chap. vi.

bore seven trumpets of ram's horns; the rest of the people following, and all preserving silence, while the trumpets alone sounded a continued defiance. On the seventh day the circuit was repeated seven times; and at the seventh, the trumpets pealed forth one long loud blast; the people raised a mighty shout; the wall of the city fell down flat; and each man rushed in straight from the place where he had stood, as Joshua had commanded.[25] Before its capture, the city, with all its inhabitants, was "accursed," or "devoted," as the first-fruits of the spoil of Canaan—a thing "most holy to Jehovah;" and the law prescribed that all living beings so devoted should be put to death without redemption, and all the property destroyed, or dedicated to God.[26] Only the household of Rahab were excepted from the curse; and the two spies were sent to bring her and her kindred safe out beyond the camp. Then the men and women, young and old, and the oxen, sheep, and asses were put to the edge of the sword: the city was burnt with fire, and its buildings razed to the ground; the silver and gold, and vessels of brass and iron, were placed in the sacred treasury; and Joshua imprecated a solemn curse on the man who should rebuild Jericho.[27] The curse was literally fulfilled in the fate of Hiel, the Bethelite, who rebuilt Jericho in the reign of Ahab (about B.C. 925): his first-born son, Abiram, died as he was laying the foundation, and his youngest son, Segub, while he was setting up the gates.[28]

No less striking was the blessing which followed Rahab for her conduct, which is recorded as the greatest example of *faith*, and of the *works* which spring from faith, in the old heathen world.[29] Besides being a heathen, she was a harlot, for there is no ground for the interpretation of the word as meaning an inn-keeper; though there is much to prove that she was not utterly depraved. But her mind and heart received in simple faith the proofs of Jehovah's power and purposes; she served his people with courage, ingenuity, and devotion; and so she "entered into the kingdom of God."[30] She was rewarded by a most distinguished place among the families of Israel.[31] She married Salmon (perhaps one of the spies), and became the mother of Boaz, the great-grandfather of David.[32] Hers is thus one of the four female names, all of

[25] Josh. vi.
[26] Lev. xxvii. 28, 29; Josh. vi. 17.
[27] Josh. vi. 21–27.
[28] 1 K. xvi. 34: for the after history of Jericho, see *Notes and Illustrations*.
[29] Heb. xi. 31; James ii. 25.
[30] Matt. xxi. 31.
[31] Josh. vi. 25.
[32] Matt. i. 5.

them foreigners, recorded in the genealogy of Christ;[33] and it is one of the profoundest moral, as well as spiritual, lessons of His Gospel, that He did not disdain such an ancestry.

The fall of Jericho itself is placed by the Apostle among the great triumphs of *faith.*[34] It was an example of the power of simple obedience to plans of action prescribed by God; and an earnest of the conquests to be achieved by the same principle. And this is true also of the destruction of the city. Not only as the first which the Israelites took, but as perhaps the most conspicuous city of Canaan for the advantages of its position, its commerce, wealth, and luxury, and unquestionably also for the abominable vices that had now "filled up the iniquity of the Canaanites," its doom was the pattern of that denounced on the cities of the land.

§ 6. There was, however, one man among the Israelites, whose lust of spoil made him unfaithful.[35] His act brought a curse upon all Israel, so that they failed in their next enterprise, the attack on Ai. This was the place east of Bethel, between which and Bethel Abraham had pitched his tent:[36] it lay among the hills, probably at the head of one of the passes leading up from the valley of the Jordan. The spies whom Joshua had sent reported it an easy conquest; and only about 3000 men were detached to take it. They were repulsed and chased to Shebarim, with the loss of thirty-six men. The hearts of the people melted, and Joshua, with all the elders, fell down before the ark as mourners, and uttered earnest expostulations to Jehovah. The oracle replied that Israel had sinned in taking of the accursed thing and concealing it among their goods. Joshua was commanded to sanctify the people against the morrow, and then to cast lots for the offender, who was to be slain and burned, with all belonging to him. This decision by lot involved no chance, but in the whole history of the Jews it was one of the most regular methods of revealing the will of God, especially in reference to some individual. "The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposal thereof is Jehovah's."[37] Accordingly, the lot fell first on the tribe of Judah, then on the family of Zerah, then on the house of Zabdi, whose members were brought individually before Jehovah, and Achan the son of Carmi was taken. Exhorted by Joshua to give glory to God, Achan confessed that he had taken from the spoil of Jericho a goodly Babylonish garment, and 200 shekels of silver, and a wedge of gold

[33] The four are Thamar, a Canaanite, the concubine of Judah; Rahab; Ruth, the Moabitess; and Bathsheba, the Hittite. [34] Heb. xi. 30.
[35] Josh. vii. [36] Gen. xii. 8. [37] Prov. xvi. 33.

of fifty shekels' weight, and had hid them in the earth in his tent, where they were found by men sent by Joshua. The offender was stoned, and afterward burned, with his children, his cattle, and his tent, and a great heap of stones was raised over them to mark the place, which received the name of Achor (*trouble*).[38] His case is a striking example of the effect of sin, as involving the destruction of the guiltless: "That man perished not alone in his iniquity."[39]

Encouraged anew by God, Joshua formed a plan for taking Ai by stratagem, which met with complete success. The city was destroyed, with all its inhabitants, the cattle only being reserved as the spoil of Jehovah. The King of Ai was hanged on a tree, and buried under a great heap of stones, the only memorial of the city.[40] It seems to be implied that Bethel was taken at the same time.[41]

The victory at Ai secured the passes from the valley of the Jordan, and gave the Israelites access to the open country in the centre of Palestine. Joshua now marched to Shechem, where he held the solemn ceremony of the Blessing and the Curse on Mounts Gerizim and Ebal, as prescribed by Moses.[42] On his return, a force was doubtless left at Ai to secure the passes, but the main body of the army remained encamped at Gilgal, in the valley of the Jordan.[43]

The above events form the first stage in the conquest of Canaan.

§ 7. A great league was now formed by all the kings west of Jordan, in the hills, the valleys, and the sea-coasts, as far north as Lebanon, against the Israelites.[44] The people of Gibeon alone sought for peace by a curious stratagem. Gibeon (now *El-Jib*), "a royal city, greater than Ai,"[45] was the chief of the four cities of the Hivites,[46] lying immediately opposite the pass of Ai, and at the head of the pass of Beth-horon. It would therefore have been the next object of the attack of the Israelites. Assuming the appearance of wayworn travellers, with old shoes and sacks, rent and patched wine-skins, and dry and mouldy bread, an embassy of the Gibeonites went to Joshua, and declared that they had come from a very far country, where they had heard the name of Jehovah and the fame of His mighty deeds, to seek for a league with

[38] The meaning common to the words *Achan* and *Achor* is alluded to by Joshua: "Why hast thou *troubled* us? The Lord shall *trouble* thee this day" (Josh. vii. 25).

[39] Josh. xxii. 20.

[40] Josh. viii. 1–29. [41] Josh. v. 17

[42] Josh. viii. 30–35. See p. 211.

[43] Josh. ix. 6. [44] Josh. ix. 1, 2.

[45] Josh. x. 2.

[46] The others were Chephirah, Beeroth, and Kirjath-jearim (Josh. x. 17)

His people. Their bread had been hot, they said, and their garments and wine and skins new when they started.

The trick imposed upon Joshua and the princes of the congregation, who omitted to consult the oracle.[47] They made peace with the Gibeonites, and swore to them by Jehovah to save their lives. Three days afterward they learned the truth, and reached their cities by a three days' march. The oath was held sacred, in spite of the murmurs of the congregation; but, to punish their deceit, Joshua put the Gibeonites under a curse, by which they became devoted to Jehovah in irredeemable bondage, and they were employed as "hewers of wood and drawers of water for the house of God" forever.[48] The treaty evidently included all the four cities, of which Gibeon was the chief. The transaction affords a memorable example of a principle more than once insisted on in the law, and expressed by the Psalmist in his blessing on the man "who sweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not."[49]

§ 8. Alarmed by the defection of Gibeon, Adoni-zedek,[50] king of Jerusalem, made a league with the kings of Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish, and Eglon, and laid siege to the city. The Gibeonites sent for help to Joshua, who marched by night from the camp at Gilgal, took the confederated Amorites by surprise, and utterly routed them near Beth-horon.[51] "The battle of Beth-horon or Gibeon," remarks Dean Stanley, "is one of the most important in the history of the world; and yet the very name of this great battle is far less known to most of us than that of Marathon or Cannæ."[52] Beth-horon (the *house of Caverns*) was the name of two villages, an "upper" and a "nether," or lower,[53] on the steep road from Gibeon to Azekah and the Philistine plain,[54] which is still the great road of communication from the interior of the country to the sea-coast.[55]

From Gibeon to the Upper Beth-horon is a distance of

[47] Josh. x. 14.

[48] They formed the class called Nethinim.

[49] Ps. xv. 4.

[50] That is, "Lord of Righteousness." The significance of the name seems an argument, though not a decisive one, for the identification of his kingdom with that of Melchisedek.

[51] The exact place is the steep road between the two villages of the name, the Upper and Lower Beth-horon (*Dict. of Bible*, art. BETH-HORON; Stanley, p. 208).

[52] *Jewish Church*, p. 238, First Series.

[53] Josh. xvi. 3, 5; 1 Chron. vii. 24.

[54] Josh. x. 10, 11; 1 Macc. iii. 24.

[55] The two Beth-horons still survive in the modern villages of *Beit'-ûr, et-Tahta*, and *El-Foka*. On the mountain which lies to the southward of the nether village is still preserved the name (*Yalô*) and the site of Ajalon.

about four miles of broken ascent and descent. The ascent, however, predominates, and this therefore appears to be the "going up" to Beth-horon, which formed the first stage of Joshua's pursuit. With the upper village the descent commences; the road is rough and difficult, even for the mountain-paths of Palestine, now over sheets of smooth rock flat as the flag-stones of a London pavement, now over the upturned edges of the limestone strata, and now among the loose rectangular stones so characteristic of the whole of this district. After about three miles of this descent, a slight rise leads to the lower village standing on the last outpost of the Benjamite hills.

This rough descent from the Upper to the Lower Beth-horon is the "going down to Beth-horon," which formed the second stage of Joshua's pursuit. As they fled down this steep pass, the Canaanites were overtaken by a miraculous hail-storm, which slew more than had fallen in the battle. It was then that Joshua, after a prayer to Jehovah, who had promised him this great victory, "said in the sight of Israel—

> "'Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon;
> And thou, Moon, in the valley of Ajalon.'

And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed, until the people had avenged themselves of their enemies. Is not this written in the *Book of Jasher?*"[56] The miraculous suspense of the "greater and the lesser light" in their full course[57] enabled Joshua to continue his pursuit to Makkedah, a place in the *Shefelah*, or maritime plain,[58] where the five kings hid themselves in a cave. Joshua stayed not even then, but, bidding the people roll great stones to the mouth of the cave, and set a guard over it, he pressed the rear of the fugitives, and "made an end of slaying them with a very great slaughter till they were consumed, that the rest which remained of them entered into fenced cities. And all the people returned to the camp to Joshua at Makkedah in peace; none moved his tongue against any of the children of Israel."[59]

[56] Josh. x. 12, 13. On the same spot Judas Maccabæus won a great victory over the forces of Syria under Seron (1 Macc. iii. 13–24) and, later still, the Roman army under Cestius Gallus was totally cut up (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 19, §§ 8, 9). The Book of Jasher is mentioned in only one other passage (2 Sam. i. 18). It seems to have been written in verse.

[57] The miracle must be understood as *phenomenal*, namely, that the sun and moon *appeared* to the Israelites to stand still.

[58] The interruption in ver. 15 is probably a transposition, or a part of the quotation from the Book of Jasher.

[59] Josh. x 20, 21; comp. Ex. xi 7.

The five kings were now brought forth from the cave, and Joshua bade all the captains place their feet upon their necks, in token of what Jehovah would do to all their enemies. Then he slew them, and hanged them on five trees till the evening.[60] Their bodies were cast into the cave, and its mouth was closed with great stones, just as that most memorable sun at length went down, and closed the day, "like which there was none before it or after it, that Jehovah hearkened unto the voice of a man; for Jehovah fought for Israel."[61]

This great battle was followed by the conquest of the seven kings of Makkedah, Libnah, Lachish, Gezer, Eglon, Hebron, and Debir, whose cities, chief and dependent, were utterly destroyed, with all their inhabitants, and all creatures that breathed, as Jehovah had commanded.[62] In this one campaign[63] Joshua subdued the southern half of Palestine, both highlands and lowlands, from Kadesh-barnea to Gaza, the eastern and western limits of the southern frontier; and he led back the people to the camp at Gilgal.

§ 9. Our attention is now called to the north, the country about the "Sea of Chinneroth" (the Lake of Galilee), the Upper Jordan, and the bases of Mount Lebanon.[64] Jabin,[65] king of Hazor, the chief city of Northern Palestine, formed a league against Israel with all the kings of the north as far as Mount Hermon, and with all the nations that were still unsubdued. Their army was "as the sand on the sea-shore for multitude," and they had many chariots and horses.[66] Joshua routed them by the waters of Merom, and chased them as far as "Great Zidon" and the valley of Mizpeh (probably the great valley of Cœle-Syria). In obedience to God's prohibition of cavalry, Joshua cut the hoof-sinews of the horses and burnt the chariots, which he might have been tempted to keep as the choicest prizes of victory.[67] Joshua next "turned back," perhaps on some new provocation, and took Hazor, putting its king and all the inhabitants to the sword, and likewise with the other cities of the confederates; but the cities themselves were left standing except Hazor, which he

[60] Josh. x. 22-27. [61] Josh. x. 14.

[62] Josh. x. 28-39. It may be inferred from Joshua xi. 13, 14, that this destruction extended only as far as the entire desolation of the cities, and that they were not burnt.

[63] Josh. x. 42: "at one time."

[64] Josh. xi.

[65] This seems to have been a hereditary title (Judges iv.). Hazor stood on an eminence. These northern Canaanites seem to have been for the most part of the same race as the Phœnicians, who were called Canaanites in their own tongue.

[66] Josephus gives them 300,000 foot, 10,000 horse, and 20,000 chariots. [67] Josh. xi. 9.

burnt, as being "the head of all those kingdoms."[68] As the result of this *third campaign*, Israel was master of the whole land from Mount Halak (the *smooth mountain*), at the ascent to Mount Seir, on the south, to Baal-gad,[69] under Mount Hermon, on the north. But a much longer time was required for the subjugation of the numerous kings, who held each his own fortified city, and "Joshua made war a long time with all those kings."[70] It was five years at least, and probably six, before the land rested from war (B.C. 1445).[71] Even then the old inhabitants held out in many separate parts, for the further trial of Israel's faith and courage, as Moses had foretold.

The results of the whole conquest, besides the previous victories over Sihon and Og, are summed up in the subjugation of thirty-one kings of cities on the west of the Jordan, belonging to the seven nations, which had been mentioned in the first promise to Abraham, the Amorites, Canaanites, Girgashites, Hittites, Hivites, Jebusites, and Perizzites.[72] Special notice is taken of the extermination of the giant Anakim, who had struck such terror into the spies, and who were only left in the Philistine cities of Gaza, Gath, and Ashdod, though they had before occupied the whole of the central highlands, with Hebron and other cities.[73]

The defeat of these thirty-one kings did not involve, in every case, the capture of their cities. Jerusalem, for example, was not taken till after the death of Joshua,[74] and its citadel remained in the hands of the Jebusites till the time of David. Many other cities held out for a long time.

But, besides such isolated posts, there were whole tracts of country—"very much land"—yet to be subdued, within the limits which God had originally named, and which He now once more promised.[75] These were, speaking generally, the plains along the Mediterranean, the coast of Phœnicia, and the ranges of Lebanon. On the south-west, there was the

[68] Joshua xi. 10–14. It was afterward rebuilt (Judges iv.), and became a frontier fortress under Solomon (1 K. ix. 15). It is mentioned as Asor or Nasor in 1 Macc. xi. 67, and Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 5, § 7. Its site may be that of *Tell Khuraibeh*, "the ruins" (Robinson, vol. iii. pp. 364, 365).

[69] The name indicates a sanctuary of Baal as Gad, "fortune." Its site is uncertain, perhaps Banias, afterward Paneas, at the source of the Jordan. Baalbec is too remote.

[70] Josh. xi. 18.

[71] Josh. xi. 23, compared with xiv. 6–15. Caleb was forty years old in 1490, and eighty-five when the war ceased.

[72] Josh. xii.

[73] Josh. xi. 21, 22. Of this race were Goliath and his three brothers, who were killed by David and his mighty men (1 Sam. xvii. 4; 2 Sam. xxi. 15–22).

[74] Judg. i. 8.

[75] Josh. xiii. 1.

whole country and five cities of the Philistines, who were destined to be such formidable enemies to Israel, from Sihor, on the frontier of Egypt, to Ekron.[76] Next were the Canaanites of the west coast, as far as Aphek, which seems to have been near Sidon, the Sidonians, "and all Lebanon," which is however so described as to include only the southern slopes, or foot-hills.[77] These conquests were not reserved for Joshua, who was now "old and stricken in years;"[78] but he was commanded to include them in the division of the land.

§ 10. Joshua was now commanded to divide the land by lot among the nine tribes and a half;[79] the two and a half having already received their allotment from Moses on the east of Jordan;[80] and the Levites receiving no inheritance among their brethren, "for Jehovah, God of Israel, was their inheritance."[81] Their withdrawal from the number of the tribes was compensated by the division of Joseph into the two tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh.[82] In describing the allotment generally, we follow the order of the Book of Joshua, in which, says Dean Stanley, "we have what may without offense be termed the *Domesday Book* of the conquest of Canaan."

First, the territories of the two and a half tribes on the east of Jordan:[83]

i. REUBEN lay first on the south from the Arnon, over the kingdom of Sihon, the northern boundary being a little above the latitude of Jericho.[84]

ii. GAD came next to the north, possessing Mount Gilead and half of Ammon. On the side of Jordan, their northern border just touched the Sea of Chinneroth, and was drawn thence toward the south-east.[85] The Jabbok divided their territory into two nearly equal parts.

iii.—1. The *half-tribe of* MANASSEH had all the kingdom of Og, king of Bashan, including half of Mount Gilead, which was the special inheritance of Machir, the son of Manasseh, and reaching to the base of Mount Hermon on the north.[86] In all three cases, the eastern frontier toward the desert and

[76] Josh. xiii. 2-4. With them are named the Geshuri, a tribe of the desert between Arabia and Philistia.

[77] Josh. xiii. 5, 6.

[78] An interesting proof of the shortening duration of human life. So Caleb speaks of his being "kept alive by Jehovah" to the age of eighty-five, but still in the full vigor of his strength (Josh. xiv. 10, 11).

[79] Joshua xiii. 7, xiv. 1, 2; compare Num. xxvi. 55, xxiii. 54, xxxiv. 13.

[80] Josh. xiii. 8-13, xviii. 7.

[81] Josh. xiii. 14, 33, xviii. 7.

[82] Josh. xiv. 3-5.

[83] The following account of the settlement of the tribes should be read in connection with Jacob's prophecy. See p. 121 seq.

[84] Josh. xiii. 15-23.

[85] Josh. xiii. 24-28.

[86] Josh. xiii. 29-33.

the *Hauran* was necessarily indefinite. These allotments are expressly mentioned as having been made by Moses.

§ 11. The division of the land among the nine and a half tribes west of Jordan was made by Eleazar the high-priest and Joshua, with "the heads of the fathers of the tribes," by a solemn lot cast before Jehovah.[87] It took place on two different occasions. First, while the people were still encamped at Gilgal, and perhaps before the conquest of the north was finished, the tribes of Judah and Joseph received, as their respective allotments, the greater part of the south and the centre of the land.

iv. JUDAH seems to have had the first share in consequence of Caleb's laying claim to Hebron, the special inheritance promised by Moses as a reward of his fidelity. His claim was admitted, and Joshua added his blessing. Caleb, who at the age of eighty-five was still as strong for war as when he was forty, drove out the Anakim from Hebron, and then attacked Debir, which was taken by his nephew Othniel, whose valor was rewarded with the hand of Caleb's daughter, Achsah. Her demand of a special inheritance from her father, who gave her the upper and the nether springs, is an interesting picture of patriarchal life.[88] The general inheritance of Judah began at the wilderness of Zin, on the border of Edom, while their southern border stretched across the wilderness to "the river of Egypt." The Dead Sea formed their east coast, and the northern border was drawn from the mouth of Jordan westward, past the south side of the hill of Jerusalem (which lay therefore outside the boundary[89]) to Kirjath-jearim, in Mount Ephraim, whence the western border skirted the land of the Philistines, and touched the Mediterranean.[90]

v. The tribe of JOSEPH had the centre of the land across from Jordan to the Mediterranean. EPHRAIM lay north of Judah; but between them were the districts afterward allotted to Benjamin and Dan. The southern border was drawn from the Jordan along the north side of the plain of Jericho to Bethel, whence it took a bend southward to Beth-horon, and thence up again to the sea near Joppa. The northern border passed west from the Jordan opposite the mouth of

[87] Josh. xiv. 1, 2, xviii. 6, 10.

[88] Josh. xiv. 6–15, xv. 13–19.

[89] This was not because it belonged to another lot, but because it was not yet conquered. See Josh. xv. 63. In the second division it was allotted to Benjamin, but it was secured to Judah by David's conquest.

[90] Josh. xv. 1–12. The many cities included in the lot of Judah are enumerated in vs. 21–63.

the Jabbok past Michmethah to the mouth of the river Kanah (the "reedy," probably the *Nahr Falaik* or *Wady al-Khassab*, which has the same signification). Besides the sacred valley of Shechem, it included some of the finest parts of Palestine, the mountains of Ephraim, and the great and fertile maritime plain of Sharon, proverbial for its roses.[91]

iii.—2. MANASSEH,[92] in addition to the land of Bashan and Gilead, east of the Jordan, which had been allotted to Machir and his son Gilead, had a lot on the west of Jordan, north of Ephraim.[93] The extent of the territories of this tribe is accounted for, first, by the reward due to the valor of Machir, and next by the right established by the daughters of Zelophedad to a share of the inheritance.[94] The northern frontier is very difficult to determine, some very important towns of Manasseh being expressly named as within the lots of Asher and Issachar.[95] Further we find the children of Joseph complaining to Joshua that they had only one lot, namely, Mount Ephraim, instead of the two given them by Jacob, and that they could not drive out the Canaanites from Beth-shean and the valley of Jezreel, because of their chariots of iron, and Joshua assigns to them "the wooded mountain," which can hardly be any other than Carmel.[96]

§ 12. During the long time that the encampment at Gilgal remained the head-quarters of the Israelites, they seem to have preserved the military system organized in the desert, with the Tabernacle in the centre of the camp. But at length they removed to SHILOH,[97] south of Shechem, in the territory of Ephraim, and there they set up the Tabernacle, where it remained till the time of Samuel.[98] There were still seven tribes that had not received their inheritance; and Joshua reproved them for their slackness in taking possession of the land. We are not told on what principles the portions already allotted had been divided, except that on the east of

[91] Josh. xvi.

[92] Comp. § 10 (iii. 1).

[93] Josh. xvii.

[94] Comp. Num. xxvi. 33, xxvii. 1, xxxvi. 2. [95] Josh. xvii. 11.

[96] Josh. xvii. 14–18.

[97] Judges xxi. 19. Shiloh is said to be "on the north side of Bethel, on the east side of the highway that goeth up from Bethel to Shechem, and on the south of Lebonah." In agreement with this, the traveller at the present day, going north from Jerusalem, lodges the first night at *Beitin*, the ancient Bethel; the next day, at the distance of a few hours, turns aside to the right, in order to visit *Seilûn*, the Arabic for Shiloh; and then passing through the narrow wady, which brings him to the main road, leaves *El-Lebbân*, the Lebonah of Scripture, on the left, as he pursues "the highway" to *Nablûs*, the ancient Shechem.

[98] Josh. xviii. 1; Judg. xviii. 31; 1 Sam. iv. 3.

Jordan the boundaries were assigned to Moses. Now, however, three men were appointed from each tribe to make a survey of the rest of the land, and to divide it into seven portions, which, with their several cities, they described in a book. The survey being finished, Joshua cast lots for the seven portions before the Tabernacle in Shiloh.[99] The result was as follows, the tribes being named in the order in which their lots came out:

vi. BENJAMIN had the eastern part of the territory that lay between Judah and Ephraim, embracing the plain of Jericho and the northern highlands of the later Judæa, a region admirably suited to the wild and martial character of the tribe.[100]

vii. SIMEON had an inheritance taken out of the portion already allotted to Judah, for whom it was found to be too large, namely, the south-western part of the maritime plain, with the land bordering on the desert, as far eastward as Beer-sheba. Their western coast lay along the Mediterranean to the north of Ascalon.[101]

viii. ZEBULUN received the mountain range which forms the northern border of the great plain of Jezreel or Esdraelon, between the eastern slopes of Carmel on the west, and the south-west shore of the Sea of Chinneroth and the course of the Jordan, to about opposite the mouth of the Hieromax on the east.[102] The rich mountain passes which led down to the valley of Jezreel seem to be referred to in the blessing of Moses, "Rejoice, O Zebulun, in thy goings out."

ix. ISSACHAR's inheritance corresponded almost exactly to the great valley of Jezreel, otherwise called the plain of Esdraelon, which opened to the Jordan on the east,[103] and was enclosed on the south by the hills of Gilboa, and on the north by the highlands of Issachar, among which Mount Tabor was conspicuous on the frontier.[104] The territory seems to have been taken out of that of Manasseh, as Simeon's was out of Judah. The effect of its richness and seclusion on the character and history of the tribe has been noticed in connection with Jacob's blessing.[105]

x. ASHER had the rich maritime plain extending from Mount Carmel to "great Sidon" and "the strong city Tyre:" the territory of the former was included in their inheritance, though they failed to possess it. In their case

[99] Josh. xviii. 1–10.
[100] Josh. xviii. 11–28.
[101] Josh. xix. 1–9.
[102] Josh. xix. 10–16.
[103] Josh. xix. 22.
[104] Josh. xix. 17–23.
[105] See p. 121.

too, both Jacob and Moses had given a prophetic intimation of the influence of the tribe's position.[106]

xi. NAPHTALI, the most powerful of the northern tribes, obtained the highlands which form the southern prolongation of the range of Lebanon, bounded on the east by the Upper Jordan, the "waters of Merom," and the Sea of Chinneroth; and looking down on the west upon the maritime plain of Asher, just as Zebulun looked down from the southern part of the same highlands into the valley of Esdraelon.[107]

xii. DAN had at first a very small territory north-west of Judah, from Japho (Joppa) to the border of Simeon, almost entirely occupied by the Philistines. For this reason, and because they found their lot too small for them, they made an expedition against Leshem, or Laish, in the extreme north of the land, at the sources of the Jordan. They took the city and destroyed the inhabitants, and gave it the name of Dan. It became one of the two landmarks in the phrase which was used to describe the whole extent of the land from north to south, "from Dan even to Beersheba." In the Book of *Judges*, we have a fuller account of the expedition at the time when it took place (about B.C. 1406).[108]

Lastly, Joshua himself received, as his personal inheritance, the place he asked for, namely, Timnath-serah, in Mount Ephraim, and he built the city of that name.

It must be remembered that the allotments were made not only to the tribes as a whole, but to the families of each tribe, as is expressly stated in each case: "This is the inheritance of the tribes *by their families*." Thus we shall expect to find the possessions of each tribe proportional to the number of its families, as determined by the census taken in the plains of Moab.[109] This is generally the case; but there still remain inequalities which can only be accounted for by the relative importance assigned to the tribes, on principles already indicated in the dying prophecy of Jacob. The great preponderance of Judah and Joseph relates to their respective pre-eminence as the prince and heir of the whole family.[110]

§ 13. Each of the twelve tribes having received the lot of its inheritance, provision was next made for the habitation of the Levites and the cities of refuge. Six cities of refuge were appointed by the people themselves:[111] three on the

[106] Josh. xix. 24-31.
[107] Josh. xix. 32-39.
[108] Judg xviii.
[109] Numb. xxvi. See chap. xiv. § 8.
[110] See chap. x. § 3.
[111] Josh. xx.

west of Jordan, namely, *Kedesh*, in Galilee,[112] in the highlands of Naphtali; *Shechem*, in Mount Ephraim, and *Hebron*, in the mountains of Judah; and three on the east of Jordan, namely, for Reuben, *Bezer*, in the wilderness; for Gad, *Ramoth*, in Gilead; for the half-tribe of Manasseh, *Golan*, in Bashan.[113]

The Levites having claimed the right given to them by Moses, received forty-eight cities and their suburbs, which were given up by the several tribes in proportion to the cities they possessed.[114] Their allotment among the three families of the Levites has already been described.[115]

Thus did Jehovah give Israel the land which He had sworn to their father, and they dwelt in it. They had obtained their promised rest in this world, though a better rest remained, and still remains.[116] Their enemies were delivered into their hand; and all open resistance ceased. "There failed not aught of any good thing which Jehovah had spoken to the house of Israel: all came to pass.[117] The failures afterward brought to light were in the people themselves.

§ 14. Their peace was, however, soon threatened by the danger of a religious schism. The two tribes and a half, having kept their promise to their brethren, were dismissed by Joshua with a blessing, and with an earnest exhortation to cleave to Jehovah their God, and keep his commandments.[118] Abundantly enriched with their share of the spoil of Canaan, they crossed the Jordan into the land of Gilead. Close to the ford, "the passage of the children of Israel," they built a great altar (doubtless a huge erection of earth and stones), of the same form as the altar of burnt-offering. Hastily inferring their intention to establish a separate place of sacrifice, in violation of God's command, the other tribes prepared for war. But first they sent Phinehas, the son of the high-priest Eleazar, with ten princes of the respective tribes, to remonstrate with their brethren, and to remind them of the consequences of former public sins. The two tribes and a half replied that they had not acted in the spirit of rebellion against Jehovah. They had feared lest a time should come when their more favored brethren might forget their common interest in Jehovah, the God of Israel; and therefore they had erected the altar, not to burn sacrifices upon it, but as a perpetual memorial of their part in the altar of which it was the likeness. Thus interpreted, their act was accepted

[112] This name occurs here for the first time.
[113] Comp. Num. xxxv.
[114] Josh. xxi.; comp. Num. xxxv 1-8.
[115] See pp. 240, 241.
[116] Heb. iv. 8, 9.
[117] Josh. xxi. 43-45.
[118] Josh. xxii. 1-6.

by the envoys, and afterward by all the people, as a new proof that Jehovah was among Israel; and the children of Reuben and Gad called the altar ED (a *witness*): "for," said they, "it shall be a witness between us that Jehovah is God."[119] We hear nothing further of this erection: its meaning may have been forgotten in later times.

§ 15. The closing records of the history of Joshua show us a solemn pause and crisis in the career of Israel. They had now attained that first success which is always a trial of human power and endurance, and which, in their case, was the test of their faithfulness to Jehovah. In Joshua they had a leader equal to the crisis. He lived long after God had given them rest from their enemies; and he was now "going the way of all the earth."[120] His last care was to set clearly before the people their true position, and to bind them to Jehovah by another solemn covenant. The last two chapters of Joshua seem to refer to two distinct transactions.

First, he sent for all the heads of the tribes, the judges and the officers, and gave them an exhortation, which may be summed up in the words, "Be ye therefore *very courageous* to keep and to do all that is written in the book of the law of Moses." He knew the danger of their resting satisfied with what was done, or of their thinking it hopeless to do more; and he knew that, if once they ceased before the heathen remnant was destroyed out of the land, they would be corrupted by their idolatries and vices. He well remembered all the experience of the desert, and all the warnings of Moses. He reminds them of all that God had done to the Canaanites for their sakes; and promises that the land divided to them should be wholly theirs, and the heathen be driven out before them. On their part they had thus far been faithful; let them still thus cleave to Jehovah their God! Let them not mix with the people that remained; nor name their gods, nor swear by them, nor worship them! If once they began this course, and if they intermarried with them, God would cease to drive out those nations, which would become to them as snares and scourges and thorns, till they themselves should perish from the land. In the prospect of his own death, he testifies that not one good thing had failed of all that God had spoken; and that God would be as faithful to His word, in bringing upon them all the

[119] Josh. xxii.; comp. Keil's commentary on the passage.
[120] Josh. xxiii. 1, 14.

evils that He had spoken. The distinctly-prophetic character of this last warning deserves special notice; for he does not say *if*, but "*when* ye have transgressed the covenant of Jehovah your God, and served other gods, ye shall perish from off the good land which he hath given you."

§ 16. This exhortation was followed up by a great public transaction between Joshua and all Israel. He gathered them together at Shechem, the sacred home of Abraham and Jacob. From out the mass he called forth the elders, the heads of families, the judges and the officers, who "presented themselves before God;" that is, not before the Tabernacle, which was then at Shiloh, but at the place which Abraham and Jacob had sanctified by their altars to God.[121] Joshua addressed them in the same strain as before; but, going back to the call of Abraham, he reminded them of the time when their fathers "on the other side of the flood" of Euphrates had served other gods. Briefly mentioning the history of Abraham, Isaac, Esau, and Jacob, till the descent into Egypt, he recounts the mission of Moses and Aaron, the passage of the Red Sea, and the sojourn in the wilderness, the conquest of the Amorite kings,[122] and the turning of Balaam's intended curse into a blessing; the passage of the Jordan, the capture of Jericho, and the deliverance of the nations of Canaan into their hands, "but not with thy sword, nor with thy bow;"[123] and he reminds them that all they possessed was the gift of God, and the fruit of others' labors: "I have given you a land for which ye did not labor, and cities which ye built not, and ye dwell in them; of the vineyards and olive-yards which ye planted not, do ye eat."[124] From all this he deduces the exhortation to fear Jehovah, and serve him in sincerity and in truth, and to put away the gods which their fathers had served beyond the flood, and in Egypt. This is not a demand to purge themselves from actual idolatry, into which they had not yet fallen, but to renounce forever the examples which might seduce them to it. He ends with an appeal, unequaled in simple force except by that of Elijah to Israel; if they found fault with the service of Jehovah, let them at once choose whom they would serve, whether the idols of their fathers, or the gods

[121] Josh. xxiv. 1; comp. Gen. xii. 6, 7, xxxiii. 20; the same phrase is used in 1 Sam. x. 19 of the sacred place of Mizpeh.

[122] In Josh. xxiv. 12 the "*hornet*" is said to have been sent to drive out these kings, as predicted by Moses (Ex. xxiii. 28; Deut. vii. 20).

[123] Josh. xxiv. 12; cf. Ps. xliv. 3, 6.

[124] Josh. xxiv. 13. This passage is exquisitely treated by Keble (*Christian Year: Third Sunday in Lent*).

of the Amorites; but his own choice was made, "As for me and my house, we will serve Jehovah."

The appeal was irresistible: the people swore by God, not to forsake Him who had done all these wonders for them. Thus did Joshua make a covenant with the people, and set them a statute and an ordinance in Shechem. It was, for that generation and their posterity, the counterpart of the covenant which Moses had made, on the part of God, with their fathers in Mount Horeb. Joshua added the record of this great transaction to the book of the law of God, and set up a monument of it in the form of a great stone under an oak by the sanctuary of Jehovah; perhaps the very oak beneath whose shadow Abraham and Jacob had pitched their tents.

The people were dismissed to their homes, and Joshua soon after died at the age of 110 (about B.C. 1426–5), and was buried in the border of his own inheritance at Timnath-serah.[125] His decease was soon followed by that of Eleazar, the high-priest, the son of Aaron: he was also buried in Mount Ephraim, in a hill belonging (as a burying-place) to his son and successor, Phinehas.[126] The bones of Joseph, which the Israelites had brought up out of Egypt, were duly interred at Shechem, in the plot of ground which Jacob had bought of Hamor.[127] This bright period of Jewish history is crowned by the record that "Israel served Jehovah all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders that overlived Joshua, and which had known all the works of Jehovah that He had done for Israel."[128] The lessons of the wilderness had not been lost upon them. Not in vain had they seen their fathers drop and die till they were all consumed for their rebellion. We search the sacred history in vain, from the Exodus to the Captivity, for another generation that was so wholly faithful to Jehovah.

[125] Josh. xxiv. 29, 30.
[126] Josh. xxiv. 33.
[127] Josh. xxiv. 32.
[128] Josh. xxiv. 31.

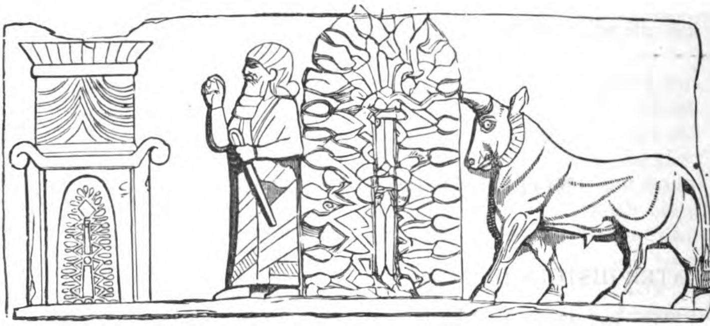
NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

LATER HISTORY OF JERICHO.

THE city, rebuilt by Hiel (see p. 301), rose again slowly into consequence. In its immediate vicinity the sons of the prophets sought retirement from the world: Elisha "healed the spring of the waters;"* and over and against it, beyond Jordan, Elijah "went up by a whirlwind into heaven" (2 K. ii. 1-22). In its plains Zedekiah fell into the hands of the Chaldæans (2 K. xxv. 5; Jer. xxxix. 5). Under Herod the Great it became an important place. He built a fort there, which he called "Cyprus," in honor of his mother; a tower, which he called, in honor of his brother, Phasealis; and a number of new palaces, which he named after his friends. He even founded a new town, higher up the plain, which he called, like the tower, Phasealis. If he did not make Jericho his habitual residence, he at least retired thither to die, and it was in the amphitheatre of Jericho that the news of his death was announced to the assembled soldiers and people by Salome. Soon afterward the palace was burnt, and the town plundered by one Simon, slave to Herod; but Archelaus rebuilt the former sumptuously, and founded a new town in the plain that bore his own name; and most important of all, diverted water from a village called Neæra, to irrigate the plain which he had planted with palms. Thus Jericho was once more "a city of palms" when our Lord visited it. It is supposed to have been on the rocky heights overhanging it (hence called by tradition the Quarentana) that He was assailed by the Tempter; and over against it, according to tradition likewise, He had been previously baptized in the Jordan. Here He restored sight to the blind; here He did not disdain the hospitality of Zacchæus the publican. Finally, between Jerusalem and Jericho was laid the scene of His story of the good Samaritan.

The site of ancient (the first) Jericho is with reason placed by Dr. Robinson (*Bibl. Res.* i. 552-568) in the immediate neighborhood of the fountain of Elisha; and that of the second (the city of the New Testament and of Josephus) at the opening of the *Wady Kelt* (Cherith), half an hour from the fountain.

* No doubt the exuberant fountain bursting forth close to the site of the old city.



Sacred Symbolic Tree of the Assyrians. See p. 342.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE EARLIER JUDGES TO DEBORAH AND BARAK B.C. 1426–1256.

§ 1. Difficulties in the history of the judges—The Books of Judges and Ruth. § 2. General character of this period. § 3. Efforts to drive out the heathen nations. § 4. Scenes of idolatry and wickedness—i. The story of Micah and the Danites—ii. Extermination of the Benjamites. § 5. The reverse of the picture—Story of Ruth and Boaz. § 6. The Fifteen Judges—Servitude to Cushan-Rishathaim—Othniel, the first judge. § 7. Oppression by Eglon, king of Moab—Ehud, the second judge. § 8. Shamgar, the third judge. § 9. Tyranny of Jabin and Sisera—Deborah and Barak jointly as fourth judge—The Song of Deborah. § 10. Concluding remarks—Moral difficulties of the narrative.

§ 1. THE period of Jewish history from the death of Joshua to the choice of Saul as king was one of great disorganization, and the records of it involve considerable difficulties. Our sole authority, besides a few incidental allusions, is the *Book of Judges*, to which *Ruth* forms a supplement, having been originally a part of it. Some passages in the book bear internal evidence of a contemporary authorship, but it was not composed as a whole till the time of the Kings. The more serious difficulties of chronology we reserve for subsequent discussion,[1] giving meanwhile the received chronology of the English Bible.

§ 2. The history of the whole period is summed up in a passage which connects the Book of *Judges* with that of *Joshua*.[2] After the death of Joshua, the people remained faithful to Jehovah so long as the generation lasted which had seen all His mighty works.[3] "And there arose another generation

[1] See *Notes and Illustrations* (A.), ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE JUDGES.
[2] Judg. ii. 6–19. [3] Judg. ii. 7.

after them which knew not Jehovah, nor yet the works which he had done for Israel."[4] They fell into the worship of "Baalim," the idols of the country, and especially of Baal and Ashtaroth;[5] and they were given over into the hands of the enemies whose gods they served. Their career of conquest was checked, and heathen conquerors oppressed them; but, though punished, they were not forsaken by God. As often as they were oppressed, He raised up "JUDGES,"[6] who delivered them from their oppressors. But, as often as they were delivered, they disobeyed their judges, and declined into idolatry; and, "when the judge was dead they returned, and corrupted themselves more than their fathers."[7] For this unfaithfulness on their part to the covenant, God kept back the full accomplishment of His promise to drive out the nations before them, who were left at Joshua's death; indeed, it was in foresight of their sin that He had not entirely delivered those nations into the hand of Joshua.[8]

Such is the summary which is filled up in the first sixteen chapters of *Judges:* the rest of the book (ch. xvii.–xxi.) is occupied with two or three striking examples of the idolatry and anarchy thus generally described.

§ 3. The history of the Judges is prefaced by some account of the efforts of the several tribes to drive out the heathen nations after the death of Joshua. In these efforts JUDAH took the lead, by the direction of God's oracle, and in association with SIMEON. These two tribes gained a great victory over the Canaanites and Perizzites in Bezek,[9] and took prisoner Adoni-bezek (the *Lord of Bezek*), one of those tyrants who have become famous for some special cruelty to their captives. He had cut off the thumbs and great toes of seventy kings, and amused himself with their attempts to pick up the food that fell from his table; and now, himself thus mutilated, he confessed that God had requited him justly. He died at Jerusalem, the lower city of which the men of Judah succeeded

[4] Judg. ii. 10.

[5] See *Notes and Illustrations* (B.), ON BAAL AND ASHTAROTH.

[6] Judg. ii. 16. The Hebrew word *Shophet* (pl. *Shophetim*) is the same as that for an ordinary *judge*, nor is it here used in a different sense. For, though their first work was that of deliverers and leaders in war, they then administered justice to the people, and their authority supplied the want of a regular government. The Hebrew word is the same as that of the Carthaginian "Suffetes," the name of the magistrates whom we find in the time of the Punic wars.

[7] Judg. ii. 19.

[8] Judg. ii. 20–23. The nations left unsubdued are enumerated in Judg. iii. 1–4.

[9] Judg. i. 4. This place, in the lot of Judah, seems to have been distinct from the Bezek named in 1 Sam. xi. 8, which was more central.

in taking.[10] This example of the wanton cruelty of the chiefs of Canaan throws a light on the state of the country before its conquest.

Next we have the account of the exploits of Caleb and Othniel, already anticipated in *Joshua*;[11] and of the settlement of the Kenites, the children of Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, in the wilderness of Judah, to the south of Arad. Here they dwelt as a free Arab tribe, among the people of the desert, but in close alliance with Israel.[12] Judah then aided Simeon in recovering his lot. They took Zephath (which they called Hormah), and fulfilled by its utter destruction the vow long since made by Israel.[13] They also took Gaza, Askelon, and Ekron, from the Philistines; but the strength of those people in war-chariots prevented their expulsion, and enabled them soon to regain these cities. The tribe of BENJAMIN failed to drive out the Jebusites from Jebus, the citadel of Jerusalem, which belonged to their lot.[14] The men of EPHRAIM took Bethel by the treachery of an inhabitant, whom they caught outside the gate of the city. It was now finally called by the name of Bethel, which was first given to it by Jacob, and had been commonly applied to it by the Jews. Its old name of *Luz* was given to a city which its betrayer went and built among the Hittites.[15] Ephraim failed, however, to drive out the Canaanites from Gezer; and MANASSEH only reduced those of the valley of Esdraelon to tribute after some time.[16] Several cities of the northern highlands proved too strong for ZEBULUN and NAPHTALI, but some of them were made tributaries, as Beth-shemesh and Beth-anath. ASHER did not even attempt to take Accho, Zidon, and the other cities of the Phœnician sea-board and the Lebanon, but they dwelt among the people of the land. Lastly, the men of DAN were forced back by the Amorites from the valleys of their lot into the mountains; and even there the Amorites retained some strongholds, which were ultimately reduced to tribute by the power of Ephraim. This was no doubt the chief motive of the northern expedition

[10] Judg. i. 5–8. That it was only the lower city which was taken is expressly stated by Josephus (*Ant.* v. 2. § 23); and we also learn from the biblical narrative that the upper city remained in the hands of the Jebusites till the time of David. Comp. Josh. xv. 63; Judg. i. 21; and chap. xvi. § 11.

[11] Judg. i. 9–15; comp. chap. xvi. § 11.

[12] Judg. i. 16; comp. iv. 11; 1 Sam. xv. 6, xxvii. 10, xxx. 19; 1 Chron. ii. 55.

[13] Judg. i. 17; comp. Num. xxi 3; 1 Chron. iv. 30.

[14] Judg. i. 21. See note [10].

[15] Judg. i. 22–26.

[16] Here again we find Manasseh in the lot of Issachar

of the Danites, which has been already mentioned, and to which we shall have to recur. The Amorites also kept possession of the "*Pass of Scorpions*" (Akrabbim), from "Selah" (the *cliff*, Petra?) upward, south of the Dead Sea.[17]

These fitful efforts were reproved by a prophet,[18] who went forth from Gilgal to some solemn assembly of the people in its neighborhood; and told them that, as they had failed to keep God's covenant, He would not drive out the people before them. They kept a great act of public humiliation, with sacrifices to Jehovah; and from their cries of repentance the place received the name of *Bochim* (the *weepers*).[19]

§ 4. After this introduction we have the general summary of the vicissitudes of idolatry and repentance, servitude and deliverance, which we have already noticed.[20] It ends with the enumeration of the heathen nations who were still left, "to prove Israel by them:" a trial in which they failed, intermarrying with them, worshiping their gods, doing evil in the sight of Jehovah, forgetting their own God, and serving "Baalim and the groves."[21] These statements are illustrated by the dark records of idolatry, vice, and cruelty, which occupy the closing chapters of the book, and which may be most fitly noticed here, especially as they seem to belong to the earlier part of the period of the judges.[22] They are expressly mentioned as examples of the disorder of those days when "there was no king in Israel, but every man did that which was right in his own eyes."[23]

i. *The Story of Micah and the Danites.*[24] A man of Mount Ephraim, named Micah, had stolen from his mother 1100 shekels of silver. She cursed the unknown thief, and devoted the silver to Jehovah, to make a graven and a molten image; a sign of that first step in idolatry, when forbidden symbols were intruded into the worship of the true God. Micah confessed the theft, and restored the silver to his mother, who dedicated 200 shekels of it to the fulfillment of her vow. The two images were set up in the house of Micah, who made also

[17] Judg. i. 27–36.

[18] Such seems to be the meaning of the phrase "an angel (messenger) of Jehovah" (Judg. ii. 1).

[19] Judg. ii. 1–6. Its site is unknown.

[20] Judg. ii. 6–iii. 7.

[21] Judg. iii. 6, 7.

[22] Since the deed at Gibeah is mentioned by Hosea (x. 9) as the first open wickedness of Israel after they had taken possession of Canaan, it must have *preceded* the offenses for which they were enslaved to the surrounding nations. See further, on the Chronology, *Notes and Illustrations* (A.).

[23] Judg. xvii. 6, xviii. 1, xix. 1, xxi. 25. These passages show that the authorship of this part of the book belongs to the regal period.

[24] Judg. xvii.-xviii.

an *ephod* (the garment of a priest)[25] and *teraphim* (minor household gods), and consecrated one of his sons as priest; thus making a complete patriarchal establishment for the worship of Jehovah, but with the addition of idolatrous symbols.[26] He soon obtained for his priest a young Levite who had removed from Bethlehem-judah, and who was no less a person than the grandson of Moses (see below). Micah hired him for ten shekels a year, besides garments and food; and, though the law forbade a Levite to intrude into the priests' office, Micah felt sure that Jehovah would bless him, now he had a Levite for his priest.[27]

About this time the Danites sent out five spies, to prepare for their great expedition against Laish. In passing the house of Micah, the spies recognized the voice of the Levite, who received them, inquired of Jehovah respecting the issue of their journey, and gave them a favorable response.[28] The spies having accomplished their mission, 600 men of war started from the Danite cities of Zorah and Eshtaol, and, after a halt at Kirjath-jearim in Judah, they entered Mount Ephraim; and as they passed by the house of Micah, they stole his carved image,[29] ephod, and teraphim, and enticed his priest to go with them. Having taken the city of Laish by surprise, and called it by the new name of DAN,[30] they set up there the graven image, and established a sanctuary for themselves, and probably for others of the northern tribes, all the time that the tabernacle remained at Shiloh. The family of the Levite, whose name was Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Moses, continued to be priests to the tribe of Dan down to the Captivity.[31] The circumstance of the priest's being the grandson of Moses helps to fix the time of

[25] This was, no doubt, an imitation of the sacred ephod of the high-priest, with the "breastplate of judgment" and the Urim and Thummim, the use of which for divination is referred to in Judg. xviii. 5, 6. Gideon made a similar ephod (Judg. viii. 27).

[26] The phrase "Micah had a house of idols" (xvii. 5) may refer either to his own house, or to a separate chapel for the idol figures.

[27] Micah's devout belief in Jehovah forms a striking contrast to the Danites' mere acknowledgment of a God (*Elohim*).

[28] It can not be supposed that this response was any thing but the invention of the hireling. The Levite is supposed to have been recognized from being—as the grandson of Moses—a well-known person.

[29] The molten image seems to have been left behind.

[30] The city of Dan is identified with *Tell el-Kadi,* a mound from which gushed out one of the main sources of the Jordan.

[31] Judg. xviii. 30, 31. The Masoretic text, followed by our version, has changed the name of Moses to *Manasseh;* inventing an absurd genealogy to cover the disgrace of a grandson of Moses! See *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. ii. p. 225.

the transaction to the earlier part of the period of the judges.[32] The whole narrative affords a lively picture of the frightful state of anarchy into which the nation had fallen; while it presents us, in the case of Micah, with a specimen of the family life of the Israelites in the country districts.

ii. *The Extermination of the Benjamites.*[33] A certain Levite of Mount Ephraim had taken a concubine from Bethlehem-judah. Having proved unfaithful to him, she returned to her father's house at Bethlehem, and remained there four months. At length the Levite went to propose a reconciliation and to fetch her home. He was gladly welcomed by his father-in-law; and we are presented with another interesting picture of Hebrew interior life. After three days' feasting together, and another two days' prolongation of the visit at the pressing instance of the host, the Levite at length resisted his entreaties to remain another night, and departed toward the evening of the fifth day. He travelled with his concubine, his servant, and two saddled asses; and as night came on, they found themselves over against Jebus.[34] Refusing the proposal of his servant to ask hospitality from the natives, the man entered Gibeah[35] at sunset, to meet with worse treatment than he could have feared from the most licentious heathen. It would seem that the tribes had already begun to regard each other with the mutual jealousy of foreigners. Proverbial as is the hospitality of those countries and races, the little party sat down in the street or open square of the city, without being offered a lodging (which was all they needed, for they had food and provender with them) by any of the Benjamites. At length an old fellow-countryman from Mount Ephraim, who lived in the city, as he was returning from his work in the field, found the wayfarers in the street, and learning who they were, took them home and showed them all the duties of hospitality. Now

[32] The mention of *Mahaneh-dan* (Judg. xviii. 12) proves that it was at least earlier than the birth of Samson, when the place already had that name (Judg. xiii. 25); but it seems to have been much earlier still. See *Notes and Illustrations* (A.).

[33] Judg. xix.–xxi. In this whole narrative it is important to remember how different the *status* of a concubine was among the Jews from what seems to resemble it among ourselves. In this case, too, the concubine was not a slave; and her father and the Levite are called *father-in-law* and *son-in-law*.

[34] The citadel of Jerusalem, still held by the Jebusites.

[35] This celebrated town, called more fully *Gibeah of Benjamin*, stood, as its name implies, on a height near the road from Jerusalem to Shechem. It seems to correspond with the height called *Tuleil el-Fûl*, four miles north of Jerusalem, and to the right of the high-road. Near the base of the hill is a cave, in which the ambuscade may have been concealed.

the men of the city were "men of Belial," and had fallen into the worst vices which had brought down fire from heaven on the ancient cities of the land. When night came on, they beset the old man's house, and what followed may be best alluded to in the words in which Milton describes the power of Belial over his votaries:—

> "In courts and palaces he also reigns,
> And in luxurious cities, where the noise
> Of riot ascends above their loftiest towers,
> And injury, and outrage: and when night
> Darkens the streets, then wander forth the sons
> Of Belial, flown with insolence and wine.
> Witness the streets of Sodom, and *that night*
> *In Gibeah*, when the hospitable door
> Exposed a matron, to avoid worse rape."[36]

In the morning the Levite carried home his half-dead concubine; and having cut her body into twelve pieces, he sent them to the twelve tribes of Israel, who cried with one voice that no such deed had been done or seen since the children of Israel came up out of Egypt. With a unanimity which recalls the spirit shown in resenting the supposed defection of the two and a half tribes, the whole congregation of Israel, from Dan to Beersheba, gathered together at Mizpeh, where all the men of war, to the number of 400,000, presented themselves before Jehovah. Having called upon the Levite to recount his wrong, they bound themselves by a solemn vow of vengeance; resolved not to separate till it was fulfilled; and chose by lot one man in every ten to find provisions for the host. First, however, they sent messages through all the tribe of Benjamin, to demand the surrender of the culprits; but the Benjamites espoused the cause of the men of Gibeah with that fierceness and obstinacy which appear so often in their history, justifying the prophecy of Jacob, "Benjamin shall ravin as a wolf." They drew to a head at Gibeah, to the number of 26,000 fighting-men, besides those of the city, who numbered 700. It is particularly recorded that there were 700 left-handed men, who could sling stones to a hair-breadth.[37]

The other tribes assembled at the sanctuary of Shiloh, where the ark then was, Phinehas, Aaron's grandson, being high-priest;[38] and in reply to their inquiry of the oracle of

[36] *Paradise Lost*, book i. vs. 497-505.

[37] The skill of the Benjamites in the use of the left-hand is again mentioned in the case of Ehud (Judg. iii. 15), and of the brethren of Saul—himself, by the way, a man of Gibeah (1 Chron. xii. 2).

[38] Judg. xx. 18, 23, 26-28. It is not clear whether Shiloh or Bethel

God, Judah was directed to lead the attack on Benjamin. Then followed a struggle almost unexampled in the history of civil wars. The army of Israel having been arrayed against Gibeah, the Benjamites sallied out and defeated them, slaying 22,000 men. They rallied their forces in the same place, and spent the next day in weeping before God; while the tone of their inquiry, "Shall I go up again to battle against the children of Benjamin my *brother?*" seems to show some misgiving. But the oracle bade them renew the attack, and for the second time they were defeated, with the loss of 18,000 men. Again the whole congregation assembled at Shiloh to keep a solemn fast, with burnt-offerings and peace-offerings, and again they consulted the oracle through Phinehas the high-priest. They were bidden to fight again, and assured of victory on the morrow. They arranged a stratagem, like that by which Joshua took Ai. An ambush was set near Gibeah, while the main army were drawn up as before. This time their flight was feigned. The Benjamites pursued them, slaying about thirty men, till they were drawn from the city, over which was now seen to rise the column of smoke, which first apprised them of the stratagem, and was the signal of its success. The Israelites turned upon their pursuers, who were stricken with a panic, and fled toward the wilderness. They were met by the other body, who had sacked Gibeah, and 18,000 of them were left dead upon the field. 5000 fell on the highways; and 2000 more were slain, apparently in a last rally at Gidom.[39] The 600 men, who were all now left of the 25,700 warriors of the tribe, fled to the rock of Rimmon, in the wilderness, and remained there four months; while the Israelites burnt their cities, and put the inhabitants and the cattle to the sword.

At length their anger began to turn to pity; and they assembled again at the sanctuary to mourn before God, because a tribe was cut off from Israel. Its total extinction seemed inevitable; for, when they made the league at Mizpeh, they had bound themselves by a curse not to give their daughters in marriage to the Benjamites. But a remedy was found in another curse which they had imprecated on any of the tribes who neglected to come up to the battle. On numbering the people, it was found that the men of Jabesh-gilead[40] were ab-

is meant. Phineas is mentioned in two passages as being already priest in the time of Joshua (Josh. xxii. 13, xxiv. 33). It is to be observed that in the whole of this, as of the preceding narrative, there is no hint of a judge.

[39] These are round numbers: in v. 35 the total of the slain is 25,100.

[40] This is the city in Mount Gilead,

sent. That city was devoted to destruction: 12,000 men were sent against it, with orders to destroy all the men and women, except virgins; and these, amounting to 400, were given for wives to the remnant of the Benjamites. The remaining 200 were provided for by the Benjamites seizing the maidens of Shiloh, who came out of the city to dance at one of the great annual feasts; the elders of Israel suggested the scheme, and made peace with the fathers of the maidens. The children of Israel then departed to their homes. The Benjamites returned to their inheritance, and repaired their cities. They regained something of their old martial fame, and gave Israel its second judge, Ehud, and its first king, Saul, the son of Kish; but they never recovered from this terrific blow. After hesitating between the two powerful tribes whose territories they parted, and ranging themselves at first on the side of Ephraim, they at last subsided, like the Simeonites, into a position entirely subordinate to Judah, and their territory was absorbed in Judæa. Down to the latest period of Jewish history their crime was remembered as marking the time from which Israel began to sin, and the righteous indignation of the other tribes was commemorated as "the battle in Gibeah *against the children of iniquity.*"[41]

§ 5. We must guard, however, against the impression that such scenes as these describe the whole, or even the chief part, of the history of Israel under the Judges. In the book itself, the intervals during which "the land had rest" make up a large aggregate of years, though we are apt to overlook them from the brevity of each notice. These hints are in some degree filled up to a finished picture, in the exquisite scenes of rural tranquillity set before us in the Book of *Ruth.* The events there related are merely said to have happened "in the time of the Judges;" but from the genealogies we gather that they fell in the generation after the troubles above related.[42]

A man named Elimelech, an Ephrathite of Bethlehem-judah, had been driven by a famine[43] into the country of Moab, with his wife Naomi, and their two sons, Mahlon and Chilion. The sons married women of Moab, named Orpah and Ruth; and the family resided in that country for about ten years. The

east of Jordan, afterward so celebrated in the wars of Saul (1 Sam. xi. xxxi.).

[41] Hos. x. 9.

[42] See *Notes and Illustrations* (A.).

[43] Bishop Patrick observes that the only famine mentioned in the Book of Judges is that caused by the inroad of the Midianites in the time of Gideon (Judg. vi.). But in the state of affairs which prevailed during the whole period such famines can not have been unfrequent.

father died, and both his sons; and Naomi rose up to return to her own land. She gave leave to her daughters-in-law to go back to their families; but both declared they would return with her. On her urging the point, for their own sakes, Orpah bade her an affectionate farewell, and went back "to her people and her gods;" but Ruth cast in her lot wholly with Naomi.[44] They reached Bethlehem at the beginning of barley harvest, and Ruth sought subsistence as a gleaner. What followed turns entirely upon the provisions of the Mosaic law for the "Levirate" marriage of a widow and the redemption of her husband's inheritance by the "Goël," or nearest kinsman. A wealthy and powerful man of Bethlehem, named Boaz, whose grandfather, Nahshon, was prince of the tribe of Judah,[45] was a very near kinsman (though not the nearest) to Naomi's deceased husband Elimelech, and consequently to Ruth, as the widow of his son. It chanced that Ruth went to glean in this man's field; and the mind, distressed with the fatal story of other inhabitants of the same city,[46] finds exquisite relief in the picture of Boaz visiting the gleaners, not like a grudging farmer, but in the spirit of kindness prescribed by Moses; blessing them, and blessed by them in the name of Jehovah. Ruth attracted his attention; and when he learned who she was, he bade her glean only in his field, and enjoined the reapers to show her kindness. In reply to her thanks, he praised her devotion to her mother-in-law, and her coming to place her trust under the wings of Jehovah, God of Israel. Thus passed the whole harvest, Ruth following the reapers, who were instructed by Boaz to throw handfuls of corn in her way, and sharing their daily meal.[47] Meanwhile Naomi, full of gratitude to God, who had thus guided her to her husband's nearest kinsman, instructed Ruth to claim her rights under the Levirate law.[48] Boaz blessed her in the name of Jehovah; praised her virtue and her fidelity to him whom the law had made her rightful husband; guarded the most scrupulous delicacy toward her; and promised to do the part of a kinsman by her.

In the morning he kept his word.[49] We have a truly patriarchal picture of this wealthy and powerful man of Bethle-

[44] Her words are among the most pathetic in all the records of literature (Ruth i. 15–18).

[45] 1 Chron. ii. 10.

[46] It is a most interesting link between these three concluding stories of the Books of Judges and Ruth that the Levite Jonathan of the first, the other Levite of the second, and the chief persons of the third, belong to Bethlehem.

[47] Ruth ii.

[48] Ruth iii. We may safely assume that Naomi knew enough of the one still nearer kinsman to be aware that the appeal to him would be fruitless.

[49] Ruth iv.

hem sitting, like Job, in the gate of the city; and, as all the inhabitants came forth, calling first the "Goël," or nearest kinsman of Elimelech, to sit beside him, and then asking ten of the elders to take their seats, to witness and ratify the transaction. In their presence, he informed the "Goël" that Naomi had a field to sell, which must be redeemed either by him or by Boaz himself; and the Goël consented to redeem it, thus admitting the claim of kindred. But when Boaz went on to say that, if the Goël took the field, he must take also Ruth, the Moabitess, the wife of the dead, "to raise up the name of the dead upon his inheritance," the kinsman found an excuse, and transferred the right of redemption to Boaz. The ceremony prescribed by the law was then performed.[60] The sandal of the kinsman was taken off in the presence of the elders and the people; and Boaz called them to witness that he had bought of Naomi all that had belonged to Elimelech, and to his sons Chilion and Mahlon, and that he had purchased Ruth, the Moabitess, the wife of Mahlon, to be his wife, to raise up the name of the dead upon his inheritance. The elders ratified the deed, invoking upon Ruth the blessing of Rachel and Leah, who had built the house of Israel, and that the house of Boaz might be made like that of his ancestor Pharez, the son of Judah. The blessing was fulfilled more highly than they thought. Ruth bore to Boaz a son, named Obed, the father of Jesse, the father of David; and so Christ, "the son of David," derived his lineage from a Moabitish woman, who had shown a faith rarely found in Israel, and whose husband was the son of the harlot Rahab.[61]

§ 6. From these scenes of Jewish life during this period we turn to the history of the Judges themselves. They were fifteen in number, Deborah, the prophetess, being reckoned with her male associate, Barak:—(1.) Othniel; (2.) Ehud; (3.) Shamgar; (4.) Deborah and Barak; (5.) Gideon; (6.) Abimelech; (7.) Tola; (8.) Jair; (9.) Jephthah; (10.) Ibzan; (11.) Elon; (12.) Abdon; (13.) Samson; (14.) Eli; (15.) Samuel. The mission of each judge was preceded by a period of oppression under a foreign conqueror.[62]

The first of these conquerors was Chushan-rishathaim, king

[60] Comp. Deut. xxv. 7, 9.

[61] Ruth iv. 17-22; 1 Chron. ii. 10-12; Matt. i. 5; Luke iii. 32. On the close connection implied in the narrative between Bethlehem and the country of Moab, see *Dictionary of the Bible*, art. BETHLEHEM.

[62] It has been observed that the Israelites got their chief idols (Baal and Ashtaroth) from one quarter — the north (Phœnicia), and their chief punishments from another—the east and south. The remark is not universal, for they also worshiped the gods of Moab, Chemosh, etc.

of Aram-naharaim (*Aram of the two rivers, i.e.*, Mesopotamia), the original home of the family of Abraham.[53] Looking at the fact that Balaam was brought from Aram to curse the people, we may perhaps infer that this king was allied with those constant enemies of Israel, the Midianites and Moabites. After the people had served him eight years, B.C. 1402–1394), God raised up OTHNIEL,[54] Caleb's nephew, whose valor has already been mentioned, to be their deliverer, and the *first judge.* Of him it is recorded, what is not said of all the judges, that "the spirit of Jehovah was upon him." The land had rest under his government for forty years (B.C. 1394–1354);[55] or rather, if our suggestion respecting the chronology be adopted, the whole period of the contest with Chushan-rishathaim and the judgeship of Othniel extended over a total of forty years.

§ 7. The next enemy who prevailed against Israel was *Eglon*, king of Moab, who formed a great league with the Ammonites and Amalekites. He crossed the Jordan, defeated the Israelites, and took possession of "the city of palm-trees," that is, probably the site on which Jericho had formerly stood.[56] His power endured for eighteen years[57] till a deliverer was raised up in EHUD, the son of Gera, who is reckoned the *second judge.*[58] He was one of those left-handed, or ambidextrous Benjamites, already alluded to, and his skill with the left hand was fatal to the King of Moab. As a Benjamite, he was naturally deputed to carry a present to Eglon at Jericho, which lay within the territory of that tribe. He prepared a double-edged dagger, a cubit long, and girded it on his right thigh under his garment. Having offered the present, he went away as far as "the graven images"[59] at Gilgal, where he dismissed his attendants, and returned to the king, whom he found in the retirement of his summer parlor.

[53] Judg. iii. 8; comp. Hab. iii. 7, where the context makes it probable the *Cushan* of the prophet is the same as Chushan-rishathaim.

[54] His name signifies "Lion of God:" on the question, whether he was Caleb's nephew or his younger brother, see *Biblical Dictionary*, art. OTHNIEL.

[55] We give the dates of the received chronology: but see the *Notes and Illustrations*. The scheme there suggested would place Othniel's death about B.C. 1371, or eighty years after the passage of the Jordan, which would agree with the probabilities of the case.

[56] Comp. Deut. xxxiv. 3; Judges i. 16.

[57] Judges iii. 12–14. B.C. 1354–1336.

[58] The name was hereditary among the Benjamites. See Gen. xlvi. 21; 2 Sam. xvi. 5; 1 Chron. vii. 10, viii. 3, 6.

[59] This is the meaning of the word rendered "quarries" (Judg. iii. 19, 26); it may refer to the twelve stones taken out of the bed of the Jordan and set up there (Josh. iv. 20).

On Ehud's telling him that he had a secret message to him from God, Eglon dismissed his attendants and rose to receive it with reverence, when Ehud plunged his dagger into the body of the king, whose obesity was such that the weapon was buried to the handle, and Ehud could not draw it out again. Ehud locked the doors of the summer parlor, and went out through the porch. It was long before the attendants ventured to break in upon the king's privacy; and meanwhile Ehud escaped beyond the graven images at Gilgal to Seirath, in Mount Ephraim. The children of Israel rallied at the sound of his trumpet in those highland fastnesses; and he led them down into the plain. First seizing the fords of the Jordan, he fell upon the Moabites, who were completely defeated, with the loss of 10,000 of their best warriors. And so the land had rest for eighty years.[60] It is to be observed that Ehud is not called a judge throughout the narrative, but only a deliverer; still the way in which his death is mentioned at the beginning of the next chapter seems to imply that he held the regular power of a judge to the end of his life.[61]

§ 8. The place of *third judge* is commonly assigned to SHAMGAR, the son of Anath, who delivered Israel from the tyranny of the *Philistines*, and displayed his strength by killing 600 of them with an ox-goad.[62] But there seems no reason for reckoning this as a deliverance of the whole land from a positive subjection. The Philistines were a constant "thorn in the side" to Israel on the south-west frontier, in addition to all the other enemies they had to encounter; and it was not till the time of Eli and Samson and Samuel that they became the chief oppressors of the people. Shamgar is not called a judge; and his exploits seem to have been of the same nature as those of Samson, irregular acts of personal prowess, having but little lasting effect on the condition of the people at large. His time and acts may, therefore, be safely included in the preceding period of eighty years. Accordingly the next captivity is said to have begun "after the death of Ehud."[63]

§ 9. After the death of Ehud, the people were again sold, for their sins, into the hand of the Canaanite *Jabin, king of Hazor;* who, like his ancestor of the same name, was the head

[60] B.C. 1336-1256, Vulg., or, according to the view suggested in the *Notes and Illustrations*, the whole period from the death of Othniel to that of Eglon was eighty years, B.C. 1371-1291. The history of Ruth appears to fall within this period of tranquillity.

[61] On the chronological relation of Ehud's judgeship to the massacre of the Benjamites, see *Notes and Illustr.*

[62] Judg. iii. 31. [63] Judg. iv. 1.

of a great confederacy in Northern Palestine.[64] He had 900 war-chariots of iron, and his host was commanded by a mighty captain, named Sisera, who dwelt in Harosheth of the Gentiles, a city in the north, deriving its epithet probably from its mixed population (like Galilee in later times), over whom Sisera ruled as a chieftain. Its site is supposed to have been on the western shore of the "waters of Merom," in the territory of Naphtali, in which also Hazor was situated. Here then we have not, as in the two former cases, an invasion from without, but the rebellion of a state already once subdued, a sad sign of the decay of Israel. For twenty years Jabin "mightily oppressed" the land; but both his power and the life of his captain Sisera were given as a spoil to the hands of women.

At this time Israel was judged by a prophetess named DEBORAH,[65] the wife of Lapidoth, who is reckoned with Barak as the *fourth judge.*[66] Her abode was under a palm-tree which bore her name, a well-known solitary landmark,[67] between Ramah and Bethel; and thither the people came to her for judgment. She sent an inspired message to Barak,[68] the son of Abinoam, of Kedesh, in Naphtali, bidding him assemble 10,000 men of Naphtali and Zebulun at Mount Tabor; for Jehovah would draw Sisera and his host to meet him at the river Kishon, and would deliver them into his hand. Barak consented, only on the condition that Deborah would go with him to the battle, though she warned him that he would reap no honor, for Jehovah would sell Sisera into the hands of a woman. The forces of Zebulun, Naphtali, and Issachar were gathered together at Kadesh, with some help from the central tribes, Ephraim, Manasseh, and Benjamin, as well as from the half-tribe of Manasseh beyond Jordan. Those of the east and south took no part in the contest; Sisera advanced from Harosheth to the great plain of Esdraelon or Jezreel, which is drained by the river Kishon.[69] He took up his position in the south-west corner of the plain near "Taanach by the waters of Megiddo,"[70] which were numerous rivulets flowing into the Kishon. Barak marched down from his camp on Mount Tabor with his 10,000 men. "It was at this critical

[64] Judg. iv.; comp. Josh. xi.

[65] Her name means *bee*—a very ancient symbol both of royal power and of inspired poetry.

[66] It seems more proper to consider her as the prophetess, inspiring and directing Barak the judge. See Heb. xi. 32.

[67] Perhaps the Baal-tamar (*Sanctuary of the Palm*) of Judg. xx. 33.

[68] His name signifies *lightning*, and is cognate with that of *Barca*, the father of Hannibal.

[69] For an account of this plain, see *Notes and Illustrations* (C.).

[70] Judg. v. 19.

moment that (as we learn directly from Josephus and indirectly from the song of Deborah) a tremendous storm of sleet and hail gathered from the east, and burst over the plain, driving full in the face of the advancing Canaanites. 'The stars in their courses fought against Sisera.' The rain descended, the four rivulets of Megiddo were swelled into powerful streams, the torrent of the Kishon rose into a flood, the plain became a morass. The chariots and the horses, which should have gained the day for the Canaanites, turned against them. They became entangled in the swamp; the torrent of Kishon—the torrent famous through former ages—swept them away in its furious eddies; and in that wild confusion 'the strength' of the Canaanites 'was trodden down,' and the 'horse-hoofs stamped and struggled by the means of the plungings and plungings of the mighty chiefs' in the quaking morass and the rising streams. Far and wide the vast army fled far through the eastern branch of the plain by Endor. There, between Tabor and the Little Hermon, a carnage took place long remembered, in which the corpses[71] lay fattening the ground."[72]

Sisera escaped by dismounting from his chariot, and fled on foot to the tent of Heber the Kenite. This Arab sheikh had separated from the encampment of his brethren, the children of Hobab, the father-in-law of Moses, and removed northward to "the oaks of the wanderers" (*Zaanaim*), near Kedesh, preserving, it should seem, friendly relations both with the Jews and the Canaanites. At all events, it is distinctly stated that there was peace between Jabin and Heber; and Sisera fled to the tent of Jaël the wife of Heber. Jaël met him at the tent door, and pressed him to come in. He accepted the invitation, and she flung a mantle[73] over him as he lay wearily on the floor. When thirst prevented sleep, and he asked for water, she brought him buttermilk in her choicest vessel, thus ratifying the sacred bond of Eastern hospitality. But anxiety still prevented Sisera from composing himself to rest until he had exacted a promise from his protectress that she would faithfully preserve the secret of his concealment; till at last, with a feeling of perfect security, the weary and unfortunate general resigned himself to the

[71] "Which perished at Endor, and became as dung for the earth" (Ps. lxxxiii. 10).

[72] Stanley, *Jewish Church*, p. 322, First Series. His whole account of this battle is a living picture.

[73] "Mantle" is here inaccurate. The Hebrew word probably signifies some part of the regular furniture of the tent.

deep sleep of misery and fatigue. Then it was that Jaël took in her left hand one of the great wooden pins (in the Authorised Version "nail") which fastened down the cords of the tent, and in her right hand the mallet (in the Authorized Version "a hammer") used to drive it into the ground, and creeping up to her sleeping and confiding guest, with one terrible blow dashed it through Sisera's temples deep into the earth. With one spasm of fruitless agony, with one contortion of sudden pain, "at her feet he bowed, he fell; where he bowed, there he fell down dead."[74] She then waited to meet the pursuing Barak, and led him into her tent that she might in his presence claim the glory of the deed.

The narrative closes with the *Song of Deborah and Barak*,[75] one of the most picturesque remains of Hebrew poetry, and deserves to rank with the song of Moses and Miriam. After praising God for the avenging of Israel, and for the willingness with which the people offered themselves, it goes back to the glories displayed by Jehovah amid the hills of Seir and the mountains of Sinai. It describes the desolation of the land in the time just past, when the highways were empty, and travellers passed through by-ways; when the villages were deserted, and not a spear or shield was to be found among 40,000 in Israel till Deborah arose, a mother in Israel. The princes, who had willingly offered themselves, are called on to bless Jehovah, with the judges riding on their white asses,[76] and the people who could now draw water at the wells unmolested by the archers of the enemy, and could go up in security to the gates of Jehovah. The high notes of victory are then pealed forth:—

> "Awake! awake, Deborah!
> Awake! awake, utter a song!
> Arise, Barak!
> And lead thy captivity captive,
> Thou son of Abinoam!"

The tribes are celebrated that joined in the battle, Ephraim, Benjamin, Machir the son of Manasseh, Zebulun, and the princes of Issachar; and reproaches are cast upon the secession of Reuben, who staid among the sheepfolds, to hear the bleating of his sheep; on the men of Gilead, who abode beyond Jordan; on Dan, who kept to his ships; and on Asher, who continued on the sea-shore, by the banks of his creeks.[77] The chief praise is given to Zebulun and Naphtali:—

[74] Judg. v. 27.

[75] Judg v.

[76] The horse was never used by the Hebrews for peaceful purposes.

[77] It is remarkable that not a word is said of Judah and Simeon throughout the narrative. Perhaps they

"A people that jeoparded their lives
Unto the death in the high places of the field."

Then the battle is described, in which

"They fought from heaven—
The stars in their courses fought against Sisera,"

till the ancient river Kishon swept away the slain, and their horse-hoofs were broken by their prancings. Meroz[78] is devoted with a double curse,

"Because they came not to the help of Jehovah—
To the help of Jehovah against the mighty;"

and Jaël is pronounced "blessed above women" for the slaughter of Sisera, which is described in the most poetic language. But the gem of the whole piece is the concluding description of Sisera's mother opening her lattice to look for his return, and wondering why the wheels of his chariots tarry; while her ladies remove her fears and confirm her hopes of victory and spoil.

"So let all thy enemies perish, O Jehovah!
But let them that love Him be
As the sun when he goeth forth in his might."

The land had rest forty years. The conclusion of this period, in the received chronology (B.C. 1256), coincides nearly with the date assigned by our proposed scheme (B.C. 1251). To reconcile this with the reckoning of the twenty years of captivity to Jabin and Sisera, as a distinct period, its commencement is thrown back twenty years into the time of Ehud, and it is assumed that the oppression of Jabin only affected the northern tribes. But, besides what we deem the obvious inconsistency of this assumption with the whole tenor of the narrative, the matter seems to be decided by the express statement, that the beginning of Jabin's oppression was after the death of Ehud.[79]

§ 10. At this point, half-way, according to our view, between the Exodus and the beginning of the kingdom, we may divide the history of the Judges. Besides the chronological difficulties, reserved for separate discussion, one or two questions demand our notice. Many persons have pointed to the

were fully occupied with their constant enemies, the Philistines.

[78] Meroz was evidently near the Kishon, perhaps at *Merasas*, four miles north-west of *Beisan*, on the southern slope of the hills called the Little Hermon, and commanding the chief pass from the valley of Jezreel to that of Jordan. The offense of the people may have consisted in their neglecting to stop this pass. The fact that the city is not mentioned again makes it probable that it was destroyed in consequence of its devotion by Deborah.

[79] Judges iv. 1.

treachery of Ehud and Jaël, as impossible to be mentioned without indignant reprobation. It is not quite clear whether the same view would be taken of similar actions, when perpetrated by the patriot deliverers of other countries, whose names are not free from the blots of treachery and assassination. Nor is it easy to draw the line of moral demarcation between the deeds which are permitted against an enemy in open war, however slight may be the cause involved, and those which are forbidden even when the salvation of our country is at stake. For example, Jaël herself is requested by Sisera to tell a lie to save his life.

But even if the conduct objected to be morally indefensible, it does not follow that the discredit of it belongs to the God of Israel or to the Bible, as claiming to be His word. Here, again, comes in the principle on which we have had to insist in the history of the patriarchs, that the Bible does not adopt the morality of all the acts that it records, not even of those done by the servants of God. We must look through the record to the influences under which the actors lived, and not expect chivalrous honor from a fierce Benjamite, or scrupulous fidelity from a Bedouin woman. Had such qualities been ascribed to them, the record would have been assailed on the ground of its untruthfulness to nature.

But, it is said, these acts are more than simply recorded. Ehud is immortalized as a deliverer and ruler in Israel; Jaël receives the magnificent eulogy of the inspired prophetess. But the employment of the former for the work for which he was fitted does not imply approval of all his acts; and the latter is honored for her services to Israel, without any judgment being passed on the means by which they were rendered.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

(A.) CHRONOLOGY OF THE PERIOD OF THE JUDGES.

THIS is one of the most difficult problems of Scripture chronology. In the earlier books we have had a consecutive series of numbers, which give by their addition results possessing a *primâ facie* authority, though needing further discussion. Such *data* are offered also in the Book of Judges; but there seem to be important gaps at the beginning and the end, no number of years being fixed for the time of Joshua and the elders who outlived him, nor for the judgeship of Samuel. The doubt has also been raised whether the numbers given in Judges are properly consecutive; and it has been supposed that some of the servitudes and of the judgeships were contemporaneous in different parts of the land. Under these difficulties, we have to seek for additional data; and we find such partly in the distinct computation of the whole period, and partly in the Scripture genealogies.

1. The commencement of the building of the Temple, in the fourth year of Solomon's reign, is expressly stated to have been in the 480th year after the children of Israel left Egypt (1 K. vi. 1). A computation like this possesses the highest authority. It must have been made with scrupulous care from the ancient records; and critics have sought in vain for any trace of error in the text. The epoch of Solomon's accession is fixed by the independent evidence of the subsequent annals of the kingdom at B.C. 1016, and consequently the commencement of the building of the Temple falls in B.C. 1012, current; and, reckoning back the 480 years, we obtain the beginning (spring) of B.C. 1491 for the epoch of the Exodus, the date adopted in the received chronology of Ussher.

2. There is, however, another total which seems, *primâ facie*, irreconcilable with the former. In St. Paul's discourse at Antioch, in Pisidia, he says: "After that"—the division of the land by lot—"he gave them judges about the space of 450 years, until Samuel the prophet: and afterward they desired a king."* This clearly makes the interval from the division of the land to the election of Saul as king about 450 years. Adding to this forty years for the time spent in the wilderness, with seven years for the conquest of Canaan, and, at the other end, eighty years for the reigns of Saul and David, with the first three years of Solomon, or 130 years in all, we obtain 580 years from the Exodus to the building of the Temple.† The difference of a round 100 years fairly suggests the hypothesis of a textual error; but the other elements must first be carefully examined.

3. Supposing, for the moment, that the numbers given in the Book of

* Acts xiii. 20, 21. The word "*about*" should not be overlooked in reasonings based on this passage.

† Josephus makes the same period 592 years, which seems to show that some such computation was the received one among the learned Jews about the Christian era.

Judges are consecutive, we have the following results:—

	Years.
From the division of the land to the death of the elders who outlived Joshua	x
First Servitude, to Mesopotamia	8
First Judge: OTHNIEL	40
Second Servitude, to Moab	18
Second Judge: EHUD	80
Third Judge: SHAMGAR	"
Third Servitude, to Jabin and Sisera	20
Fourth Judge: DEBORAH and BARAK	40
Fourth Servitude, to Midian	7
Fifth Judge: GIDEON	40
Sixth Judge: ABIMELECH	3
Seventh Judge: TOLA	23
Eighth Judge: JAIR	22
Fifth Servitude, to Ammon	18
Ninth Judge: JEPHTHAH	6
Tenth Judge: IBZAN	7
Eleventh Judge: ELON	10
Twelfth Judge: ABDON	8
Sixth Servitude, to the Philistines	40
Thirteenth Judge: SAMSON	20
Fourteenth Judge: ELI	40
Fifteenth Judge: SAMUEL	"
Total period of the Judges	450

The exact agreement of this total with the computation of Acts xiii. 20, 21, suggests that the latter was obtained, by the same process of simple addition, from the numbers as they stand in the Hebrew text; but whether the computation was made by the Apostle himself, or whether it is a gloss, is a question fairly open to further examination. There is an obvious inconsistency between these numbers and the whole period of 480 years given in (1).

4. Before subjecting these results to criticism, let us see what we obtain from the genealogies. In four distinct passages we have the following four generations between the passage of the Jordan and the birth of David (Ruth iv. 17, 21, 22; 1 Chron. ii. 11, 12; Matt. i. 5; Luke iii. 32).

SALMON—Rahab.
|
BOAZ—Ruth.
|
OBED.
|
JESSE.
|
DAVID.

P

In the face of this agreement, it seems impossible to treat the genealogies as of little consequence in determining the chronology of the period. Conclusions should, of course, be drawn from them only with great caution. Meanwhile, their inconsistency with the longer period is self-evident.*

Such are the chief materials of the argument. We do not encumber it with the statements of the ancient chronologers, Eusebius, Africanus, Syncellus, and the rest, because they are only opinions resting on these data. These writers all agree in a long period; and it may be observed that they all follow, with a professional narrowness, the tendency of chronologers to make their science a matter of arithmetic, without sufficient regard to the broader historical criticism, in the light of which alone the numbers of chronology become intelligible and consistent.

5. In applying such criticism to the scheme of numbers derived from the Book of Judges in (3), we discover the following defects of principle, besides others of detail. The threefold process of declension, punishment, and deliverance, has been already described. For *each* of these three steps time must be allowed; and the scheme in question, while affecting to compute the second and third with numerical exactness, makes no allowance for the first. It seems as if the people fell into sin and captivity simultaneously immediately on the death of each judge; that this state lasted for a definite number of years, at the end of which a new judge is raised up, for whose work of deliverance no distinct period is allowed; and then, that deliverance being effected, the land has

* We speak here without reference to the proposed interpolation of generations supposed to be wanting—a device only justifiable by necessity, except, of course, in the well-known cases where they are certainly passed over.

rest for a certain number of years. For *this* is, in several cases, the statement of the text; and, if we are to insist on taking each phrase literally, we must allow four divisions of each period—first, the declension; then, the punishment; thirdly, the deliverance; and, last, the period of rest, which would give us a total far exceeding the longest of the above.* But, in truth, if we look at the question in the light of ordinary history, we shall see that this whole system of definite divisions rests on a false principle. The real process must rather have been such as this: when the people forsook Jehovah and began to abandon their attitude of opposition to the heathen around and among them, the power of the latter against them would begin to increase, by a natural process as well as by a judicial retribution, till they obtained a decided superiority. From the first moment that the tide turned, many of the Israelites would grieve over their fate, and some few—men of the spirit of Othniel and Gideon—would begin to plan their enterprises of patriotism till a struggle of greater or less length was crowned by a signal victory. But even after this victory, much work would remain to complete the deliverance and to secure the "rest," with which each narrative concludes. All this is true, more or less, from the very nature of the case, and from our experience of similar conflicts; but indications of it are not wanting in the narrative itself. We are expressly told that the deliverer was raised up as soon as the people cried to Jehovah; and we know that the Israelites were never slow to cry out under suffering. Othniel's whole history is one of conflict with the Amorites, Canaanites, and their allies. How could Ehud's enterprise have been supported at once by the forces that rallied at the sound of his trumpet in Mount Ephraim, unless there had been bands already in resistance to the tyrant? We can not suppose that Hazor was raised again from its ruins, and the tyranny of the second Jabin established, without a hard resistance from the warriors of Zebulun and Naphtali, who seem to have been already in arms among their mountains under Barak, when he was summoned by Deborah; and she is expressly stated to have judged Israel in Mount Ephraim *during* the oppression of Jabin (Judg. iv. 14). In the cases of Gideon and Samson, we have the whole history, from the birth to the death of the deliverer; and the period during which the latter judged Israel is expressly included in the forty years' tyranny of the Philistines. That tyranny, too, was triumphant during the time of Eli, and lasted over the administration of Samuel into the reign of Saul.

From all these considerations we draw the conclusion that the number of years given at the end of the history of each judge is the total of the period from the death of the preceding judge, including the declension, oppression, deliverance, and rest — in one word, that these periods are *inclusive;* and it appears plain on the face of the book that they are *consecutive.** We may even reconcile this view with the most literal construction of the text, by reading—" And the land had rest: [it was] *forty years*" (Judg. iii. 11, etc.)—that is, regarding the date as appended to the whole narrative.

* As a proof that common sense demands *some* latitude of interpretation, we may cite the curious phrase: "And *that year* they vexed and oppressed the children of Israel *eighteen years*" (Judg. x. 8).

* The exception in the case of Shamgar confirms the argument, for no number of years is assigned to him, and, as we have seen, the oppression of Jabin is dated from the death of Ehud. This care to mark Shamgar's period as *not* consecutive with the one named before it confirms the general principle of the consecutiveness of the rest.

We have seen a case precisely similar in the prophecy to Abraham of the fortunes of his posterity (Gen. xv. 13), where the words "four hundred years" most clearly describe the whole period from the call of Abraham to the Exodus, and must not be read exclusively with the preceding phrase, "they shall afflict them."

6. Looking at the narrative from this point of view, we are struck by two curious facts: first, the prevalence of the number forty, which we have already had in the three forties of the life of Moses, and which we meet with again in the forty years of Saul and the forty years of David; and, secondly, that the total of 480 years in the Book of Kings is equal to twelve times forty years. On turning to the Book of Judges to see how far it is possible to make out twelve periods of forty years each, we have found the following results: all the numbers, except those in brackets, are taken directly from the Book of Judges itself; only the periods of servitude are passed over as being included in the others.

Periods.	Years.*	Ending about B.C.
i. From the Exodus to the passage of Jordan	40	1451
ii. To the death of Joshua and the surviving elders	[40]	1411
iii. Judgeship of Othniel	40	1371
iv. v. Judgeship of Ehud (Shamgar included)	80	1291
vi. Judgeship of Deborah and Barak	40	1251
vii. Judgeship of Gideon	40	1211
viii. ix. Abimelech to Abdon, total	[80]	1131
x. Oppression of the Philistines, contemporary with the judgeships of Eli, Samson (and Samuel)?	40	1091
xi. Reign of Saul (including perhaps Samuel)	40	1051
xii. Reign of David	40	1011
Total	480	
iii.–x. belong properly to the Judges	320	

With regard to the numbers in brackets. The length assigned to period ii. seems probable in reference to the course of the history, and consistent with the analogy of the preceding period; for, as forty years were allowed for the extinction of the older generation in the wilderness it seems natural that the same period should be allowed for the decease of the elders of the next generation. An objection may be raised, however, from the length given to the life of Othniel, who must have been upward of twenty years old at the time of the division of the land, and therefore upward of one hundred at his death; but this is not inconsistent with the duration of life among the most vigorous men of that age, as we see in the case of Joshua and Caleb. The double period of eighty years (viii. and ix.), from Abimelech to Abdon, agrees nearly enough with the sum of the separate numbers assigned to the judges of that period, which make up seventy-nine years. About period xi. there is some difficulty. We do not find forty years distinctly assigned to the reign of Saul in the Old Testament, but it is expressly mentioned by St. Paul (Acts xiii. 21); and all the chronologers agree in accepting the number, either for the reign of Saul himself, or for the whole period from the death of Eli to that of Saul. An interesting confirmation of the scheme is furnished by one of those coincidences of independent passages, which are of the utmost value. In the remonstrance of Jephthah against the hostilities of the King of Ammon, it is stated that the Israelites had possessed the land east of the Jordan 300 years. This period, reckoned from B.C. 1452, brings us to B.C. 1152, which agrees with the date assigned to Jephthah by our scheme.

The scheme makes no allowance for the first three years of Solomon, which preceded the building of the

* It is an essential part of our argument to regard these as only round numbers.

Temple. Nor is this of any consequence; for if the number of 480 years be made up in the way supposed, we must take it for granted that the numbers given are the nearest round numbers to the true ones, purposely arranged in multiples of 10 and 4, and submultiples of 12 × 10, for ease and simplicity of computation and remembrance, but preserving, in their averages and their total, an agreement with the actual numbers. We can not, however, pretend to answer all possible objections. We only offer it as a highly probable solution of a problem which has hitherto baffled chronologers; a solution recommended not only by its simplicity, but especially by its preserving the grand total which rests on the high authority of the passage in *Kings*, without demanding arbitrary assumptions or improbable transpositions in the story of the Judges.

7. It remains to compare this scheme with the genealogies. As they stand, they are quite inconsistent with the longer period; but are they long enough even for the shorter? Assuming the birth of David to be about contemporary with the election of Saul (and it may have been later), we have, as above (4), four complete generations from the conquest of Canaan to the birth of David, or from 80 to 90 years for a generation. This is certainly a long period, but not too long for the duration of life in that age, nor for what we know of the individuals. Except Obed, there is nothing to show that they were first-born sons; and, in the case of David, we know the contrary, and that Jesse was an old man when he was very young. It is most probable that Salmon and Rahab were both young at the time of the taking of Jericho. As to Boaz, we see him using the authority of an elder at the time of his marriage with Ruth; and there is one distinct intimation of his advanced age (Ruth iii. 10). Of Obed's age when Jesse was born we know simply nothing. On the whole, then, the intervals of 80 years may be accepted, though with the caution which is always needed in using the genealogies as chronological evidence.

8. Finally, there is the question, What becomes of the authority of St. Paul in favor of the longer period? The difficulty is certainly a grave one for those who hold that the whole weight of inspired authority attaches to every report of every statement made by the Apostles, even in regard to matters of which their knowledge was obtained from the ordinary sources of information. For such persons the suggestion may be of some weight that the numbers, which certainly form no essential part of the Apostle's argument, may have been added as a gloss upon the text, though there is no critical authority in support of this possibility. Others may be content with the consideration that the disciples of Gamaliel would adopt, in an incidental allusion to a point of chronology made in a Jewish synagogue, the opinion held by the learned Jews of his day, without raising the question of its accuracy.

CHRONOLOGY OF JUDGES xvii.-xxi.

9. It is generally admitted, as plain on the face of the book itself, that these chapters form one complete narrative, and refer to the same period. Besides various indications of a time not long after the death of Joshua, especially the cordial agreement of the tribes in punishing the sin of Benjamin, we have the certain guide that the first story belongs to the time of Jonathan, the grandson of Moses, then a young man, and the second to the high-priesthood of Phinehas, grandson of Aaron, whose father, Eleazar, died soon after the death of Joshua.

All these indications concur in pointing to the latter part of the period of the elders who outlived Joshua, that is, according to our scheme, about forty years after the conquest of the land; and it would seem to follow that the oppression of Chushan-rishathaim was the punishment of these very disorders. It agrees with this view, that in the story of the expedition against Benjamin there is no mention of a judge, but the leaders are the high-priest Phinehas and the princes of the tribes. Another interesting consequence would be that the judgeship of Ehud was subsequent to the punishment of Benjamin, and this elevation may be regarded as a mark of divine favor to the restored tribe. The time of Ruth, computed by the genealogies, would fall in the judgeship of Deborah and Barak.

(B.) BAAL AND ASHTORETH.

Baal was the supreme male divinity of the Phœnician and Canaanitish nations — as ASHTORETH was their supreme female divinity. Both names have the peculiarity of being used in the plural; and it seems certain that these plurals designate not statues of the divinities, but different modifications of the divinities themselves. The plural Baalim is found frequently alone (*e. g.*, Judg. ii. 11, x. 10; 1 K. xviii. 18; Jer. ix. 14; Hos. ii. 17), as well as in connection with Ashtoreth (Judg. x. 6; 1 Sam. vii. 4). In the earlier books of the O. T. only the plural, Ashtaroth, occurs; and it is not till the time of Solomon, who introduced the worship of the Sidonian Astarte, and only in reference to that particular goddess, Ashtoreth of the Sidonians, that the singular is found in the O. T. (1 K. xi. 5, 33; 2 K. xxiii. 13). Baal signifies *Lord*, not so much, however, in the sense of Ruler as of *Master*, *Owner*, *Possessor*. BEL is the Babylonian name of the god.

The worship of these deities was of great antiquity. We find the worship of Baal established among the Moabites and their allies, the Midianites, in the time of Moses (Num. xxii. 41); and through these nations the Israelites were seduced to the worship of this god under the particular form of Baal-peor (Num. xxv. 3, sqq.; Deut. iv. 3). Notwithstanding the fearful punishment which their idolatry brought upon them in this instance, the succeeding generation returned to the worship of Baal (Judg. ii. 10–13); and, with the exception of the period during which Gideon was judge (Judg. vi. 26, sqq. viii. 33), this form of idolatry seems to have prevailed among them up to the time of Samuel (Judg. x. 10; 1 Sam. vii. 4), at whose rebuke the people renounced the worship of Baalim. Solomon, as we have already said, introduced the worship of the Sidonian Astarte. The worship of Baal, together with that of Asherah, became the religion of the court and people of the ten tribes under Ahab, king of Israel, in consequence of his marriage with Jezebel (1 K. xvi. 31–33, xviii. 19, 22); and though this idolatry was occasionally put down (2 K. iii. 2, x. 26), it appears never to have been permanently or effectually abolished in that kingdom (2 K. xvii. 16). In the kingdom of Judah, also, Baal-worship extensively prevailed. During the short reign of Ahaziah and the subsequent usurpation of his mother Athaliah, the sister of Ahab, it appears to have been the religion of the court (2 K. viii. 27; comp. xi. 18), as it was subsequently under Ahaz (2 K. xvi. 3; 2 Chr. xxviii. 2), and Manasseh (2 K. xxi. 3).

The worship of Baal among the Jews appears to have been appointed with much pomp and ceremonial. Temples were erected to him (1 K.

xvi. 32; 2 K. xi. 18); his images were set up (2 K. x. 26); his altars were very numerous (Jer. xi. 13), were erected particularly on lofty eminences (1 K. xviii. 20), and on the roofs of houses (Jer. xxxii. 29); there were priests in great numbers (1 K. xviii. 19), and of various classes (2 K. x. 19); the worshipers appear to have been arrayed in appropriate robes (2 K. x. 22); the worship was performed by burning incense (Jer. vii. 9) and offering burnt-sacrifices, which occasionally consisted of human victims (Jer. xix. 5). The officiating priests danced with frantic shouts around the altar, and cut themselves with knives to excite the attention and compassion of the god (1 K. xviii. 26-28).

Throughout all the Phœnician colonies we continually find traces of the worship of Baal and Astarte. The name of Baal occurs in the names of men such as Adher-bal, Asdru-bal, Hanni-bal.

Baal and Ashtoreth symbolized the generative and productive powers: the former was also regarded as the sun-god, and the latter as the moon-goddess.

There is a Hebrew word, *Asherah*, which is always translated "grove" in our version; but it is certain that an idol or image of some kind must be intended, as seems sufficiently proved from such passages as 2 K. xxi. 7, xxiii. 6, in the latter of which we find that Josiah "brought out the Asherah" (or, as our version reads, "the *grove*") "from the house of the Lord." There can, moreover, be no doubt that Asherah is very closely connected with ASHTORETH and her worship; indeed, the two are so placed in connection with each other, and each of them with Baal (*e. g.*, Judg. iii. 7; comp. ii. 3; Judg. vi. 25; 1 K. xviii. 19), that many critics have regarded them as identical. There are other passages, however, in which these terms seem to be distinguished from each other, as 2 K. xxiii. 13, 14, 15. Ashtoreth is perhaps the proper name of the goddess, while Asherah is the name of the image or symbol of the goddess. There was perhaps a connection between the symbols or image and the sacred symbolic tree, the representation of which occurs so frequently on Assyrian sculptures, and is shown in the wood-cut on page 318.

(C.) PLAIN OF ESDRAELON.

Esdraelon is the Greek form of the Hebrew word JEZREEL (Judith iii. 9, iv. 6). In the Old Testament the plain is called the VALLEY OF JEZREEL; and the name is derived from the old royal city of *Jezreel*, which occupied a commanding site near the eastern extremity of the plain, on a spur of Mount Gilboa.

"The great plain of Esdraelon" extends across Central Palestine from the Mediterranean to the Jordan, separating the mountain ranges of Carmel and Samaria from those of Galilee. The western section of it is properly called the plain of ACCHO, or *'Akka*. The main body of the plain is a triangle. Its base on the east extends from *Jenîn* (the ancient Engannim) to the foot of the hills below Nazareth, and is about fifteen miles long; the north side, formed by the hills of Galilee, is about 12 miles long; and the south side, formed by the Samaria range, is about 18 miles. The apex on the west is a narrow pass, opening into the plain of *'Akka*. This vast expanse has a gently undulating surface—in spring, all green with corn where cultivated, and rank weeds and grass where neglected—dotted with several low, gray tells, and near the sides with a few olive-groves. This is that *valley of*

Megiddo, so called from the city of MEGIDDO, which stood on its southern border, where Barak triumphed, and where King Josiah was defeated, and received his death-wound (Judg. v.; 2 Chr. xxxv.) Probably, too, it was before the mind of the Apostle John when he figuratively described the final conflict between the hosts of good and evil who were gathered to a place called *Ar-mageddon,* that is, *the city of Megiddo* (Rev. xvi. 16). The river *Kishon* — "that ancient river," so fatal to the army of Sisera (Judg. v. 21) drains the plain, and flows off through the pass westward to the Mediterranean.

From the base of this triangular plain three branches stretch out eastward, like fingers from a hand, divided by two bleak, gray ridges, one bearing the familiar name of Mount Gilboa, the other called by Franks Little Hermon, but by natives *Jebel ed-Duhy.* The *northern* branch has Tabor on the one side, and Little Hermon on the other; into it the troops of Barak defiled from the heights of Tabor (Judg. iv. 6), and on its opposite side are the sites of Nain and Endor. The *southern* branch lies between *Jenin* and Gilboa, terminating in a point among the hills to the eastward; it was across it Ahaziah fled from Jehu (2 K. ix. 27). The *central* branch is the richest, as well as the most celebrated; it descends in green fertile slopes to the banks of the Jordan, having Jezreel and Shunem on opposite sides at the western end, and Bethshean in its midst toward the east. This is the "valley of Jezreel" proper—the battle-field on which Gideon triumphed, and Saul and Jonathan were overthrown (Judg. vii. 1 sq; 1 Sam. xxix. and xxxi.).

The whole borders of the plain of Esdraelon are dotted with places of high historic and sacred interest. On the east we have ENDOR, NAIN, and SHUNEM, ranged round the base of the "hill of MOREH;" then BETHSHEAN in the centre of the "valley of Jezreel;" then GILBOA, with the "well of HAROD," and the ruins of JEZREEL, at its western base. On the south are ENGANNIM, TAANACH, and MEGIDDO. At the western apex, on the overhanging brow of CARMEL, is the scene of Elijah's sacrifice; and close by the foot of the mountain below runs the KISHON, on whose banks the false prophets of Baal were slain. On the north, among places of less note, are NAZARETH and TABOR.

CHAPTER XVIII.

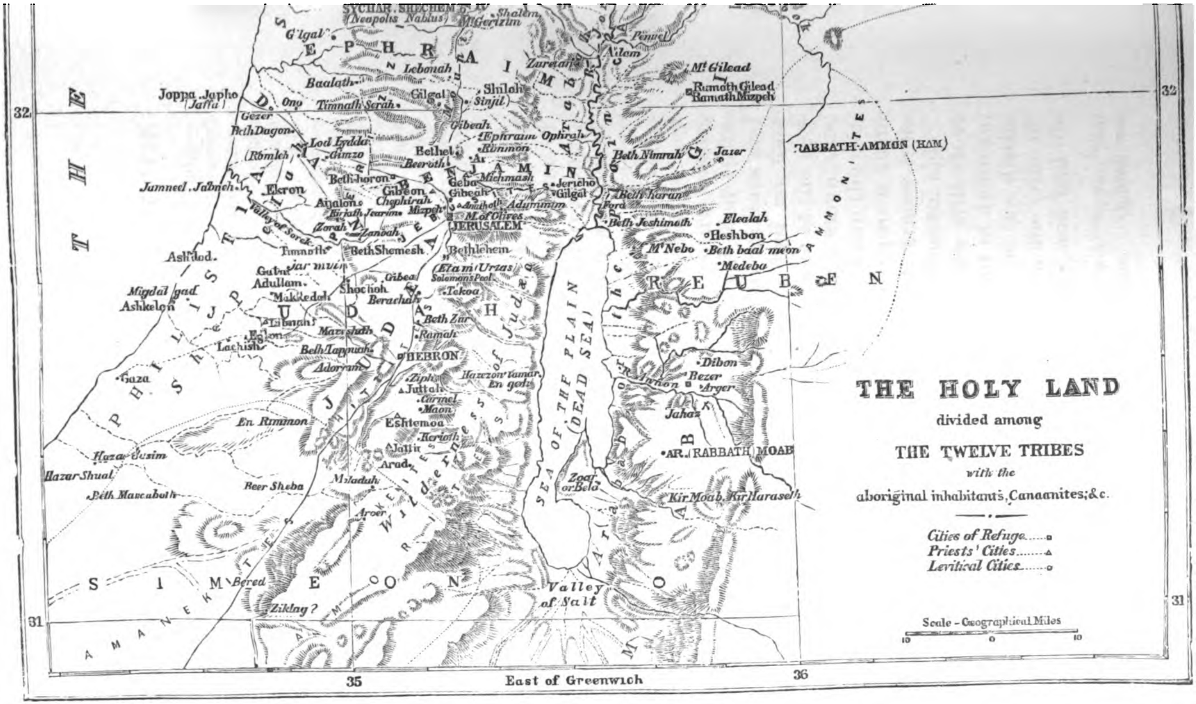
THE JUDGES, FROM GIDEON TO JEPHTHAH. B.C. 1256–1112.

§ 1. Oppression of the Midianites. § 2. Call of GIDEON, the fifth judge—The Angel Jehovah—Gideon overthrows the Altar of Baal—Surnamed JERUBBAAL. § 3. Gideon musters Israel—The signs of the fleece. § 4. Choice of 300 men—The trumpets, lamps, and pitchers—Slaughter of Midian in Jezreel—Pursuit beyond the Jordan—Fate of Succoth and Penuel. § 5. Gideon refuses the crown—Makes an Ephod. § 6. ABIMELECH murders Gideon's sons, and becomes king at Shechem—The parable or fable of Jotham. § 7. Revolt against Abimelech—Destruction of Shechem—His death—Erroneously ranked as the *sixth judge*. § 8. TOLA and JAIR the seventh and eighth judges. § 9. Oppression of the Philistines and Amorites—Rise of JEPHTHAH, the ninth judge—Embassy to Ammon—Jephthah's vow—The Ammonites subdued—The fate of Jephthah's daughter—Massacre of Ephraim—*Shibboleth* and Sibboleth—Death of Jephthah. § 10. IBZAN, ELON, and ABDON, the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth judges.

§ 1. THE peace purchased by the victory of Deborah and Barak was again misused by Israel, and the next scene of their history opens upon a more shameless idolatry, and a more complete subjection to their enemies. The worship of Baal was publicly practiced, and the people were ready to display zeal for the false god.[1] They were now delivered over to their old enemies of the desert, the Midianites and the Amalekites, who came up every year in entire hordes, "as locusts for multitude," with their cattle and their tents, covering the whole breadth of the land as far as Gaza and devouring its produce, so that the Israelites had no food left, nor sheep, nor ox, nor ass. The only refuge of the people was in dens, and caves, and fortresses in the mountains. This oppression lasted for seven years. Once more the people cried to Jehovah, who sent a prophet to reprove them for the evil return they had made for their deliverance from Egypt.[2] But the reproof was the prelude to effectual aid.

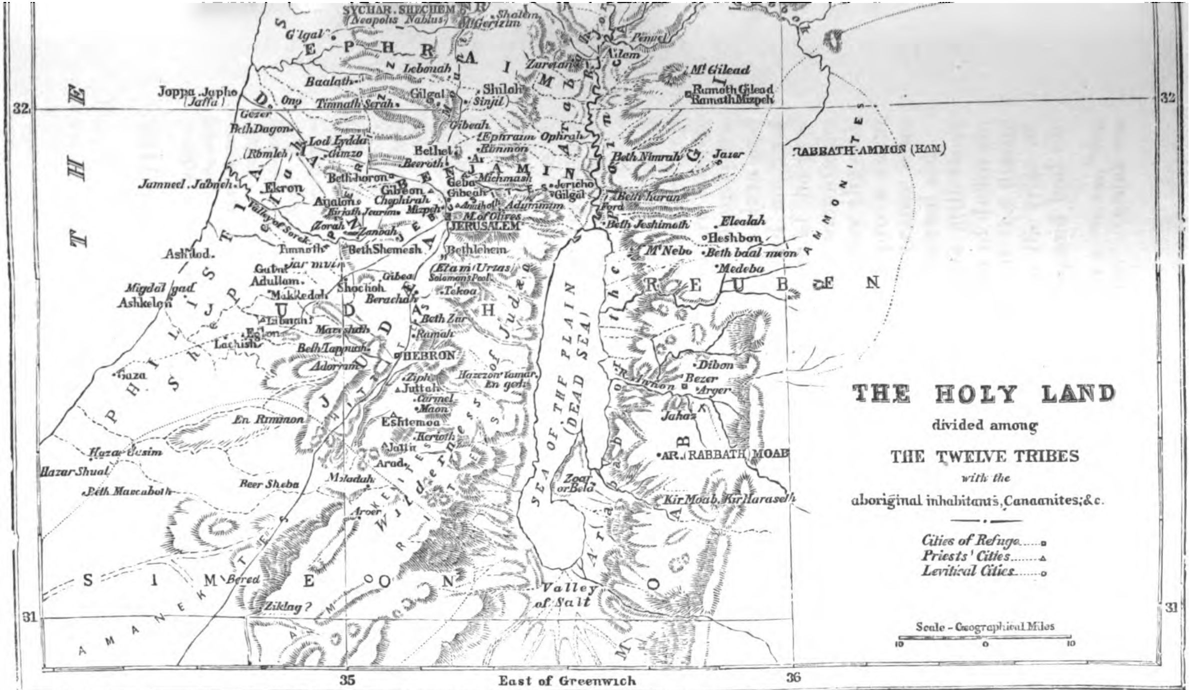
§ 2. As in the former oppressions, there were still stout hearts in Israel ready to come forth at the call of Jehovah. Such a man was GIDEON, the son of Joash, of the distinguished family of the Abi-ezrites, at Ophrah, in the tribe of Manasseh.[3] He was grown up, and had sons, and had ob-

[1] Judg. vi. 25–32. [2] Judg. vi. 1–10.
[3] The most probable meaning of the name Gideon is a "hewer," that is "a brave warrior." Ophrah was


THE HOLY LAND
divided among
THE TWELVE TRIBES
with the
aboriginal inhabitants, Canaanites; &c.
Cities of Refuge
Priests' Cities
Levitical Cities
Scale - Geographical Miles
10
0
10
East of Greenwich
35
36
31
32
THE
SYCHAR. SHECHEM
(Neapolis Nablus)
Shalem
Mt Gerizim
G'ilgal
EPHRAIM
Lebonah
Baalath
Shiloh
Gilgal
Sinjil
Zaretan
Adam
Penuel
Mt Gilead
Ramoth Gilead
Ramath Mizpeh
Joppa Japho
(Jaffa)
Ono
Timnath Serah
Gezer
Beth Dagon
Gibeah
Ephraim
Ophrah
RABBATH-AMMON (HAM)
Lod Lydda
Rimmon
Bethel
Ai
(Romleh)
Gimzo
Beeroth
BENJAMIN
Beth Nimrah
Jazer
Jamneel Jabneh
Ekron
Beth horon
Geba
Michmash
Jericho
Gilgal
Gibeon
Chephirah
Gibeah
Anathoth
Adummim
Beth haran
Ajalon
Kirjath Jearim
Mizpeh
M. of Olives
Ford
Valley of Sorek
Zorah
Zanoah
JERUSALEM
Beth Jeshimoth
Elealah
Heshbon
Ashdod
Timnath
Beth Shemesh
Bethlehem
Mt Nebo
Beth baal meon
AMMONITES
Gath
Etam (Urtas)
Solomon's Pool
Medeba
Adullam
Gibea
REUBEN
Migdal gad
Ashkelon
Makkedah
Shochoh
Berachah
Tekoa
Beth Zur
Libnah
Eglon
Mareshah
Ramah
Lachish
Beth Tappuah
HEBRON
Dibon
Adoraim
Hazezon Tamar
En gedi
Bezer
Aroer
Gaza
Ziph
Juttah
Arnon
PHILISTINES
Carmel
Maon
Jahaz
En Rimmon
Eshtemoa
Kerioth
JUDAH
Wilderness of Judæa
SEA OF THE PLAIN
(DEAD SEA)
Hazar Susim
Jattir
AR (RABBATH) MOAB
Hazar Shual
Arad
Beth Marcaboth
Beer Sheba
Moladah
Zoar or Bela
Kir Moab, Kir Haraseth
Aroer
Bered
SIMEON
Valley of Salt
Ziklag?
AMALEKITES
MOAB



GREAT SEA
Zidon: Sidon
PHŒNICIA
Mt. Lebanon
R. Jordan
Mt. Hermon
Hasbeiya
DAMASCUS
R. Abana
ARAM OR SYRIA
R. Pharpar
R. Litany
Ijon
DAN
Laish or Dan
TYRE
Abel Beth Maachah
REHOB
Beth Rehob
Ramah
Baal Gad (Banias)
MAACHAH
Kedesh
Heleph
Ramah
Hazor
Rás Nakhura
Dan-jaan
Misrephoth-maim
Abdon
Achzib
Waters of Merom
Ashteroth Karnaim
ARGOB
BASHAN
Safed
Ramah
Accho
Ptolemais. Akka
Ayalon
Capernaum
Golan?
Edrei
R. Kishon
Cabul
Plain of Gennesareth
HAURAN
Plain of el-Buttauf
Beth Arbel
Chinnereth
Tiberias
Aphek
Ashtaroth
MANASSEH
(Half Tribe)
Misheal. Mishal. Mashal
Mt. Carmel
Cana
Gath hepher
Bethlehem
Nazareth
Mt. Tabor
Chesulloth
Endor
Jokneam
Nain
Shunem
Hill of Moreh
(Jeb Duhy)
R. Yarmuk
Hieromax
Dor
Megiddo
Jezreel
Meraz
Mt. Gilboa
Kerioth
Salchah
ISSACHAR
Taanach
Beth Shean
En-gannim
Mahanaim?
Dothan
Jabesh Gilead
Jarmuth
Abel Meholah
Beth Gamul
Geba
Samaria
Sebaste
Thebez
Brook Kanah
(Nahr Ealaik)
Tirzah
Tappuah
35
36
33


THE HOLY LAND
divided among
THE TWELVE TRIBES
with the
aboriginal inhabitants, Canaanites; &c.
Cities of Refuge
Priests' Cities
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Scale - Geographical Miles
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Joppa. Japho
(Jaffa)
SYCHAR. SHECHEM
(Neapolis Nablus)
RABBATH-AMMON (HAM)
AR. (RABBATH) MOAB
Kir Moab. Kir Haraseth
Valley of Salt
Wilderness of Judæa
Ashdod.
Ashkelon
Gaza
Beer Sheba
Jericho
Gilgal
Bethel
Shiloh
Mt. Gilead
Heshbon
Medeba
Dibon
Zoar or Bela
Ziklag?



GREAT SEA
PHŒNICIA
Zidon, Sidon
TYRE
Ras Nakhura
Accho
Ptolemais, Akka
R. Kishon
Mt. Carmel
Misheal, Mishal, Mashal
Dor
Brook Kanah (Nahr Falaik)
Samaria (Sebaste)
Dothan
Jarmuth
Geba
Tirzah
Thebez
Abel Meholah
Tannuah
Megiddo
Jokneam
Taanach
En-gannim
Beth Shean
Jezreel
Mt. Gilboa
Meroz
Hill of Moreh (Jeb Duhy)
Shunem
Nain
Endor
Mt. Tabor
Chesulloth
Nazareth
Bethlehem
Gath hepher
Cana
Plain of el-Buttauf
Plain of Jezreel
Cabul
Ayalon
Ramah
Capernaum
Safed
Plain of Gennesareth
Beth Arbel
Chinnereth
Tiberias
SEA OF CHINNERETH GALILEE
Achzib
Abdon
Misrephoth-maim
Dan-jaan
Heleph
Ramah
Hazor
Kedesh
Beth Rehob
REHOB
Abel Beth Maachah
R. Litany
Ijon
MAACHAH
DAN
Laish or Dan
Baal Gad (Banias)
Hasbeiya
Mt. Lebanon
R. Jordan
Mt. Hermon
Waters of Merom (Bahr el Huleh)
GESHUR
Golan
Aphek
R. Yarmek
Hieromax
Ashtaroth
Ashteroth Karnaim
Edrei
ARGOB
BASHAN
HAURAN
MANASSEH (Half Tribe)
GAD
Jabesh Gilead
Mahanaim?
Beth Gamul
Kerioth
Salchah
Hill of Bashan
DAMASCUS
R. Abana
R. Pharpar
ARAM OR SYRIA
35
36
33

tained the character of "a mighty man of valor."[4] Gideon was threshing corn in his father's wine-press to hide it from the Midianites, when he saw an "angel of Jehovah" sitting under an oak which formed a landmark, who saluted him with the words "Jehovah is with thee, thou mighty man of valor." "If Jehovah be with us," pleaded Gideon, "why is all this befallen us, and where are all His wonders that our fathers told us?" The reply was a command to go in his might and save Israel from the Midianites, for he was sent by God. Gideon pleaded the poor estate of his family, and his own lowly position in his father's house; but the reply was a renewed promise of God's presence, and an assurance that he should smite the Midianites. These words, spoken by the angel in his own name, could have left little doubt in Gideon's mind concerning the quality of his visitant. He prayed him to give a sign of his favor by accepting, not any ordinary refreshment, but a "meat-offering" of unleavened cakes, with a kid, and the broth in which it was boiled for a drink-offering. These things the angel commanded him to lay upon a rock in the very form of a sacrifice prescribed by the law, and at the touch of the angel's staff they were consumed by fire which burst out of the rock, and the angel vanished from his sight. When Gideon knew that he had spoken with the ANGEL JEHOVAH he feared that he should die, because he had seen Jehovah face to face; and on receiving the divine assurance of peace, he built an altar on the spot where the sacrifice had been offered, and called it JEHOVAH SHALOM, *Jehovah* [*is our*] *peace.* It was still to be seen at Ophrah when the Book of Judges was written.[5]

The altar thus directly sanctified by God himself became, of course, a lawful place of sacrifice, and Gideon was invested for the time with a sort of priesthood, apparently in contrast with his father's position as priest of Baal, for the altar of Baal in Ophrah belonged to Joash. By a dream or vision in the following night, Gideon was commanded to take his father's "second bullock of seven years old" (probably one devoted to Baal), and, having overthrown the altar of Baal, and cut up the *Asherah*,[6] or wooden image of the goddess Ashtoreth, to use its fragments for burning the bullock as a sacrifice upon the altar of Jehovah. Aided by ten

in Manasseh west of Jordan, north of Shechem, among the hills south of the plain of Jezreel. The city belonged to the descendants of Abi-ezer, the eldest son of Gilead.

[4] Judg. vi. 12, viii. 2?

[5] Judg. vi. 11-24.

[6] This is the word wrongly rendered *grove* in our version, see page 342.

of his servants, he performed this deed by night, for fear of his father's household and the men of the city. In the morning all was discovered, and the men of the city came to Joash, demanding the life of Gideon. But Joash replied by the argument, so conclusive against idols, and so often since repeated both in word and deed, "Let Baal plead his own cause." The citizens seem to have shared the conviction which led Joash to take his son's part; and Gideon's new name of JERUBBAAL, that is, *Let Baal plead*, at once commemorated the triumph of the day, and became a watchword to deride the impotence of the false god.[7]

§ 3. Whether in consequence of this deed, or in the ordinary course of their annual invasion, the Midianites and Amalekites, with all the nomad nations east of Palestine, mustered their forces and pitched in the valley of Jezreel.[8] Then "the spirit of Jehovah clothed Gideon," and his trumpet called round him the house of the Abi-ezrites. By means of messengers, he gathered Manasseh and the northern tribes who had followed Barak; but now even Asher came with Zebulun and Naphtali; and he encamped on Mount Gilboa, overlooking the myriad tents that whitened the plains of Esdraelon. Before the conflict, Gideon prayed for a sign that God would save Israel by his hand. He spread a fleece of wool on his threshing-floor, and asked that it might be wet with dew while the earth around was dry, and in the morning he wrung a bowlful of water from the fleece.

At Gideon's renewed prayer, put up in the same spirit in which Abraham pleaded for Sodom,[9] the sign was repeated in a form which puts the miracle beyond all cavil. Heavy dews are common enough in the highlands of Palestine, and water has been wrung out of clothes that have been exposed throughout the night; but when the fleece remained dry, while the earth around was wet with dew, there could be no doubt that the required sign had been vouchsafed by God.

So remarkable a test must surely have been more than merely arbitrary; but its significance is not very evident. "His own character," says Dean Stanley, "is well indicated in the sign of the fleece—cool in the heat of all around, dry

[7] Judg. vi. 25-32. The irony was the more keen if, as Winer supposes, the name was already used as an epithet of Baal by the Phœnicians (Winer, *Bibl. Realwörterbuch*, *s. v.*; Mövers, *Phœnic.* vol. i. p. 434).

[8] Judg. vi. 35. Their force amounted to 120,000 warriors, for this number seems to be *inclusive* of the remnant of 15,000 (Judg. viii. 10).

[9] Comp. Gen. xviii. 32, and Judg vi. 39.

when all around were damped with fear. Throughout we see three great qualities, decision, caution, and magnanimity."[10]

§ 4. On the morning of the decisive day Gideon was encamped by the "well of trembling" (*Harod*, probably *Ain Julûd*), as the spring was called from what ensued, at the head of 32,000 men.[11] But these forces were not destined to gain another such victory as that over Sisera in the same plain. The repetition of Deborah's eulogy on the men of the north would have made them vaunt themselves against Jehovah, saying, "Mine own hand hath saved me," when in truth they were wanting in the first requisite of courage. Accordingly, when Gideon proclaimed at God's command, "Whosoever is fearful and afraid, let himself return and depart early from Mount Gilead,"[12] 22,000 slunk away. We feel sure that Asher went, to a man; and, by a curious coincidence, those who remained were the same number as the 10,000 chosen warriors of Zebulun and Naphtali that had followed Barak. Still Jehovah said that the people were too many, and they were brought to another test by their manner of drinking at the "well of trembling." All those who knelt down to drink were rejected, and those who lifted the water in their hands and lapped it like a dog were set apart for the service. They proved to be only 300, and thus Gideon was left with the same number that remained with Leonidas at Thermopylæ.[13] They took their provisions and trumpets, and waited for the night.

At nightfall God commanded Gideon to go down with his servant Phurah to the host of Midian, where he overheard a man relate a dream to his comrade, from which he learned that God had already stricken the Midianites with terror at "the sword of Gideon, the son of Joash," and he returned to tell the Israelites that Jehovah had delivered Midian into their hand. He formed a plan admirably adapted to cause in the demoralized host one of those panics to which the undisciplined armies of the East have always been liable. Dividing his 300 men into three bands, he furnished each man with a trumpet and a torch shrouded by a pitcher, thus form-

[10] *Lectures on the Jewish Church*, p. 341, first series. [11] Judg. vii.

[12] Some have proposed to read "*to* Gilead;" others would change "Gilead" to "Gilboa;" but the phrase seems to have been a proverbial war-cry of Manasseh.

[13] The fancy of the Rabbins that these 300 were the most cowardly in the army, is inconsistent with the first test, as well as a merely willful exaggeration of a miracle which needs no such help (Josephus, *Antiq.* v. 6, § 3.

ing a dark lantern,[14] and bade them all, at the signal of his trumpet, to sound their trumpets too, and to shout his battle-cry, "The sword of Jehovah and of Gideon," at the same time breaking the pitchers that covered their lights. Just as the middle watch was set, they took their posts on three sides of the host of Midian. The sudden shouts and flashing lights bewildered the Midianites; and as Gideon's handful of men stood firm with the torches in their left hands and the trumpets in their right, they "ran and cried and fled." No attack was needed. Their own swords were turned against each other as they fled down the pass leading to the Jordan to the "house of the acacia" (*Beth-shittah*) and the "meadow of the dance" (*Abel-meholah*).

While Naphtali, Asher, and Manasseh gathered themselves in pursuit of the Midianites, Gideon sent word to the men of Ephraim to seize the "waters" as far as Beth-barah and Jordan.[15] There a second battle ended in the capture of the chieftains Oreb and Zeeb (the *Raven* and the *Wolf*, names doubtless answering to their standards). They were slain at spots which thenceforth bore their names, and their heads were sent to Gideon.[16]

That leader had already passed the Jordan in pursuit of Midian, after pacifying, by one of those proverbial phrases which in the East serve for conclusive arguments, the complaints of the men of Ephraim because he had not called them to the battle.[17] The two great sheikhs of Midian, Zebah and Zalmunna, had escaped to the eastern side of Jordan with 15,000 men, all that were left of their hosts. Faint, but still pressing the pursuit, Gideon and his chosen 300 arrived at Succoth (*Sakût*), whose princes refused them supplies for fear of the Midianites. The like scene was repeated at Penuel, the city whose name commemorated Jacob's wrestling with Jehovah; and Gideon left both places

[14] It is curious to find "lamps and pitchers" in use for a similar purpose at this very day in the streets of Cairo. The *Zabit* or *Agha* of the police carries with him at night "a torch which burns soon after it is lighted without a flame, excepting when it is waved through the air, when it suddenly blazes forth: it therefore answers the same purpose as our dark lantern. *The burning end is sometimes concealed in a small pot or jar*, or covered with something else, when not required to give light" (Lane's *Mod. Eg.* i. ch. iv.).

[15] Beth-barah (*House of the Ford*; *Bethbera*) seems to have been the chief passage of the Jordan between Central Palestine and the East; probably the same by which Abraham and Jacob entered the land, and at which Jephthah slew the Ephraimites. (See p. 357.) The "waters" seized were perhaps the wadys leading down from the highlands of Ephraim to this ford.

[16] Judg. vii. 25.

[17] Judg. viii. 1–3.

with threats of signal vengeance. He found the Midianites encamped in careless security at Karkor, somewhere in the southern part of the desert highlands east of the Jordan, frequented by the pastoral tribes "that dwelt in tents."[18] Passing up out of the Jordan Valley by one of the lateral wadys east of Nobah and Jogbehah, he fell upon them unawares and gained a third great victory. Zebah and Zalmunna were taken prisoners, and led back in triumph before sunrise to be shown to the men of Succoth and Penuel, who now suffered the penalty of their cowardice in the form which Gideon had promised. At Succoth he "taught" the princes who had refused him succor "with thorns and briers of the wilderness," and at Penuel he broke down the great tower which was its strength and pride, and slew the men of the city.[19] "It is not clear that he did not subject the men of Succoth to the same doom, after having dealt with them according to his threat. He might have done it indeed in the execution of his threat, for there was an ancient punishment in which death was inflicted by laying the naked bodies of the offenders under a heap of thorns, briers, and prickly bushes, and then drawing over them threshing-sledges and other heavy implements of husbandry."[20] Dr. Kitto adds that the idea of a punishment which must appear so strange to us is not unnaturally suggested in the East, where men are continually lacerating their half-clothed bodies with thorns in passing through thickets.

Gideon dealt next with Zebah and Zalmunna. Bringing them to a sort of trial, he asked what kind of men they were whom they had slain at Mount Tabor. "Such as thou art; each one like the children of a king," was the reply by which they sealed their fate while seeking to flatter their conqueror. "They were my brethren, the sons of my mother," exclaimed Gideon; and he called on Jethel, his first-born son, to rise up and slay them. The youth hesitated, and the kings prayed Gideon to slay them with his own manly hand. Having killed them, he took off the ornaments shaped liked the moon, which hung upon their camels' necks,[21] for a use which will presently appear.

This deliverance was the greatest, and the three victories the most signal that Israel had known since the time of Josh-

[18] Judg. viii. 10, 11. For a minute discussion of the localities, see *Dict. of Bible*, arts. KARKOR, JOGBEHAH, NOBAH.

[19] Judg. viii. 13–17.

[20] Kitto, *Daily Bible Illustrations*, vol. ii. p. 421.

[21] Judg. viii. 18–21. They were probably gold crescents worn in honor of Ashtoreth.

ua, and they are often referred to in the after records of the nation, and celebrated in their hymns of praise.[22]

§ 5. The people's gratitude to their deliverer displayed itself in a form which shows how fast they were approaching the revolution which Moses had foreseen and provided for, even while he warned them against it. They offered Gideon the rank of a HEREDITARY KING:—"Rule thou over us; both thou, and thy son, and thy son's son also."[23] The answer shows that Gideon himself remembered with reverence the great principle of the theocracy:—"I will not rule over you, neither shall my son rule over you: *Jehovah shall rule over you.*" He was content with the position of a judge, and, in the succession of the judges, he is reckoned as the *fifth* and greatest, being excelled by Samuel in holiness of character, but by none in dignity and prowess. His princely appearance has been already mentioned,[24] and he dwelt in his own house in all the dignity of a numerous harem. He had a family of seventy sons, besides Abimelech, the son of his concubine at Shechem. This departure from domestic simplicity brought its retribution in the next generation. The only other blot on the character of Gideon was his mistaken, though doubtless well-intentioned, innovation on divine worship. Presuming, probably, on his having been permitted to build an altar and to offer sacrifice, he made a jeweled ephod,[25] adorned with 1700 shekels of gold, which the people gave him from their share of the spoils of Midian, besides the ornaments he had taken from off the kings and their camels. The Israelites came from all quarters to consult the ephod, and Gideon and his house were thus enticed into a system of idolatrous worship.[26]

The rule of Gideon or Jerubbaal lasted forty years,[27] during which time the Midianites never lifted their heads again. The complete tranquillity of the period from the defeat of the Midianites to the death of Gideon is expressed in the statement that Jehovah had delivered the people "out of the hands of *all their enemies on every side,*" which seems quite to exclude the notion of wars going on at the same time in other parts of Israel. He died in a good old age, and was buried

[22] 1 Sam. xii. 11; Ps. lxxxiii. 11; Is. ix. 4, x. 26; Heb. xi. 32.

[23] Judg. viii. 22.

[24] Judg. viii. 18.

[25] Comp. chap. xvii. § 4.

[26] Judg. xviii. 24-27. Some commentators suppose the ephod to have been an image, on account of the vast amount of gold used in making it; but that amount might have been lavished on the breast-plate.

[27] B.C. 1249–1209, according to the common chronology, or, as a total including the previous oppression, B.C. 1251–1211, on the scheme proposed in the notes to chap. xvii.

at his native city of Ophrah. After his death the children of Israel returned to the worship of Baalim, and installed Baalberith as their national god. They forgot alike Jehovah, who had delivered them, and Gideon, whose sword had been God's instrument. Their ingratitude to the house of their late ruler was shown by the events that happened soon after his death.[28]

§ 6. The royal power which Gideon had refused was coveted after his death by ABIMELECH, the son of his concubine at Shechem, who really succeeded in establishing a kingdom at that place, though only for three years.[29] But, from the limited extent of his rule, and from the absence of a general consent of the people, it is incorrect to reckon Abimelech, and not Saul, as the first King of Israel. It seems indeed not improbable that the usurpation of Abimelech was effected by the support of the old Amorite population of Shechem. The point can not be decided clearly, as we have no further information about the "house of Millo," who were his chief adherents. Having formed a conspiracy with his mother's family, who seem to have been of great weight in Shechem, he harangued the men of that city on the absurdity of committing the supreme power to the seventy sons of Gideon, and the advantage of intrusting it to a single hand, and he reminded them that he was one of themselves. Meanwhile his mother's brethren intrigued privately among the Shechemites, who were at last gained over. They gave Abimelech money out of the sacred treasury of Baalberith, with which he hired "vain and light persons," the refuse of society, to form a band of attendants.[30] Abimelech led them to his father's house at Ophrah, and there he slew Gideon's seventy sons on one stone, except Jotham, the youngest, who had hidden himself.[31] All was now prepared for the crowning measure of universal suffrage. The men of Shechem, headed by the house of Millo, assembled and made Abimelech king at the very oak where Joshua had set up the pillar that commemorated Israel's solemn engagement to Jehovah.[32] The election, however, did not pass unchallenged. Jotham, the surviving son of Gideon, had the courage to show himself upon Mount Gerizim and call the men of Shechem to listen to that parable, or rather *fable*,[33] the most ancient upon

[28] Judg. viii. 28–35.

[29] Judg. ix. The name *Abimelech* signifies *My father is a king*.

[30] Judg. ix. 1–4. The arts of usurpation are alike in all ages.

[31] Judg. ix. 5.

[32] Judg. ix. 6.

[33] The fable differs from the parable by its use of physical impossibilities, as the conversations of trees, beasts, etc.

record, which has become celebrated under his name. It is a most interesting example of parabolic wisdom, but there is not a hint of its having the authority of inspiration.

The trees once went forth to anoint a king over them, and their choice fell first upon the best and the most useful. They asked the olive-tree to reign over them. But the olive-tree said, "Should I leave my fatness, wherewith by me they honor God and man, and go up and down for other trees?" They next applied to the fig-tree; but the fig-tree said, "Should I forsake my sweetness, and my good fruit, and go up and down for other trees?" Then they asked the vine; but the vine said, "Should I leave my wine, which cheereth God and man, and go up and down for other trees?" Thus rebuffed, they turned to the worthless and thorny bramble (or thorn), and said to it, "Come thou, and reign over us." Instead of refusing, like the rest, the bramble gave them fair warning of the consequences of his election in words both of irony and terror:—"If in truth ye anoint me king over you, come and put your trust in my shadow; and if not, let fire come out of the bramble, and devour the cedars of Lebanon."

The general meaning of the fable is obvious. The trees that have any virtue in them prefer its cultivation and enjoyment to the thankless office of "going up and down," bearing all the cares of government for the rest; but the thorn, which has nothing to give, and is itself fit for nothing but the fire, accepts the dignity, in return for which it ironically offers the protection of its shadow, and more seriously threatens that the fire to which it is destined will consume the nobler trees. So the men who are endowed with beneficent qualities will hesitate to bestow them on an ungrateful populace, while he who accepts the tyrant's throne will first deceive, and then destroy those who put their trust in him.

Such, added Jotham, should be the reward of the Shechemites. If they had dealt well with the house of Jerubbaal, who had saved them, in killing his sons and choosing the son of his maid-servant to rule over them, then let them rejoice in their king! But if not, let fire come out from Abimelech and devour the men of Shechem and the house of Millo, and let them, in their turn, devour him! Having said these things, Jotham fled to Beer, and we hear of him no more.

§ 7. His curse was not long in being fulfilled. After three years God sent an evil spirit between Abimelech and the men of Shechem, to avenge upon both the murder of the sons of Jerubbaal. The Shechemites revolted from Abimelech, and plotted against his life. Bands of men lay in wait for

him in the passes on the neighboring hills, and robbed all travellers while Abimelech was absent from the city. The insurgents found a leader in Gaal, the son of Ebed, who, in the excitement of a vintage feast in the temple of Baal, while the people mingled curses on Abimelech with their songs and merriment, openly declared that it would be better to serve the old princes of the city, the family of Hamor, the father of Shechem, and declared that he would dethrone Abimelech. But Abimelech had still a strong party in the city; and Zebul, the governor, sent privately to inform him of the words of Gaal, and of the preparations to defend the city. Abimelech surrounded Shechem by night, and defeated Gaal and the Shechemites with great loss when they came out to meet him. What follows is obscure. While Abimelech remains at Arumah, Zebul expels Gaal and his party, but the city is still hostile to Abimelech. It would seem as if the old Amorite population had now got the upper hand, and had resolved to hold it to the last. But Abimelech took the city by a stratagem, and utterly destroyed it, slaying all the inhabitants, except about a thousand men and women, who had taken refuge in a tower sacred to Baalberith. Abimelech led his army to Mount Zalmon, and, ordering his men to follow his example, he cut down a bough, and each of the men having done the same, they piled up the wood against the tower and burnt it, with all who were within.

The cruel deed was soon avenged. Abimelech had besieged Thebez,[34] where also there was a tower to which the people fled when the city was taken. Abimelech had approached the wall to apply fire as at Shechem, when a woman threw down a piece of a millstone upon his head and broke his skull.[35] In the agony of death, he had just time to call upon his armor-bearer to dispatch him with his sword, that it might not be said of him "a woman slew him." Thus God rendered both to Abimelech and the Shechemites their wickedness in slaying the sons of Jerubbaal. "The bramble Abimelech, the only one in the line of the judges who attained to greatness without any public services,"[36] had devoured the men who elevated him, and had been devoured by them.

[34] Thebez was situated 13 Roman miles from Shechem, on the road to Scythopolis. There it still is; its name—*Tubâs*—hardly changed; the village on a rising ground to the left of the road a thriving, compact, and strong-looking place, surrounded by immense woods of olives.

[35] Judg. ix. 53. The reader should remember that "all" is an adverb, signifying entirely, and "to-brake" is the preterit, with the old English intensive prefix "to:" "all to break" is altogether wrong, and broken English.

[36] Kitto, p. 432.

He is commonly reckoned as the *sixth judge*, but it may be questioned whether his lawless usurpation, extending but little beyond Shechem, justifies the title: and not a word is said of his being raised up by Jehovah, or of the spirit of God coming upon him. Of his relations to Israel in general we are told nothing, for no conclusion can be fairly drawn from the isolated mention of his reigning "over Israel."[37] But the conclusion of his story seems to imply a combined action against the tyrant: "And when the men of Israel saw that Abimelech was dead, they departed every man unto his place."[38]

§ 8. Among the six judges who succeeded Abimelech, Jephthah's is the only conspicuous name. Of the two who preceded him, the first was TOLA, the son of Puah, the son of Dodo, of the tribe of Issachar, who dwelt at Shamir, in Mount Ephraim, and judged Israel twenty-three years.[39] He was the *seventh judge;* and, though he is said to have arisen to *defend* (or *deliver*) Israel, there is no mention of any enemy who oppressed them in his time. His judgeship may therefore be regarded as a continuance of the period of quiet obtained by the victories of Gideon.[40]

This is true also of the *eighth judge*, JAIR, a man of Gilead, on the east of Jordan, who is not even called a deliverer. The peaceful character of his twenty-two years' rule[41] is further indicated by the dignified state in which he maintained his family of thirty sons, who rode on white asses, and had dominion over thirty cities of Mount Gilead, which retained the name of the "villages of Jair" (*Havoth-jair*).[42]

§ 9. The whole analogy of this period of the history of Israel leaves no doubt that so long an interval of rest would involve a more serious declension than any of those before it. Accordingly we find them serving all the gods of all the nations around them, "Baalim and Ashtaroth, and the gods of Syria, of Sidon, of Moab, of the Beni-ammi, and of the Philistines," except Jehovah; Him they forsook, and served not.[43] This time the punishment was as signal as the crime. Two nations at once attacked Israel on the west and on the east—the Philistines and the children of Ammon. Of the former we shall soon hear again. The oppression of the latter lasted for eighteen years,[44] especially in the land of Gilead, on the east of Jordan. But they also passed the Jordan, and fought

[37] Judg. ix. 22. [38] Judg. ix. 55. [39] B.C. 1206–1183. [40] Judg. x. 1, 2. [41] B.C. 1183–1161.

[42] Judg. x. 3, 5, comp. v. 10; xii 4; Num. xxxii. 41; Deut. iii. 14. [43] Judg. x. 6.

[44] B.C. 1161–1143, in the common chronology.

against the tribes of Judah, Benjamin, and Ephraim, so that Israel was sore distressed.[45]

Nor was their cry of penitence at once successful. They were told (probably by the mouth of a prophet) to cry to the gods whom they had chosen. Once more they humbled themselves before Jehovah, confessing their sin, and praying Him to deliver them only this once; and they proved their repentance by putting away the false gods from among them and serving Jehovah; "And His soul was grieved for the misery of Israel," is the powerful figure of the sacred record. The two nations gathered their forces for a decisive contest; the sons of Ammon in Gilead, and the Israelites in Mizpeh. A captain alone was wanting, and the people and princes of Gilead offered to make the man who would lead them against the Ammonites the head over all the inhabitants of Gilead.[46]

Now there was in Gilead a man who had given proofs of the highest valor in a predatory war against the neighboring tribes. This was JEPHTHAH, the son of Gilead[47] by a concubine of the lowest class. On his father's death, he had been thrust out by his legitimate brethren, and fleeing to the land of Tob, apparently on the border of the Beni-ammi, he became the leader of a band of "vain persons," such as afterward resorted to David at Adullam, and who obtained their living as freebooters, preying on the Ammonites — a mode of life not disgraceful in the East then, any more than now. When war broke out with the Beni-ammi, the elders of Gilead sent to Jephthah, and prevailed on him, with some difficulty, to become their leader. He exacted from them an oath, in confirmation of the promise that their deliverer should be head over all Gilead; and when he joined the army at Mizpeh, the oath was ratified before Jehovah at that sacred place.[48]

Jephthah first sent messengers to the King of Ammon to demand by what right he made war on Israel, and the discussion that followed is an important passage for the history of the war under Moses on the east of Jordan. The Ammonite averred that Israel had at that time taken away his land along the Jordan between the Arnon and the Jabbok, and demanded its restoration. Jephthah replied that Israel had

[45] Judg. x. 7–9.

[46] Judg. x. 10–18. It should be particularly noticed, that nothing is here said of authority over Israel as a whole.

[47] As this was the name of Machir's son, Manasseh's grandson, we may fairly suppose that Jephthah's father was his descendant, and the prince of the half-tribe.

[48] Judg. xi. 1–11. These present important evidences of Jephthah's adherence to the worship of Jehovah.

taken nothing either from Moab or from Ammon. They had driven out Sihon, king of the Amorites, and possessed his land from the Arnon to the Jabbok, and from Jordan to the wilderness. Since Jehovah had dispossessed the Amorites before Israel, was Ammon to take the land? No! let them take what Chemosh, their god, would give them, and we will hold all that Jehovah our God shall give us. Israel had dwelt for 300 years[49] in the territories of Heshbon, Aroer, and all the cities north of the Arnon: why had not Ammon recovered them within that time? In fine, said Jephthah, we have not wronged you, but you wrong us in making war: let "Jehovah the Judge" be judge between us!

The appeal was in vain. Then the spirit of Jehovah came on Jephthah, and he went through Gilead and Manasseh, and mustered their forces at Mizpeh, whence he marched against Ammon. As he set forth, he made that rash vow which has ever since been associated with his name, devoting to Jehovah, as a burnt-offering, whosoever should come forth out of his door to meet him, if he returned in peace a victor over the Beni-ammi. His expedition was crowned with complete success: Jehovah delivered Ammon into his hands: he defeated them with great slaughter; and he took from them twenty cities, from Aroer on the Arnon to Minnith and the "plain of the vineyards" (*Abel-keramim*), and entirely subjected them to Israel from that time to the reign of Saul.[50]

Jephthah returned a victor to his house at Mizpeh, to receive the promised supremacy over Gilead, and, alas! to pay his rash vow to Jehovah. For, as he approached his house, his own daughter came out to meet him with timbrels and with dances, like another Miriam; and, to make the blow more terrible, she was his only child. Our natural horror at the consequences of such a meeting is mitigated by the sublime scene of resignation that passed between the rash father and the submissive daughter. "Alas! my daughter! thou hast brought me very low," cried Jephthah, as he rent his clothes; "and thou art one of them that trouble me: for I have opened my mouth unto Jehovah, and I can not go back." "My father!" she replied, "if thou hast opened thy mouth unto Jehovah, do to me according to the word which hath proceeded out of thy mouth." To crown such a victory as God had given to Israel, she grudged not her own sacrifice. She only prayed for a respite of two months, that she might wander over the mountains of Gilead with the companions

[49] A most important and decisive date for the whole chronology.

[50] Judg. xi. 32, 33; comp. 1 Sam xi.

whom she had fondly led out to swell the chorus of her father's victory, bewailing that which, to a Hebrew woman, was the worst part of her doom, the loss of the hope of offspring, and so of the possible honor of being the mother of the Messiah. At the end of the two months she returned to her father, "who *did with her according to his vow which he had vowed*," words which can leave no possible doubt of her fate.[51] The custom was established in Israel that the daughters of Israel went out every year for four days to lament the daughter of Jephthah the Gileadite.[52]

Some persons, mindful of the enrollment of Jephthah among the heroes of faith in the Epistle to the Hebrews,[53] as well as of the expression "the Spirit of the Lord came upon him,"[54] have therefore scrupled to believe that he could be guilty of such a sin as the murder of his child. But the deed is recorded without approval, and it becomes only a moral difficulty to those who persist in the false principle, already more than once referred to, of identifying the record of actions in Scripture with their adoption. It should be recollected that Jephthah was a rude Gileadite, whose spirit had become hardened by his previous life as a freebooter.

The victory over the Beni-ammi was followed, like Gideon's over the Midianites, by fierce jealousy on the part of the men of Ephraim because they had not been called to share the enterprise, and the rough warrior had not the same skill to turn aside their wrath. They threatened to burn Jephthah's house over his head, and taunted the men of Gilead with being outcasts of the tribe of Joseph, apparently in allusion to their predatory habits. The Ephraimites were utterly defeated in Gilead, and the men of Gilead, seizing the fords of Jordan, put the fugitives to that curious test which shows that differences of dialect already existed among the tribes, and which has passed into a proverb for minor differences in the Church. Every one who demanded a passage westward was asked, "Are you an Ephraimite?" If he said, "No," he was required to pronounce the *Shibboleth* (a *stream* or *flood*), and, on his betraying himself by saying *Sibboleth*, he was put to death, "for he could not frame to pronounce it right."[55] The

[51] It has been said that the succeeding clause, "and she knew no man," suggests an escape from such a conclusion in a sentence of perpetual virginity; but it seems almost certain that this circumstance is added to set forth in a stronger light the rashness of Jephthah and the heroism of his daughter.

[52] Judg. xi. 34–40.

[53] Heb. xi. 32. [54] Judg. xi. 29.

[55] Judg. xii. 1–6. The confusion of the sounds of the letters *Shin* and *Sin* exists among ourselves when *sh*

whole loss of Ephraim in this campaign was 42,000 men. It seems to have been characteristic of that tribe to hold back from great enterprises, and yet arrogating to themselves a sort of supremacy as the representatives of Joseph, to be bitterly jealous of their brethren's success.[56]

Jephthah lived only six years to judge Israel,[57] and was buried in Mount Gilead.

§ 10. A bare mention will suffice of the *tenth*, *eleventh*, and *twelfth judges*, who came between Jephthah and Samson.

X. IBZAN, of Bethlehem, in Zebulun, judged Israel for seven years, and was buried in Bethlehem.[58] Like Jair, he used his position for the aggrandizement of his family, which consisted of thirty sons and thirty daughters. He married his daughters abroad, and took wives for his sons from abroad, that is, among the surrounding nations.

XI. He was succeeded by another Zebulonite, ELON, who judged Israel ten years, and was buried at Aijalon, in Zebulun,[59] which seems to have been named after him. The two words only differ in the vowel points, and the Vulgate identifies them.

XII. ABDON, the son of Hillel, the Pirathonite, judged Israel for eight years (B.C. 1120–1112). He also had a family of forty sons and thirty nephews, who rode on seventy white asses' colts. He is perhaps identical with Bedan, who is enumerated by Samuel among the judges.[60]

comes before a liquid: *srub* is a common provincialism for *shrub*.

[56] Ps. lxxviii. 9; Is. xi. 13; Hos. vii. 8.

[57] B.C. 1143–1137, Judges xii. 7.

[58] Judg. xii. 8–10. The locality of Bethlehem is determined by the absence of either of the titles *Judah* or *Ephratah*, B.C. 1137–1130. The idea of Ibzan's identity with Boaz is absurd.

[59] Judges xii. 11, 12, B.C. 1130–1120.

[60] Judg. xii. 13, 14; 1 Sam. xii. 11. Pirathon, which is nowhere else mentioned, was "in the land of Ephraim, in the mount of the Amalekites," probably an ancient stronghold of that tribe. It has been identified with *Fer'ata*, on an eminence six miles west of Shechem (Robinson, vol. iii. p. 134).

The common chronology makes these three judges follow Jephthah. In our proposed scheme, they close the ninth of the twelve periods of forty years between the Exodus and the building of the Temple. The seventh of these periods ends with Gideon; the eighth and ninth include the seven judges, from Abimelech to Abdon, of whom the times of Abimelech, Tola, and Jair make up forty-eight years; and Jephthah, Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon, thirty-one years; or seventy-nine together. The eighteen years' oppression of the Ammonites is included in the latter period of thirty-one years; and therefore, if the three last judges followed Jephthah, twelve years of the eighteen would fall after his death, which appears quite inconsistent with the completeness of their defeat. But, considering that Jephthah's power only extended over Mount Gilead, while Ibzan and Elon ruled in the north,

There is one feature in the history of this period which should not be overlooked: the remarkable silence of the Scripture narrative respecting the tribe of Judah, and those whose lot fell within its territory in the wider sense, namely, Simeon and Dan. While the scene changes between the highlands of Zebulun and Naphtali, the valley of Jezreel, the mountains of Ephraim, and those of Gilead, and while we have a succession of judges belonging to the northern, central, and eastern tribes, Judah is only once mentioned as suffering from the incursions of the Ammonites in the time of Jephthah. Only two explanations of this silence appear possible; that Judah, retaining its distinction as the princely tribe, loyal to Jehovah, enjoyed a comparative exemption both from the sins and the sufferings of the other tribes, or, that it was occupied by its own conflicts with the Philistines. Nor do these alternatives necessarily exclude each other. We may well believe that there was a state of war, more or less constant, with the Philistines, sustained chiefly by Simeon and Dan, within whose lots they lay, while Judah formed a compact government under its own princes, in loyal union with the high-priest at Shiloh. The truth of this view will be seen in the subsequent history.

and Abdon in Ephraim, which was in open hostility to Jephthah, we may safely conjecture that Jephthah was at least in part contemporary with these three judges, and that his six years belong to the latter part of the whole period of thirty-one years. This is confirmed by the fact, evident from the narrative, that there was an unusually long interval before a deliverer was raised up. The end of the whole period, which is placed by the common chronology at B.C. 1112, falls in our scheme at B.C. 1131.



Dagon, the Fish-god. From Khorsabad. (Layard.)

CHAPTER XIX.

THE JUDGES—ELI, SAMPSON, AND SAMUEL. THE PHILISTINE OPPRESSION. B.C. 1161–1095.

§ 1. Chronology of the period, and relation of Eli, Samson, and Samuel to each other. § 2. State of Southern Palestine—Eli, high-priest and judge — Rise of Samson and Samuel. § 3. Birth of Samson, the Nazarite. § 4. His first exploits and establishment as judge. § 5. The gates of Gaza—Delilah—Captivity and death of Samson. § 6. Parentage and birth of Samuel—His dedication to God. § 7. Wickedness of Eli's sons, Hophni and Phinehas—A prophet sent to Eli—The call of Samuel—His establishment as a prophet. § 8. The first two battles of Eben-ezer—Death of Eli and his sons—Capture of the ark—"Ichabod." § 9. The ark among the Philistines—Its return to Beth-shemesh and Kirjath-jearim. § 10. Third battle and victory of Eben-ezer—End of the Philistine oppression—Judgeship of Samuel and his sons.

§ 1. We have now reached a point at which the history becomes most interesting and the chronology most difficult. We read that the children of Israel did evil again in the sight of Jehovah; and he delivered them into the hand of the Philistines *forty years*.[1] Then we have the story of the birth and exploits of Samson, the thirteenth judge, who is expressly said to have judged Israel twenty years, *in the days of the Philistines*.[2] The fair inference from these words is, that the forty years' oppression of the Philistines is to be reckoned from the beginning of Samson's exploits against them, and that the story of his birth is retrospective. The narrative of the Book of Judges ends with the death of Samson;[3] but the interposition of the supplemental chapters and of the Book of Ruth breaks the connection of the story with

[1] Judg. xiii. 1. This follows the death of Abdon; but it is not expressly said to have been *after his death*, as in some other cases, *e. g.*, Judg. iv. 1.

[2] Judg. xv. 1. [3] Judg. xvi. 31.

its continuation in the Book of Samuel. There we find Israel under the government of ELI, who resided at Shiloh, by the tabernacle of Jehovah, and who was at once the high-priest, and the fourteenth judge, an office which he is said to have held for forty years, dying at the age of ninety-eight, at the time of the capture of the ark by the Philistines.[4] Meanwhile Samuel had been born and dedicated to Jehovah, who made to him, while yet a youth, that signal revelation which established his character as a prophet of Jehovah.[5] This revelation may be regarded also as Samuel's designation to his future office as the fifteenth judge of Israel, and hence we may explain the statement that "Samuel judged Israel *all the days of his life.*"[6]

The time of his actual entrance on his office is not expressly named. If, as is commonly supposed, the first revelation of God was made to him shortly before the death of Eli, he would be too young to be Eli's immediate successor. But there is no necessity to make the interval so short. At all events, it was long enough to give time for Samuel to grow up and to establish his character as a prophet throughout all Israel;[7] and if he was able to fulfill the part of a prophet, surely he could discharge the duties of a judge. We see no difficulty, therefore, in supposing that he at once succeeded Eli, and that he was then in his full manhood, about thirty years old, the period for entrance on public duties. The great victory which his prayers obtained at Eben-ezer, when "the Philistines were subdued, and came no more into the coast of Israel . . . all the days of Samuel,"[8] seems clearly to mark the end of the forty years' servitude to them; and it seems equally clear that this victory was gained twenty years after the capture of the ark.[9] This victory may be regarded as the culminating point of Samuel's administration; and there seems no difficulty in supposing him to have been at least fifty years old at this time.

[4] 1 Sam. iv. 15, 18. The LXX. give twenty years instead of forty.

[5] 1 Sam. iii. Josephus says that Samuel was twelve years old at the time.

[6] 1 Sam. vii. 15.

[7] 1 Sam. iii. 19–21, iv. 1.

[8] 1 Sam. vii. 13, comp. v. 3: "Jehovah will *deliver you* out of the hand of the Philistines."

[9] 1 Sam. vii. 1, 2. The seven months of its abode among the Philistines may be included in the twenty years; at all events, they do not affect the computation in round numbers. Some writers have most strangely confused this twenty years, during which the Israelites mourned for the ark before making an effort to shake off the yoke of the Philistines, with the whole space of its abode at Kirjath-jearim, whence it was only removed by David after he had reigned ten years, thus making its abode there about seventy years (2 Sam. vi. 1; 1 Chron. xiii. 5, 6).

From these views it would follow that the forty years' domination of the Philistines (the tenth of the twelve periods of forty years from the Exodus to the building of the Temple) was about equally divided at the death of Eli, whose last twenty years (or, according to the LXX., his whole administration) would thus be contemporary with the twenty years of Samson's judgeship.

There is nothing surprising in this result. The exploits of Samson were so entirely of a personal character, as episodes in the constant war between the Philistines and the tribe of Dan, that his position is not at all inconsistent with the judgeship of Eli over Israel in general. Nor need we hesitate, if necessary,[10] to carry back the first twenty years of Eli into the period of Jephthah and the three northern judges; for it is a natural supposition that the southern tribes enjoyed a settled government, except as they were disturbed by the Philistines, under their own princes, subject to the authority of Jehovah as interpreted by the high-priest. It is also quite natural that the Philistines should have seized the occasion of Samson's death to make that great attack on Israel which led to the capture of the ark, and the death of Eli and his sons; for the loss of 3000 men by the fall of the Temple of Dagon, though a terrible blow for the moment, would soon stimulate them to seek revenge.

But a difficulty arises at the other end. The Scripture narrative assigns no exact period to the judgeship of Samuel, from the battle of Eben-ezer to the election of Saul. We have a general description of his circuits as a judge;[11] and then follows the misgovernment of his sons in his old age, which led the people to desire a king. We may fairly suppose that the complete establishment of his power would soon lead to that association of his sons in the administration which caused such disastrous results; and he was already getting old, if the above computations be correct. Still the interval could hardly be contained within our proposed scheme, if we must accept literally the forty years which St. Paul assigns to the reign of Saul. But the peculiar relations between Samuel and Saul make it reasonable to suppose that the whole time in which they led Israel, with more or less success, against the Philistines was reckoned as one period, and that the forty years assigned to Saul include also the government of Samuel from the victory over the Philistines at Eben-ezer.[12]

[10] The forty years given to Eli in the Hebrew text would involve this necessity. [11] 1 Sam. vii. 15–17. [12] See *Notes and Illustrations* (A.)

§ 2. We return to the narrative, which could scarcely have been made intelligible without this discussion of the connection of its several threads. We have seen that the fierce conflicts in which the northern tribes and those east of Jordan were engaged with the heathen, under Barak, Gideon, and Jephthah, only partly involved the tribe of Ephraim, and scarcely touched the southern tribes of Judah, Dan, and Simeon. The part of the country which may be roughly marked off by a line drawn south of the valley of Shechem has a history of its own, upon which we have little light till the period we have now reached. In this region, though unquestionably not free from idolatry, the authority of the high-priest at Shiloh seems to have been generally respected. That office was now held by ELI, a man of venerable age,[13] of the house of Ithamar, Aaron's younger son.[14] We are not told when the high-priesthood was transferred from the house of Eleazar to that of Ithamar; but we find that the arrangement had the divine sanction, and was only reversed as a judgment on the house of Eli.[15] Himself a man of the most sincere piety, he was guilty of sinful weakness in the indulgence he showed to the vices of his sons, whose profligacy disgraced the priesthood and ruined the people.[16] To the office of high-priest, Eli added that of judge; and, if the above computations are correct, he should be reckoned the *thirteenth*, rather than the *fourteenth* judge, having entered on his office about or soon after the birth of Samson. The postponement of Eli's history to that of Samson is the natural result of his intimate connection with Samuel, whose life begins the book that bears his name.

While Eli was high-priest, it pleased God to raise up two champions for Israel whose characters form a contrast far more remarkable than any of Plutarch's parallels. Alike in the divine announcement of their birth, in being devoted as Nazarites[17] from the womb, and in being early clothed with the spirit of Jehovah, Samson and Samuel exhibit the two extremes of physical energy and moral power, with all the inherent weaknesses of the former, and the majestic strength of the latter. In Samson we see the utmost that human might

[13] According to the above computation, he was seventy-eight, and had ruled already for twenty years, if we follow the numbers of the Hebrew text.

[14] 1 K. ii. 27; comp. with 1 Chron. xxiv. 3.

[15] 1 Sam. ii. 30. These words agree very well with the notion that Eli was the first of the new line.

[16] 1 Sam. ii. 12–17.

[17] On the laws respecting the Nazarites, see Num. vi. 1–21.

can do, even as the instrument of the divine will; in Samuel we behold the omnipotence of prayer. The great faults of the former seem almost inseparable from his physical temperament: the faultlessness of the latter is the fruit of a nature early disciplined into willing subjection to the laws of God.

§ 3. SAMSON,[18] who is commonly considered the *thirteenth judge*, though more properly the fourteenth, belonged to that part of the tribe of Dan which had not migrated from its original allotment on the borders of the Philistines between Judah and Ephraim. His father was Manoah, a man of Zorah, on the confines of Judah. Manoah's wife had long been barren, when she was favored with the visit of the ANGEL-JEHOVAH, announcing the birth of a son, who was to be devoted by the vow of "a Nazarite from the womb," and who should begin to deliver Israel from the Philistines. She herself was to abstain from wine and strong drink, and from all unclean food; and the child was to practice the same abstinence, and no razor was to come upon his head. The woman having called her husband, the angel revealed his divine character by a sign similar to that vouchsafed to Gideon;[19] and while Manoah dreaded death, because they had seen God, his wife drew that juster inference of God's favor which has often since consoled His people: "If Jehovah were pleased to kill us, he would not have received a burnt-offering and a meat-offering at our hands, neither would He have showed us all these things." The child thus promised was born, and named Samson, and he grew up blessed by Jehovah.[20]

The promise that Samson should begin to deliver Israel from the Philistines implies that their power was already severely felt by the tribe of Dan.[21] From the very first the Philistines had kept them out of their possessions on the maritime plain and driven them into the hills; and we may be sure that there was a constant state of war, in which the Israelites had certainly not the better. We have seen that the power of the Philistines was severely felt at the same time that the Ammonites oppressed those east of the Jordan.[22] By the time that Samson reached manhood their power was

[18] Properly Sham-sun, *i. e.*, "*little-sun*," or "sun-like," from *shemesh*, the *sun*. Some derive his name from the ultimate meaning of the root "awe" or "astonishment," in allusion to the awe of his parents at the angel who announced his birth. The appearance of the angel to Manoah was the last "open vision" till the voice which called Samuel.

[19] See page 345.

[20] Judg. xiii.

[21] On the origin of the Philistines and the growth of their power, see *Notes and Illustrations* (B.).

[22] Chap. xviii. § 9.

established, and their forty years' oppression had begun; "At that time the Philistines had dominion over Israel."[23] The princely tribe of Judah had sunk into submission, as we see from their readiness to deliver up Samson, and from their plain avowal on that occasion, "Knowest thou not that the Philistines are rulers over us?"[24] The hardy warriors of Dan lived as soldiers in the field, in the permanent camp which they had formed at Mahaneh-Dan (*the camp of Dan*), near Kirjath-jearim, in the central highlands, between Zorah and Eshtaol. Here "the spirit of Jehovah began to move Samson at times."[25]

§ 4. This divine inspiration, which is often mentioned in his history, and which he shared with Othniel, Gideon, and Jephthah, assumed in him the unique form of vast personal strength, animated by undaunted bravery. It was inseparably connected with the observance of his vow as a Nazarite; "his strength was in his hair." Conscious of this power, he began to seek a quarrel with the Philistines; and with this view he asked the hand of a Philistine woman whom he had seen at Timnath. One day, as he passed by the vineyards of the city on a visit to his intended bride, a young lion rushed out upon him: the spirit of Jehovah came on Samson, and, without a weapon, he tore the lion as he would have torn a kid, but he told no one of the exploit. As he passed that way again, he saw a swarm of bees in the carcass of the lion; and he ate of the honey, but still he told no one.[26] He availed himself of this circumstance, and of the custom of proposing riddles at marriage-feasts, to lay a snare for the Philistines. Thirty young men had been assigned to him as companions or groomsmen, and to them he proposed a riddle, to be solved within the seven days of the marriage-feast, for a stake of thirty tunics and thirty changes of raiment. This was the riddle:—

> "Out of the eater came forth food,
> And out of the strong came forth sweetness."

On the seventh day they asked Samson's wife to entice her husband to tell her the riddle, threatening to burn her and

[23] Judg. xiv. 4. [24] Judg. xv. 11.

[25] Judg. xiii. 25, comp. Judg. xviii. 12. The assumption involved in our chronological system, that Samson began his active career at the age of thirty, seems more probable than that of Ussher, which makes him but twenty, the former age being supported by the analogy of the priestly office.

[26] We have here a curious instance of the habit on which Virgil founds his recipe for obtaining a new swarm of bees. The eating of honey was a breach of the Nazarite's vow, which shows Samson for the first time trifling with temptation. Josephus, by making him give the honey to his wife, evades this point.

her father's house if she refused. With that fatal subjection to a woman's wiles and tears which at last destroyed him, Samson told the riddle to his wife, and she told it to the men of the city, so that before sunset on the seventh day they came to Samson and said,

> "What is sweeter than honey?
> And what is stronger than a lion?"

"If ye had not ploughed with my heifer," rejoined Samson, "ye had not found out my riddle." The spirit of Jehovah came again upon him; and, going down to Askelon, he slew thirty men of the city, and gave their spoil to their fellow-countrymen of Timnath. He then returned to his own house.[27]

His wife was given to one of the groomsmen, and, on Samson's visiting her soon after, her father refused to let him see her. Samson revenged himself by taking 300 foxes (or rather jackals) and tying them together two by two by the tails, with a firebrand between every pair of tails, and so he let them loose into the standing corn of the Philistines, which was ready for harvest. The Philistines took vengeance by burning Samson's wife and her father; but he fell upon them in return, and smote them "hip and thigh with a great slaughter," after which he took refuge on the top of the rock of Etam, in the territory of Judah.

The Philistines gathered an army and marched against the men of Judah, who hastened to make their peace by giving up Samson. Three thousand of them went up to the rock of Etam to bind him, and he submitted on their promise not to fall upon him themselves. Bound with two new cords, he was brought down to the camp of the Philistines, who received him with a shout of triumph; but the spirit of Jehovah came upon him, he broke the cords like burnt flax, and finding a jawbone of an ass at hand, he slew with it a thousand of the Philistines. The place was henceforth called Ramath-lehi (the *height of the jawbone*). The supernatural character of the exploit was confirmed by the miraculous bursting out of a spring of water to revive the champion as he was ready to die of thirst. He called the spring *En-hakkore*, that is, *the well of him that cried.* This achievement raised Samson to the position of a judge, which he held for twenty years.[28]

§ 5. After a time he began to fall into the temptations which addressed themselves to his strong animal nature, but

[27] Judg. xiv. [28] Judg. xv.

he broke through every snare in which he was caught so long as he kept his Nazarite's vow. While he was visiting a harlot in Gaza, the Philistines shut the gates of the city, intending to kill him in the morning; but at midnight he went out and tore away the gates, with the posts and bar, and carried them to the top of a hill looking toward Hebron.

Next he formed his fatal connection with Delilah, a woman who lived in the valley of Sorek. She was bribed by the lords of the Philistines to entice Samson to tell her the secret of his strength; and though not at once betraying it, he played with the temptation. Thrice he suffered himself to be bound with green withes, with new ropes, and by weaving the seven locks of his hair to the beam of a loom; and each time, when Delilah gave the signal, "The Philistines are upon thee, Samson," he burst the withes and ropes, and tore away the beam, with its pin. Instead of resenting Delilah's evident treachery, he seems to have enjoyed the certainty of triumph over each new snare, till he was betrayed into the presumption that perhaps his strength might survive the loss of his Nazarite's locks. Wearied out with her importunity, he at last "told her all his heart," and, while he was asleep, she had him shaven of his seven locks of hair. For the last time he was awakened by her cry, "The Philistines are upon thee, Samson," and thought he had only to go out and shake himself, as at the other times, for "he wist not that Jehovah was departed from him." They put out his eyes, and led him down to Gaza, bound in brazen fetters, and made him grind in the prison. The silence of the Scripture on this period of his life is supplied, as far as is possible by sanctified human genius, in Milton's *Samson Agonistes.* God had not deserted his champion, though he had so severely rebuked his confidence in his own strength, and punished the violation of his vows. It is very instructive that the last triumph, the price of which was his own life, was not granted to his cries of penitence until he was again restored to the state of a Nazarite. As his hair grew, his strength returned; but his infatuated foes only saw in this the means of their diversion. The lords and chief people of the Philistines held a great festival in the Temple of Dagon to celebrate their victory over Samson. They brought forth the blind champion to make sport for them; and, after he had shown his feats of strength, they placed him between the two chief pillars which supported the roof that surrounded the court, which, as well as the court itself, was crowded with spectators to the number of 3000. Samson asked the lad who guided him to let him feel

the pillars, to lean upon them. Then, with a fervent prayer that God would strengthen him only this once to be avenged on the Philistines, he bore with all his might upon the two pillars: they yielded, and the house fell upon the lords and all the people. "So the dead which he slew at his death were more than they which he slew in his life." His kinsmen took up his body, and buried him in his father's burying-place between Zorah and Eshtaol.[29] His name is enrolled among the worthies of the Jewish Church who "*through faith* obtained a good report, stopped the mouths of lions, out of weakness were made strong, turned to flight the armies of the aliens."[30]

§ 6. The loss of Samson was more than supplied by the other leader of whom we have spoken, as nearly of the same age, SAMUEL,[31] the *fifteenth* and last of the *judges;* the *first* in that regular succession of *prophets*,[32] which never ceased till after the return from the Babylonian Captivity, and the founder of the monarchy. His name is expressive of the leading feature of his whole history, *the power of prayer.* Himself the child of prayer, he gained all his triumphs by prayer; he is placed at the head of those "who called upon Jehovah, and He answered them;" and he is placed on a level with Moses as an intercessor.[33] Nor should we overlook in him one striking character of sincere prayer—the patient waiting to hear, and the readiness to obey the voice of God: "Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth." The attitude and expression of Sir Joshua Reynolds's well-known picture is that of Samuel's whole life.

His descent is uncertain. His father is called an Ephrathite, or, according to another reading, an Ephraimite;[34] but it seems certain, from the evidence of the genealogies, that he was a descendant of Korah the Levite, of the family of the Kohathites.[35] The two statements are easily reconciled by assuming that his family were settled in Mount Ephraim

[29] Judg. xvi.

[30] Heb. xi. 2, 32, 33, 34.

[31] Properly Shemuel, *i.e.*, *asked of God* (1 Sam. i. 20); though other etymologies have been given, as *heard of God* and *name of God.* Ussher makes Samuel ten years older than Samson. On our view, he would be somewhat more than ten years younger than Samson.

[32] Acts iii. 24: "All the prophets, from Samuel and them that follow after." There had been great prophets before, as Moses, Miriam, and Deborah, and others who are mentioned without their names; but the continuous series began with Samuel.

[33] 1 Sam. vii. 8, 9, xii. 18, 19, 23, xv. 11; Ps. xcix. 6; Jer. xv. 1.

[34] 1 Sam. i. 1. If it could be proved that Ramah was near Bethlehem, the reading "Ephrathite" would stand.

[35] 1 Chron. vi 22-28.

The place of their abode was *Ramathaim-zophim*[36] (the *double heights of the beacon* or *watch*), elsewhere called *Ramah*, and identified by tradition with the lofty hill of *Neby Samwil* (the *Prophet Samuel*), 4 miles N.W. of Jerusalem. It is now crowned by a mosque (itself the successor of a Christian church), where Samuel's sepulchre is still reverenced alike by Jews, Moslems, and Christians. If this be its true site, it lay within the tribe of Benjamin, and sufficiently near to Beth-horon to agree with the statement that Beth-horon and its suburbs were allotted to the Kohathites.[37] But the site is very uncertain. It was Samuel's usual residence to the end of his life.

His father, Elkanah, had two wives, an instance of polygamy rare in a private family, and entailing the usual consequences of bitterness and jealousy.[38] The one wife, Peninnah, had borne several children, but the other, Hannah, was barren. With a pious regularity which deserves especial notice in those times of disorder, the whole family went up yearly to worship and sacrifice to Jehovah at Shiloh, where Eli ministered as high-priest, assisted by his sons, Hophni and Phinehas, as priests. As they feasted on their freewill-offering, according to the law,[39] Elkanah gave Peninnah and her children their due portions, but to Hannah he gave a double portion. This proof of his affection brought on her the jealous provocations of her rival; so that she wept, and could not eat, and her husband tried in vain to console her, asking, "Am not I better to thee than ten sons?" In her bitterness of soul, she went and stood before the entrance of the tabernacle, where Eli sat in his usual place by one of the pillars,[40] and with many tears she prayed for a son, whom she devoted to Jehovah as a Nazarite. She prayed silently, in her heart, but her lips moved, and Eli, thinking that she was drunk after the feast, reproved her severely; but on her assurance that she was a woman of sorrowful spirit, and poured forth her soul before Jehovah, he gave her his blessing, praying that God would grant her petition. She departed with joy, and returned to Ramah; and in due time she bore a son, and called him SAMUEL. She waited to go up again to Shiloh till the child was weaned, when she presented him before Jehovah, to abide there forever. Her hus-

[36] 1 Sam. i. 1. The full name is found only in this place, but the LXX. always give Ἀρμαθαίμ. The question of the site is fully discussed in the *Dict. of the Bible*, arts. RAMAH and RAMATHAIM-ZOPHIM.

[37] Josh. xxi. 22. [38] 1 Sam. i. 6.

[39] Deut. xii. 17, 18, xvi. 11.

[40] 1 Sam. i. 10; comp. iv. 18.

band, who cordially entered into her pious designs,[41] provided a freewill-offering of three bullocks, an ephah of flour, and a skin of wine;[42] and Hannah presented her son to Eli for the service of Jehovah, telling him of the fulfillment of the prayer he had witnessed. She uttered a hymn of praise, which served long after as a model for the "Song of the Blessed Virgin."[43] Elkanah returned with his family to Ramah, leaving behind Samuel, who abode in the tabernacle and ministered before Jehovah, clad in a linen ephod, like those worn by the priests. At their annual visit, Hannah brought Samuel a little coat, or mantle, a miniature of the official priestly robe.[44] Eli blessed Elkanah and Hannah, who bore three sons and two daughters.[45]

§ 7. Samuel's growth in favor with God and man formed a striking contrast to the shameful profanation of the tabernacle by the sons of Eli, who were "sons of Belial." Instead of contenting themselves with the parts of the sacrifices allotted to them by the law, they invented strange and disorderly methods for obtaining what they pleased; and they practiced licentiousness at the very doors of the tabernacle.[46] Their aged father reproved them in vain,[47] and he was too indulgent to use his authority as high-priest: "His sons made themselves vile, and he restrained them not."[48] Therefore a prophet was sent to denounce the destruction of the house of Eli, as a sign of which both his sons should be slain in one day; a faithful priest should be raised up in his place; and those who remained of Eli's house should come crouching to him with the prayer to be put into one of the priest's offices to earn a morsel of bread.[49] The judgment was fulfilled when Solomon deposed Abiathar, the last high-priest of the house of Ithamar, and restored the priesthood to the house of Eleazar in the person of Zadok.[50]

Another warning was sent to Eli by the mouth of the youthful Samuel. "The word of God was precious in those days; there was no open vision;"[51] and this made the revelation to Samuel a more decided proof of his call to the office of a prophet. Eli's sight was now failing, through old

[41] 1 Sam. i. 23.

[42] 1 Sam. i. 24. This offering is a proof of his wealth.

[43] 1 Sam. ii. 1–10; Luke i. 46–55.

[44] This robe was the same that Samuel wore in mature years (1 Sam. xv. 27), and by which he was identified by Saul when raised by the witch of Endor (1 Sam. xxviii. 14).

[45] 1 Sam. ii. 18–21; comp. 1 Chr vi. 26, 27.

[46] 1 Sam. ii. 12–16, 22.

[47] 1 Sam. ii. 22–25.

[48] 1 Sam. iii. 13.

[49] 1 Sam. ii. 27–36.

[50] 1 K. ii. 27.

[51] 1 Sam. iii. 1

age, and he had laid himself down to sleep in a chamber attached to the tabernacle. Samuel had also lain down in the Holy Place itself, and the sacred lamp lighted at the time of the evening sacrifice was near expiring, when Jehovah called Samuel by name, and he answered "Here am I." He knew not as yet that "still, small voice," and he ran to Eli, thinking that he had called him. This was repeated thrice; but the third time Eli knew that Jehovah had spoken to the child, and he bade him reply to the next call by saying, "Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth." Then the word of God came to Samuel, confirming, in more terrible terms the sentence already uttered on the house of Eli, and declaring that the iniquity of his house should not be purged with sacrifice forever. In the morning Samuel opened the doors of the tabernacle as usual; and, being solemnly adjured by Eli, he told him all that Jehovah had said; and the old man exclaimed, like Job, "It is Jehovah! let Him do what seemeth him good!"[52] From that day Samuel was a prophet of Jehovah. His fame grew with his growth, and none of his words failed. Whatever difficulty we have felt before as to the extent of the influence of the judges disappears entirely now: "*All Israel, from Dan even to Beersheba*, knew that Samuel was established to be a prophet of Jehovah," and the words uttered by him at Shiloh came to pass throughout all Israel.[53]

§ 8. Encouraged, it would seem, by this reappearance of the prophetic gift, and, at the same time, by the blow inflicted on the Philistines in Samson's dying effort, the Israelites went out to battle against their oppressors. The Israelites encamped at the place which afterward became so memorable by the name of Eben-ezer,[54] and the Philistines at Aphek (the *fastness*), places in the highlands of Benjamin not far to the north of Jerusalem. In the first of the three great battles which signalized this neighborhood the Israelites were defeated, with the loss of 4000 men. The elders of Israel[55] then formed the rash project of fetching the ark of the covenant into the camp, that *it* might save them from their enemies. Thus all their memory of God's mighty deeds of old

[52] 1 Sam. iii. 1–19.

[53] 1 Sam. iii. 19–iv. 1.

[54] 1 Sam. iv. 1, v. 1, vii. 12. It was between Mizpeh (the *watch-tower*)—one of the eminences a few miles north of Jerusalem—and Shen (the *tooth* or *crag*), the site of which is unknown.

[55] 1 Sam. iv. 3. This is an interesting proof that the patriarchal form of government was still in existence. Eli, though judge, seems to have been now a mere cipher, and Samuel kept aloof from the whole proceeding. Eli's disapproval of the profanation of the ark is clear from 1 Sam. iv. 13.

was summed up in a superstitious hope from the mere symbol of His presence, which they profaned even while they trusted to its help. The ark was brought from Shiloh by Hophni and Phinehas, the sons of Eli, fit ministers of such a sacrilegious act. The shout with which the ark was welcomed appalled the Philistines, who thought the gods of the Hebrews had come into the camp, those mighty gods "that smote the Egyptians with all the plagues in the wilderness."[56] But, instead of panic fear, they assumed the courage of despair, while the God they so much feared was only present in the Hebrew camp to punish the presumption of the rulers and the wickedness of the priests. Israel was smitten with a panic rout; 30,000 men were slain, and among them Hophni and Phinehas, and the ark of God was taken. The news was carried to Shiloh by a Benjamite, who escaped from the battle, and arrived with his clothes torn and earth upon his head, in sign of the deepest mourning. As Eli sat by the side of the road, at the gates of the tabernacle, waiting for tidings and trembling for the ark of God, he heard the cry of grief and terror raised by the whole city. The messenger was brought to Eli, who listened to the fate of the army and his own sons; but when he heard that the ark of God was taken, he fell back from his seat and broke his neck and died, for he was an old man and heavy. He was ninety-eight years old, and had judged Israel forty years.[57] But the troubles of the day were not yet ended. The wife of Phinehas, on hearing the news, was seized with premature labor, and died in giving birth to a son, whom she named with her last breath I-CHA-BOD (*where is the glory*), for she said, "The glory is departed from Israel," because the ark of God was taken. That one phrase is the best description of the fearful issue of the second battle of Eben-ezer.[58]

§ 9. The captured ark was carried by the Philistines to Ashdod (the later Azotus), to be laid up as a trophy in the temple of their national deity:—

> "Dagon his name, sea-monster, upward man
> And downward fish: yet had his temple high
> Reared in Azotus, dreaded through the coast
> Of Palestine, in Gath, and Askelon,
> And Accaron, and Gaza's frontier bounds."[59]

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[56] 1 Sam. iv. 8. Such was the vivid but vague recollection handed down by tradition.

[57] B.C. 1141, in the common chronology.

[58] 1 Sam. iv.

[59] Milton, *Paradise Lost*, Book I. vs. 462–466. The five cities here named formed the Pentapolis of the Philistines. Accaron is Ekron.

But Jehovah, in punishing His people, was still jealous of His own glory. The comfort of His presence was withdrawn from Israel, but its terror, so often felt by them, was transferred to their foes. First, their god was laid prostrate—

> "When the captive ark
> Maimed his brute image, head and hands lopped off,
> In his own temple, on the grunsel edge,
> Where he fell flat, and shamed his worshipers."[60]

The memory of his humiliation was perpetuated at Ashdod by the custom of the priests not to tread on the threshold of his temple. Next the men of Ashdod were smitten, many with death, and others by a complaint shameful as well as painful,[61] and, as we afterward find, their land was ravaged by swarms of mice. They refused to keep the ark any longer, and, by the decision of the lords of the Philistines,[62] it was carried first to Gath and then to Ekron, only to inflict the like plagues and slaughter on those cities.[63]

For seven months the ark was thus carried about through the cities of the Philistines; and at length they resolved to send it back. Under the advice of their priests and diviners, whom it is most interesting to find remonstrating with them for hardening their hearts as the Egyptians and Pharaoh had done, they sent with it five golden images of mice, and five such of the emerods, as a trespass-offering. They made a new cart, on which they placed the ark, with a coffer containing the jewels of gold; and to prove the hand of God in its return, they harnessed to the cart two milch-cows that had never borne the yoke, and took home their calves. The cows went straight up the road leading from Ekron to Beth-shemesh (*House of the Sun*, now *Ain-Shems*),[64] lowing after their calves, but never turning aside; the five lords of the Philistines following after, to see the result. As the cart reached the field of Joshua, the Bethshemite, the men of Beth-shemesh paused from their harvest-work, rejoicing at the sight; the Levites took down the ark and coffer,[65] cut up the cart, and

[60] Milton, *l. c.*

[61] Emerods, *i. e.*, hæmorrhoids.

[62] These were a supreme council of the five princes of the five cities (1 Sam. vi. 4).

[63] Judg. v. Gaza and Askelon are not named, probably for brevity: it is evident that they suffered in like manner (vi. 4).

[64] This "suburb city" of the priests stood on the north-west slopes of the mountains of Judah, on a low plateau at the junction of two fine plains, about two miles from the edge of the great Philistine plain, and seven from Ekron (Josh. xxi. 16; 1 Chron. vi. 59; Robinson, ii. 224-6, iii. 158; *Dict. of Bible*, *s. v.*).

[65] The "Abel" in our version, "great stone," on which they set it down, has not been satisfactorily explained.

used the wood in sacrificing the cows as a burnt-offering Overcome, however, by curiosity, the men of Beth-shemesh looked into the ark, and Jehovah smote 50,070 of them with death.[66] In their terror they sent to the men of Kirjath-jearim to fetch away the ark, and in that city it remained till David removed it to Jerusalem. Its abode was in the house of Abinadab, a Levite, on the summit of the hill; and his son Eleazar was consecrated as the keeper of the ark.[67]

§ 10. For twenty years the people mourned for the absence of the ark from Shiloh, and beneath the oppression of the Philistines, till Samuel summoned them to repentance and exertion. He bade them to put away Baalim and Ashtaroth, and all false gods, and prepare their hearts to serve Jehovah, and he would deliver them from the hand of the Philistines. He gathered all Israel at Mizpeh, that he might pray for them to Jehovah. There they held a solemn fast-day, confessing their sins, and pouring out libations of water, which seem to represent a "baptism of repentance," as well as a re newal of the covenant;[68] after which Samuel judged the people, their repentance being thus connected with the redress of wrongs.[69] This assembly was the signal for a new muster of the Philistines, and the frightened Israelites entreated Samuel not to cease to cry to God on their behalf. He was in the very act of offering a burnt-offering and uttering his cries of prayer, when the Philistines drew near in battle array. Then God answered the prayers of Samuel by a violent storm of thunder, which discomfited the Philistines, and Israel pursued them with great slaughter to Bethcar (the *house of lambs*). This spot, at which the pursuit ceased, seems to have been the place where Samuel set up a stone, as a memorial of the victory, between Mizpeh and Shen, and called it EBEN EZER (the stone of *help*), saying, "Hitherto hath Jehovah helped us!"[70]

This third battle of Eben-ezer put an end to the forty years' oppression of the Philistines, who "were subdued, and came no more into the coast of Israel, and the hand of Jehovah was against the Philistines all the days of Samuel." The prophet was now, if not before, constituted the judge of Israel, the last who held that office before the monarchy; for though

[66] The odd seventy may have been elders; but we can not hope to solve all the difficulties presented by the numbers in our present text.

[67] 1 Sam. vi., vii. 1; 2 Sam. vi.; 1 Chron. xiii.

[68] A treaty was always accompanied with libations of water; and in Greek the name of the former was derived from the latter.

[69] 1 Sam. vii. 3-6; comp. Matt. iii. 8; Luke iii. 8.

[70] 1 Sam. vii. 7-12.

he is said to have made his sons Joel (or Vashni) and Abiah judges, they must be regarded simply as his deputies, like the sons of Jair and of Abdon.[71] Their seat of judgment was at Beersheba; while Samuel himself dwelt at Ramah, and made a circuit of the neighboring cities, judging the people of Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpeh, all four places being in the highlands of Benjamin. We have incidental pictures of this part of Samuel's life in the early history of Saul and David. We see the prophet receiving those who desired to inquire of Jehovah, and who came to him with a customary present, presiding at the sacrifices of his own city, and entertaining a select number of the most distinguished elders at the ensuing banquet, or going to hold a special sacrifice, as at Bethlehem, where the awe inspired by his presence bears witness to the authority of the judge. At this time, too, we first hear of those "*Companies* (or as our version gives, *Schools*) *of the Prophets*," where the young men on whom the Spirit of God had descended were trained, under Samuel's eye, in the art of sacred song, and doubtless in the knowledge of the Scriptures; in which David improved his powers as the great psalmist, and of which we learn more under Elijah and Elisha.[72] How long this state of things lasted we are not informed: it was brought to an end by the misconduct of Samuel's sons in his old age.

[71] Judg. x. 4, xii. 14; 1 Sam. viii. 1, 2; comp. 1 Chron. vi. 28.

[72] 1 Sam. ix., xvi. See *Notes and Illustrations* to ch. xx. (p. 425), "The Schools of the Prophets."

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

(A.) CHRONOLOGY OF ELI, SAMSON, AND SAMUEL.

THE arguments which have been offered in the text as a probable solution of a case where certainty can not be hoped for, lead to the following results:—

	B.C.
Birth of Samson (about)	1161*
Judgeship of Eli begins†	1151
Birth of Samuel between this and the next date.	
Death of Abdon *Tenth period of forty years* Philistine oppression begins Judgeship of Samson begins	1131
Death of Samson Capture of the ark Death of Eli Samuel, already established as prophet, succeeds him as judge.	1111
Second half of the Philistine domination, ending with the victory of Eben-ezer	1091
Eleventh period of forty years, including the later administration of Samuel, the misgovernment of his sons, and the whole of the reign of Saul, ending	1051
Or, correcting the result by computations derived from the succeeding period‡	1055

Since, however, these conclusions, however probable, remain to be subjected to criticism, we have followed, for the convenience of the student, the general principle of giving in the text the received dates of Ussher's system.

Townsend proposes the following arrangement, which is based upon Calmet and others:—

B.C.

1155. Death of ABDON. Servitude to the Philistines.
The forty years' administration of Eli begins.
Births of SAMUEL and SAMSON.

1143. Call of Samuel; at the age of twelve years, according to Josephus.

1136–1117. The career of Samson—twenty years.

1117. The prophet sent to warn Eli.

1116. Capture of the ark and death of Eli.
The sole administration of Samuel begins, and continues twenty-one years till

1096. The ark is recovered, and brought from Kirjath-jearim to the house of Abinadab.
The people demand a king.
Saul's reign begins, and lasts forty years.

1055. Death of Saul.

The administration of Samuel lasted, either solely or in conjunction with Eli and Saul, eighty years

(B.) THE PHILISTINES.

The word Philistines means "strangers" or emigrants, and is translated by Ἀλλόφυλοι in the Septuagint. According to Gen. x. 14, they were connected with the Casluhim, and according to Jer. xlvii. 4. and Am. ix. 7 (comp. Deut. ii. 23), with the Caphtorim. As these two tribes were closely allied, it is possible that the Caphtorim immigrated into the country of the Casluhim at a later period. Caphtor is identified by most modern scholars with Crete,* and it is

* Supposing that he did not begin his public work till thirty; but he may very probably have done so nearer twenty, which would place his birth near Samuel's.

† According to the Hebrew text: according to the LXX., it would be twenty years later, simultaneous with the beginning of the Philistine oppression, and contemporaneous throughout with the judgeship of Samson.

‡ We have kept in view throughout the necessity of introducing this correction at some point (see ch. xvii. *Notes and Illustrations*).

* Others identify Caphtor with Coptos in Egypt, which seems to be confirmed by the fact that the Caphtorim are mentioned among the descendants of Mizraim (Gen. x. 14). But, on the other hand, there are strong reasons for believing the Philistines to have been a Semitic people.

therefore supposed that the Philistines emigrated from that island, either directly or through Egypt, into Palestine. This is rendered more probable by the mention of the Cherethites in the Philistine plain (1 Sam. xxx. 14), which name in its Hebrew form bears a close resemblance to Crete, and is rendered Cretans in the Septuagint. But whatever was their origin, we find these "strangers" settled in the time of Abraham; for they are noticed in his day as a pastoral tribe in the neighborhood of Gerar (Gen. xxi. 32, 34, xxvi. 1, 8); and this position accords with the statement in Deut. ii. 23, that the Avim dwelt in Hazerim, *i.e.*, in nomad encampments; for Gerar lay in the south country, which was just adapted to such a life. At the time of the Exodus they were still in the same neighborhood, but grown sufficiently powerful to inspire the Israelites with fear (Ex. xiii. 17, xv. 14). When the Israelites arrived, they were in full possession of the *Shephelah*, or maritime plain, from the "river of Egypt" in the south to Ekron in the north (Josh. xv. 4, 47), and had formed a confederacy of five powerful cities—Gaza, Ashdod, Ashkelon, Gath, and Ekron (Josh. xiii. 3). The interval that elapsed between Abraham and the Exodus seems sufficient to allow for the alteration that took place in the position of the Philistines, and their transformation from a pastoral tribe to a settled and powerful nation. The richness of the soil of the *Shephelah* has been in all ages remarkable, and the crops which it yielded were alone sufficient to insure national wealth. It was also adapted to the growth of military power; for while the plain itself permitted the use of war-chariots, which were the chief arm of offense, the occasional elevations which rise out of it offered secure sites for towns and strongholds. The Philistines had at an early period attained proficiency in the arts of peace; they were skillful as smiths (1 Sam. xiii. 20), as armorers (1 Sam. xvii. 5, 6), and as builders, if we may judge from the prolonged sieges which several of their towns sustained. Their images and the golden mice and emerods (1 Sam. vi. 11) imply an acquaintance with the founder's and goldsmith's art. Their wealth was abundant (Judg. xvi. 5, 18), and they appear in all respects to have been a prosperous people. Possessed of such elements of power, the Philistines had attained in the time of the judges an important position among Eastern nations; we can not, therefore, be surprised that they were able to extend their authority over the Israelites, devoid as these were of internal union, and harassed by external foes.

The history of the struggles of the Israelites against these formidable foes has been narrated in the preceding chapter, and it was in order to resist them more effectually that the Israelites mainly desired a king. It was not till the latter end of David's reign that the Philistines were finally subdued, as will be told in its proper place. The whole of Philistia was included in Solomon's empire, the extent of which is described as being "from the river unto the land of the Philistines, unto the border of Egypt" (1 K. iv. 21; 2 Chron. ix. 26), and again "from Tipsah even unto Gaza" (1 K. iv. 24; A.V. "Azzah"). The several towns probably remained under their former governors, as in the case of Gath (1 K. ii. 39), and the sovereignty of Solomon was acknowledged by the payment of tribute (1 K. iv. 21). There are indications, however, that his hold on the Philistine country was by no means established; for we find him securing the passes that led up from the plain to the central district by the fortification of Gezer and Beth-horon (1 K. ix.

17), while no mention is made either of Gaza or Ashdod, which fully commanded the coast-road. The division of the empire at Solomon's death was favorable to the cause of the Philistines, and they again appear as formidable enemies to the kings of Judah and Israel.

With regard to the institutions of the Philistines our information is scanty. The five chief cities had, as we have already seen, constituted themselves into a confederacy as early as the days of Joshua, restricted, however, in all probability, to matters of offense and defense. Each was under the government of a prince. Gaza may be regarded as having exercised a hegemony over the others; for in the lists of the towns it is mentioned the first (Josh. xiii. 3; Am. i. 7, 8), except where there is an especial ground for giving prominence to another, as in the case of Ashdod (1 Sam. vi. 17). Ekron always stands last, while Ashdod, Ashkelon, and Gath interchange places. Each town possessed its own territory, and each possessed its dependent towns or "daughters" (Josh. xv. 45–47; 1 Chr. xviii. 1; 2 Sam. i. 20; Ez. xvi. 27, 57) and its villages (Josh. *l.c.*). The gods whom they chiefly worshiped were Dagon, who possessed temples both at Gaza (Judg. xvi. 23) and at Ashdod (1 Sam. v. 3-5; 1 Chr. x. 10; 1 Macc. x. 83); Ashtaroth, whose temple at Ashkelon was far-famed (1 Sam. xxxi. 10); Baal-zebub, whose fame at Ekron was consulted by Ahaziah (2 K. i. 2–6). Priests and diviners (1 Sam. vi. 2) were attached to the various seats of worship.

It is a curious fact that the Philistines, the great enemy of the chosen people, have given their name to the whole of the Holy Land, for PALESTINE is merely another form of Philistia. See p. 281.



Assyrian King in his Robes.

BOOK V

THE SINGLE MONARCHY. B.C. 1095–975.

CHAPTER XX.

THE REIGN OF SAUL AND EARLY HISTORY OF DAVID. B.C. 1095–1056.

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§ 1. THE Philistine yoke was broken, and the attacks of enemies on the other frontiers had ceased. Peace was restored to Israel under the wisest and holiest ruler they had had since Joshua, and it might have seemed that the theocracy was safely re-established.[1] And yet it is not surprising that the people should have thought less of their present security than of their past dangers, and that the season of tranquillity was used as an opportunity for obtaining what they deemed a stronger and more permanent government. The offer of the crown to Gideon proves that this desire had long been growing, from envy of the splendor and power of the surrounding monarchies, and from a bitter sense of the disorders of those times when "there was no king in Israel, and every man did what was right in his own eyes." And, just as we often see the effect of some inveterate evil reach its climax at the very moment when the cause itself seems to have been subdued, so the settlement of the government by Samuel failed to avert the revolution for which the misconduct of his sons gave the immediate occasion. The elders of Israel came to him at his house at Ramah, and pleading his own great age, and the evils growing up again, their sense of which would be the keener from the remembrance of Hophni and Phinehas, they plainly made the request, "Make us a KING, to judge us, *like all the nations*."[2]

Their idea of a king[3] may be summed up in the three points

[1] The passage in 1 Sam. ix. 16, however, indicates a state of things in which the Philistines were always threatening to recover the ascendency.

[2] 1 Sam. viii. 5.

[3] See especially v. 20.

of a *leader* always ready at their head in war, a *judge* provided without interruption by the law of hereditary descent,[4] and a *court* invested with dignity and magnificence. Their reference to the prophet proves that they wished to have the divine sanction to their desire.

It was a trying moment for Samuel, as a man, a father, and a prophet of Jehovah: "The thing was evil in the eyes of Samuel." At his age, and with his spirit, we can not suppose him to have been much concerned at the loss of his own power. The slight to his government was excused by the misconduct of his sons; and keenly as we see that he felt the implied rebellion against Jehovah, the case was beyond the reach of mere reproof, and the people would not have been contented with the simple reply of Gideon, "Jehovah shall rule over you." Samuel applied himself to the resource that never failed him, he *prayed* unto Jehovah.[5] His indignation was at once justified and chastened by the assurance, "They have not rejected *thee*, but they have rejected ME from reigning over them."

These words are the key to the whole history of the Hebrew monarchy; but they must not be viewed as entirely words of anger. God pitied the infirmities of His people, even while He punished their self-will by granting their desire. So Samuel is instructed to grant them their request, but not till he had first solemnly warned them of its immediate results, in the oppression which their king would exercise till they should cry out to Jehovah against the master of their own choice.[6] The prophet's description of a self-willed king should be compared with the law laid down by Moses, in anticipation of the kingdom.[7] The expostulation had no effect; and, after once more laying before Jehovah their reply, "We *will* have a king over us," and again receiving the command to make them a king, Samuel sent them back to their cities, to await the man selected for them in the providence of God.[8] We must not suppose that that man would be a ferocious tyrant, at once beginning to inflict the retribution of their folly. Like their own idea of a monarchy, he covered, under a fair exterior, great possibilities of good, and the seeds of still greater evil.

§ 2. SAUL, a name rendered memorable in the annals of the tribe of Benjamin and of the world, by the king and the apos-

[4] In ancient times and Eastern countries this notion was inseparable from royalty. That it was so understood by the Jews, is clear from the offer of the crown to Gideon (Judg. viii. 22).

[5] 1 Sam. viii. 6.

[6] 1 Sam. viii. 7–18.

[7] Deut. xvii. 16–20.

[8] 1 Sam. viii.

tle, its first and last owners named in Scripture, was the son of Kish, a wealthy and powerful Benjamite, though of a family not conspicuous in the tribe, whose descendants can be traced to the time of Ezra.[9] Saul is described as "a choice young man, and a goodly: there was not among the children of Israel a goodlier person than he;[10] from his shoulders and upward, he was taller than any of the people."[11] To this physical excellence, characteristic of his tribe, he added no small share of its ungovernable temper, which opposition and disappointment aggravated to madness, the common fate of despots, as we see in Cambyses, Caligula, and Paul of Russia. He was the creature of impulse; often kindly, as in his love for David and Jonathan, often noble, as in his patriotic zeal for God, but always wanting the control of steady principle.

His birthplace is uncertain. Zelah was the place of his father's sepulchre,[12] but his royal residence was at Gibeah, thence called "Gibeah of Saul;" and this town seems to have been the abode of at least a part of the family.[13] His age at the time of his election is not stated; but we can hardly suppose so great a dignity, involving the chief command in war and the judgeship, to have been conferred on a man under forty; and this agrees with what we know of the ages of his sons. Jonathan, his eldest son, appears as a warrior the year after Saul's accession,[14] and Ish-bosheth, his younger son, was forty years old at his father's death.[15] The chronology of his accession is obscured by the absence of any clear indication of the period of Samuel's judgeship after the deliverance from the Philistines, from which epoch we have already shown that the forty years which St. Paul assigns to Saul should probably be dated.[16] We can scarcely suppose him to have been so old as seventy at his death, in B.C. 1056, according to the common chronology.

§ 3. Saul was led to Samuel to be anointed to his future office by what, to the eyes of men, might have seemed an accident.[17] His father Kish, having lost his asses, sent Saul with a servant in search of them. They passed through Mount Ephraim, and by Shalisha and Shalim, till they came on the third day to the neighborhood of Samuel's abode, here

[9] 1 Sam. ix. 1, 21. See the pedigree in the *Notes and Illustrations* (A.).

[10] Comp. 2 Sam. i. 19; where he is called "the gazelle of Israel."

[11] 1 Sam. ix. 2; comp. 2 Sam. i. 23, where he and Jonathan are described as "swifter than eagles and stronger than lions."

[12] 2 Sam. xxi. 14. [13] 1 Sam. x. 13.

[14] 1 Sam. xiii. 1, 2. [15] 2 Sam. ii. 8.

[16] Acts xiii. 21. [17] 1 Sam. ix.

called the land of Zuph.[18] Saul now proposed to return, lest his father's care for the asses should pass into anxiety for him and the servant—a mark of his affectionate disposition. The servant, however, told him that in the city which they were approaching there dwelt a man of God who was held in the highest honor, and all whose words came to pass; perhaps he might direct them where to find the asses. Saul's difficulty about the present which it was usual to offer when consulting a *seer* (for such was the name of a *prophet* in those days) was removed by the servant, who had with him the fourth part of a skekel of silver. As they ascended the hill on which the city stood, they learned from the maidens who had come out to draw water that the seer had just returned from one of his judicial circuits, and was expected to bless the sacrifice and festival which the people were holding on that day in the high place above the city; and, just as they entered the city, they met Samuel coming forth for that purpose. Samuel was prepared for the interview. God had forwarned him the day before that he would send to him on the morrow a Benjamite, whom he should anoint to be captain over Israel, to deliver them out of the hand of the Philistines; and now, as Saul approached, the word of Jehovah came to Samuel: "Behold the man whom I spake to thee of! this same shall reign over my people." Samuel made himself known to Saul, and having told him that his father's asses were found, he astonished him by the salutation, "On whom is all the desire of Israel? Is it not on thee, and on all thy father's house?" Waiting as the people were for their destined king, Saul could not but suppose what Samuel meant; and he pleaded that his family was the least in Benjamin, itself the smallest tribe in Israel. Postponing further explanation, Samuel led Saul and his servant into the banqueting-chamber on the high place, and seated them above all the thirty guests who were assembled, persons whose limited number proves their consequence in the city. Samuel then ordered the cook to place before Saul the portion which he had told him to reserve for an expected guest, namely, a boiled *shoulder*, at once the choicest part of the sacrifice, and the emblem of the weight of government which he was to sustain.[19] After the banquet they went down from the high place to the city, and Samuel lodged Saul on the top of his house, a favorite sleeping-place in the East.

[18] Some connect this name with the appellation of Samuel's city, Ramathaim-*Zophim*. It perhaps indicates that the whole region was a range of beacon-heights.

[19] Comp. Lev. vii. 32; Ezek. xxiv. 4; Is. ix. 6.

At daybreak the prophet aroused his guest and led him out of the city; and then, the servant having been sent on before them, Samuel bade Saul stand still to hear the word of Jehovah. Thereupon, producing a vial of oil, he poured it on his head, adding the kiss of homage, and telling him that Jehovah had anointed him to be captain over His inheritance. The prophet named three incidents which would happen to Saul on his return, as signs that Jehovah was with him; the first, an assurance of the safety of his father's cattle, as the prophet had said; the second, a present which was to be an earnest of the future offerings of the people; the third, the descent of the spirit of Jehovah upon him, causing him to prophesy, and turning him into another man. The promised change began at the moment that Saul turned to leave Samuel: he felt that God had given him another heart, and the appointed signs were fulfilled in their order. The only remaining care of his past life was relieved by two men who met him by Rachel's sepulchre at Zelzah, and told him that the asses were found, and that his father was anxious about him. At the oak of Tabor he met three men, who presented to him two loaves of bread out of the offerings which they were carrying up to God at Bethel. And, in fine, when he reached "the hill of God" (probably Gibeah), which was occupied by a garrison of the Philistines, a company of prophets came down from the high place with the instruments of music which they were taught to use in the service of God; and, as they began to prophesy, the spirit of God fell upon Saul, and he prophesied among them. This sign of his inspiration was the more decisive, as he seems to have been a man unlikely to exhibit religious fervor. Those who had known him before expressed their amazement by the question, which passed into a proverb, "Is Saul also among the prophets?" and there were some who went so far as to question the source of such inspiration by suggesting, "But who is their father?"[20] Saul then went up to the high place, apparently the hill of Gibeah, to the residence of his uncle (or his grandfather), Ner, in reply to whose curious inquiries he told what Samuel had said about the asses, but said nothing about the matter of the kingdom. After this private designation to his office, he returned to his home.[21]

§ 4. The time soon came for his public manifestation to Israel. Samuel convened the people at Mizpeh; and, after

[20] Comp. Matt xii. 24–27.

[21] 1 Sam. ix., x. 1–16.

once more reproving them for rejecting God and resolving to have a king, he called on them to present themselves before God by their tribes and their thousands. Then, whether by lot, or by the Urim and Thummim, or by any other mode of expressing the choice of God, the tribe of Benjamin was taken.[22] The tribe was brought by its families, and the family of Matri was taken; and lastly, out of that family, the choice fell on SAUL, the son of Kish, but he was nowhere to be found. Again they consulted the oracle, which revealed his hiding-place; and he was found concealed among the baggage of the camp—so little eager was he to thrust himself into the office to which he knew his call. He was brought into the midst of the congregation, and there he towered above all the people from his shoulders upward. His goodly presents won universal favor; and when Samuel presented him as the king whom Jehovah had chosen, the like of whom was not to be found among all the people, they shouted with one voice "God save the king."[23] From this whole scene it is clear that what is said of the choice of God is not to be understood as an absolute preference for Saul as being the man best fitted for the king of Israel, but as the selection of one possessing the endowments which would recommend him to the people as the king that they desired. He is commended to the people for the goodliness of his outward form; and in this very same matter of the choice of a king, the same prophet was afterward instructed by God to "look not on his countenance or *the height of his stature:* . . . for man looketh on the outward appearance, but Jehovah looketh on the heart."[24] Throughout the whole transaction, God was giving the people their own desire, and the history of Saul is the working out of the experiment.

In another sense, however, he was the king of Jehovah's choice. The whole circumstances of his selection, and his anointing by the prophet, invested him with authority which bound the people to be subject to him as an ordinance of God. But he was also himself subject to a law. That law had been given through Moses, in anticipation of this day,[25] and now Samuel wrote it in a book and laid it up before Jehovah in the sanctuary, after he had rehearsed it to the people, whom he then dismissed to their homes. Saul retired

[22] It is most important to distinguish this choice from an election by the people.

[23] Literally, "Let the king live!" but the case is one of those in which the popular phrase has passed beyond the power of alteration.

[24] 1 Sam. xvi. 7.

[25] Deut. xvii. 14, foll.

at the same time to his home at Gibeah, with no other retinue than a band of volunteers, whose hearts God had touched. Some murmurs of contempt were heard against him at Gibeah, where his prophetic gifts had already been derided, and some few "men of Belial" neglected to bring him presents; but he held his peace, waiting for an opportunity to prove himself worthy of the crown by his services to his people.[26]

§ 5. That opportunity soon arrived. During the later years of Samuel the enemies of Israel had gained strength, and this was one chief reason of the desire for a king.[27] We have seen the Philistines in possession of the citadel of Gibeah, and now we meet again with the enemy whom Jephthah had subdued. Nahash[28] the Ammonite marched against Jabesh-gilead, and would only listen to the offer of a capitulation on the cruel and shameful terms of putting out the right eyes of all the people and laying it as a disgrace on Israel. The men of Jabesh obtained a delay of seven days, and sent for help to Saul at Gibeah. Saul was returning with his cattle from the field when he heard the cry of the people at the tidings. Then, as we read of the other champions of Israel, the spirit of Jehovah came upon him, and he summoned Israel to the field by a token as powerful as the "fiery cross" of the Gælic chiefs. Cutting a yoke of oxen into small pieces, he sent them throughout all Israel, declaring that so it should be done to the oxen of him who came not out after Saul and Samuel.[29] When the forces were numbered in Bezek, there were 300,000 warriors of Israel, and 30,000 of Judah. On the sixth day of the truce, the men of Jabesh received Saul's promise of help before to-morrow's noon, and they sent word to Nahash that they would place themselves in his hands. In the morning watch, Saul, with his army in three divisions, fell upon the unsuspecting Ammonites, and slaughtered them till the heat of the day put an end to the pursuit. His triumph was adorned by an act of regal clemency. The people called on Samuel to put to death the men who had despised the new-made king; but Saul declared that not a man should be put to death on that day, in which Jehovah had saved Israel.[30]

[26] 1 Sam. x. 17–27.

[27] Comp. 1 Sam. xii. 12.

[28] The name signifies *serpent*, and furnishes an indication of Ophite worship among the Ammonites.

[29] This association of Samuel with himself should be particularly observed; as should also the separate enumeration of Judah, which agrees with what we have before noticed. It may also indicate the time when the narrative was written.

[30] 1 Sam xi.

Having thus given proof of his merit, Saul was again solemnly inaugurated into his kingdom. For this purpose Samuel called the assembled hosts to follow him to Gilgal, and there they held a high festival, with sacrifices to Jehovah. But their joy was not unmingled. The time was come for Samuel to lay down his judicial office; and the hoary prophet, protesting his own integrity in the sight of those before whom he had walked from his childhood to that day, and whose voice now bore witness to his words, reasons with them of all that God had done for them from the time that Jacob went down to Egypt till that hour. He recalls their deliverance from Egypt, from Sisera, from the Philistines, and from the King of Moab; their idolatries and their repentances, and the missions of Jerubbaal and Bedan,[31] and Jephthah and Samuel; and yet, he adds, when Nahash came against them, they must needs have a king, though Jehovah their God was their king. Now then they had their king, set over them by Jehovah, and it rested with them whether his kingdom should be established. If they would fear Jehovah and serve Him, and keep His law, both king and people should continue to be His; but if they were rebellious, His hand would be against them, as it had been against their fathers. Then pointing to the sky, which had been brilliant with the unchanging clearness of an eastern June (for it was the season of the wheat-harvest), he prayed to God, who sent the portent of a thunder-storm to confirm his words. The terrified people confessed their latest sin, and besought Samuel to pray for them that they might not die. He comforted them with the promise of the future, warning them not to let the sense of past guilt lead them into further sin, and protested that he would never cease to pray for them, and to teach them the good and right way.

With these words of comfort, Samuel closed his public life as the sole judge of Israel. But his office did not entirely cease; for, as we have seen, "he judged Israel all the days of his life." In his subsequent relations to Saul, there is clearly more than the sort of authority which the later prophets never ceased to exercise as special messengers of Jehovah to

[31] Jerubbaal is a surname of Gideon. As the name of Bedan occurs in the Book of Judges, various conjectures have been formed as to the person meant. Some maintain him to be the Jair mentioned in Judg. x. 3; others suppose Bedan to be another name for Samson. But as it is clear that the Book of Judges is not a complete record of the period of which it treats, it is possible that Bedan was one of the judges whose names are not preserved in it.

reprove the sins of the king and direct him on great occasions. Samuel's is a pôwer constantly present to check the waywardness of Saul, and at last reversing his election and designating his successor.

§ 6. The preceding events occupied the first year of Saul's reign.[32] In the second, he set to work systematically to deliver Israel from their enemies. He gathered a chosen band of 3000 men, two-thirds being with him in the camp at Michmash and the hills of Bethel,[33] and the other 1000 at Gibeah, with his son JONATHAN, whose name now first appears in the history. Jonathan's successful attack on the Philistine garrison in the hill of Geba opposite Michmash was the signal for Saul's summoning the Israelites to the war. His trumpet sounded through all the land, and his camp was fixed at Gilgal, the scene of his inauguration, and the old camp of Joshua. The Philistines answered the challenge with an immense army, comprising 30,000 chariots and 6000 horsemen, besides infantry without number, and encamped at Michmash, on the highlands which Saul had abandoned. The Israelites fled to woods and caves and the fastnesses of the rocks, while even the warriors trembled as they followed Saul. The king waited impatiently at Gilgal for the seven days within which Samuel had promised to come and offer sacrifice, while his forces were rapidly dispersing.[34] On the seventh day he ventured to begin the sacrifices himself; and he had just ended the burnt-offering, when Samuel arrived, and asked him what he had done. Saul pleaded the danger of the Philistines coming down the pass to attack him at Gilgal; but Samuel declared that he had acted with sinful folly, and uttered the first intimation thus early in his reign of what he had already threatened in case of disobedience,[35] that his kingdom should not be lasting, for Jehovah had already sought out "a man after his own heart, to be captain over his people." After this threat, which seems to have been uttered privately to Saul, Samuel went away to Gibeah,

[32] 1 Sam. xiii. 1.

[33] Michmash is probably the modern *Mŭkhmas*, a village about seven miles north of Jerusalem, on the northern edge of a ravine which forms the chief pass between the highlands of Benjamin and the valley of the Jordan about Jericho and Gilgal. Bethel is about four miles north of Michmash, and the intervening hills seem to form the "Mount Bethel" of the text. On the other side of the ravine was Geba, with its Philistine garrison, the furthest post which they held toward the east. Geba and Gibeah were very near each other, and it is difficult to distinguish them clearly. The names are evidently confounded in two or three passages of the Hebrew text.

[34] Comp. 1 Sam. x. 8.

[35] Comp. 1 Sam. xii. 25.

and Saul followed with his little band of only 600 men and encamped on the south side of the ravine, on the north of which lay the Philistines. He was joined at Gibeah by the high-priest Abiah, the son of Ahitub, son of Phinehas, son of Eli, and it would seem that the ark was brought up for the time from its house at Kirjath-jearim.[36] Meanwhile the Philistines overran the country from their head-quarters at Michmash, whence three bands of spoilers issued forth. No smith was suffered to work in Israel, but the people went to the camps of the Philistines to sharpen their tools; Saul and Jonathan alone had swords and spears.[37]

An unhoped-for deliverance was effected by God's blessing on the courage of Jonathan. Familiar as he must have become during the encampment at Michmash with the ravine at its foot, he planned a surprise of the Philistine camp without the knowledge of his father or the high-priest, but trusting in Jehovah, with whom, said he, "there is no restraint to save by many or by few."[38] With one faithful comrade, his armor-bearer, who fully shared his spirit,[39] he climbed up the opposite side of the ravine between two sharp crags, named Bozez and Seneh. They had resolved to show themselves to the Philistines, and to draw an omen from the words with which they might be received; and accordingly when the Philistines, who took them for two Hebrews wandering out of their hiding-places, said to them, "Come up, and we will show you something," Jonathan concluded that Jehovah had delivered them into the hands of Israel. Climbing with hands and feet up the face of the precipice, which was supposed to make the camp impregnable, Jonathan fell upon the enemy, his armor-bearer slaying after him.[40] They killed at this first onset about twenty men, and the rest were seized by a panic, which was increased by an earthquake, so that they went on striking down each other. The Hebrews who frequented the camp of the Philistines now turned against them; and others came out of the caves with which those rocks abound to join in the slaughter. The scene was witnessed with amazement by the watchmen in Saul's camp at Gibeah; and on counting the people, it was discovered that Jonathan and his armor-bearer had left the camp. Saul bade the high-priest to bring the ark, that he might consult Jehovah; but,

[36] 1 Sam. xiii. 1–16, xiv. 2, 3, 18.

[37] 1 Sam. xiii. 17–23.

[38] 1 Sam. xiv. 6. [39] 1 Sam. xiv. 7.

[40] 1 Sam. xiv. 13, 14. The obscure words of v. 14 may mean that they bore down the enemy like a yoke of oxen ploughing, or, as the LXX. translate it, that they slew them with the arrows and stones from their bows and slings.

as the noise in the Philistine camp increased, he rushed to the pursuit, driving the foe down the pass of Bethaven as far as Aijalon, the very ground over which Joshua had pursued the Canaanites in his most memorable victory. The pursuit was, however, hindered by the exhaustion of the people, consequent on Saul's rash vow devoting to a curse the man who should taste food till sunset. They were passing through one of those woods where the wild bees build their combs in the branches in such numbers that the honey drops from the trees, and no man dared even to carry his hand to his mouth for fear of Saul's oath, when Jonathan, who had now rejoined the army, dipped the end of his staff in a honey-comb and put it to his mouth. His sense of new life caused him to inveigh bitterly against his father's vow, of which he was now informed for the first time. When evening came, the famished people flew upon the spoil, and began to eat the cattle with the blood. Saul reproved their sin, and, building an altar, the first that he built to Jehovah, he bade the people bring each his ox or sheep and slay it there. He then prepared to continue the pursuit by night; but the high-priest reminded him that all this time they had not asked counsel of God. Saul now inquired if he should pursue the Philistines, but the oracle was silent. He set himself to find the hidden sin, swearing by the life of Jehovah that the man should die, were it Jonathan his own son. As no one answered, he cast lots, with prayer to God, between the people on one side, and himself and Jonathan on the other, and Saul and Jonathan were taken. A second lot fell on Jonathan, and Saul would have kept his oath, but the people interposed to save their champion's life. So Saul returned from the pursuit of the Philistines.[41]

The "War of Michmash," as the above campaign is called, was followed by a series of victories over all the other enemies of Israel, Moab, Ammon, Edom, the kings of Zobah, the Philistines again, and the Amalekites, of whom more will presently be said. This is the brightest period of the life of Saul, who now assumed his full royal state: he "took the kingdom."[42] His own family made a goodly show. Besides Jonathan, his court was graced by two sons, Ishui and Melchi-shua, and two daughters, Merab and Michal, the children of his wife Ahinoam, daughter of his father's sister Ahimaaz.[43] His standing army of 3000 men was command-

[41] 1 Sam. xiv. 1-46. There are many points of likeness between Jephthah's vow and Saul's.

[42] 1 Sam. xiv. 48, 49.

[43] He had other children by his second wife Rizpah, who was also his

ed by his uncle, Abner, the son of Ner, one of the noblest men and greatest warriors in the history of Israel;[44] and he had a body-guard of Benjamites, chosen for their beauty and stature, as runners and messengers, of whom David afterward became the chief.[45] These two commanders sat at the king's table[46] with Jonathan, whose seat was opposite his father's. In recruiting these guards, the king acted in the arbitrary manner which Samuel had predicted; "when he saw any strong man, or any valiant man, he took him to himself."[47] The herds of cattle, which formed the chief part of the royal wealth, and the servants who had the charge of them, were under a chief officer, corresponding to the *constable* (*comes stabuli*) of the mediæval monarchies, who had constant access to the king's presence. Saul gave this office to an Edomite, named Doeg, who became infamous as the slayer of the priests.[48] Even the high-priest, as we have seen, attended the commands of the king, both in the camp and court, with the sacred ephod, as a means of consulting the divine will; and Saul assumed the power of giving him orders at all times through his messengers;[49] so far had the theocracy sunk from that state in which the people used to stand before the tabernacle, to receive the sole behests of Jehovah their king through the prophet and the priest!

Whether sitting at table with these officers, whose attendance was especially required on the new moon and other festive days, or whether he appeared in public, surrounded by his body-guard, the king was distinguished by a tall spear, suited to his stature, which was placed beside his chair when he rested, and by his pillow when he slept, and which he wielded with terrible effect in battle, where the mightiest weapons of Israel were the spear of Saul and the bow of Jonathan.[50] He wore over his arms a royal diadem and a golden armlet.[51] He loved to hear the acclamations of the people, and the songs with which the women greeted him as they came out of the cities of Israel, to welcome his return from battle and to receive robes of scarlet and ornaments of gold from the spoil.[52]

cousin (see the pedigree in *Notes and Illustrations*).

[44] 1 Sam. xiii. 2, xiv. 50, xxiv. 2, xxvi. 2; comp. 1 Chr. xii. 29.

[45] 1 Sam. xvi. 15, 17, xxii. 7, 14, 17, xxvi. 22; Joseph. *Ant.* vi. 6, § 6, vii. 14.

[46] 1 Sam. xx. 25.

[47] 1 Sam. xiv. 52; comp. viii. 11.

[48] A Syrian, according to the LXX (1 Sam. xxi. 7, xxii. 9–19).

[49] 1 Sam. xxi. 2. The practice may be inferred from David's pretense of such a commission.

[50] 1 Sam. xviii. 10, xix. 9, xx. 33, xxvi. 11; 2 Sam. i. 6.

[51] 2 Sam. i. 10.

[52] 1 Sam. xviii. 6; 2 Sam. i. 24.

§ 7. Such was Saul's outward state during the first of the three periods into which we may divide his reign. But beneath it all was the remembrance of the doom pronounced by Samuel at Gilgal, and rendered irrevocable by Saul's conduct during the second stage of his career. He seems like one impelled by the intoxication of power to brave the very fear that haunted him, and an act of open disobedience to God determined his fate.

Amid his career of victory over the surrounding heathen, which tended to the twofold object of giving Israel the promised bounds of their possession and of punishing those nations for their past sins, Saul received a special commission to execute the vengeance long since denounced on Amalek for their treacherous attack on Israel in the wilderness of Sinai.[53] The command was given by the mouth of Samuel, and enforced by an appeal to Saul's allegiance to Jehovah's word by the prophet who had anointed him. He was commanded to destroy Amalek utterly, man and woman, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass. He mustered the forces of Israel, 200,000 infantry, besides 10,000 of Judah, at Telaim, on the edge of the southern desert. Having first warned the old allies of Moses, the Kenites, to depart from among the Amalekites,[54] he fell upon the tents of the tribe, and pursued them with great slaughter from Havilah to Shur, on the frontier of Egypt.[55] Agag, their king or sheikh, was taken prisoner; but all the rest of the people were put to death, clearly showing that Saul was not moved to disobedience by any feelings of humanity. There can be no doubt that Agag was spared to add splendor to Saul's triumphant return, as a king making war for himself rather than as the servant of Jehovah. The spoil was dealt with in like manner; and here the people shared the sin, sparing all the best of the cattle and all that was valuable, and destroying all that was vile and refuse. It was doubtless true in part, as Saul afterward declared, that he would have offered some of the cattle in sacrifice to God; but the chief motive in sparing them was clearly to enrich his followers with the spoil. Instead of pursuing the campaign and finishing the destruction of the fugitives, he returned by way of Carmel[56] to the old camp of Gilgal.

Meanwhile Samuel had been commanded to meet him at

[53] 1 Sam. xv. 1-3; comp. Ex. xvii. 8; Num. xxiv. 20; Deut. xxv. 17-19.

[54] Comp. Num. xxiv. 21; Judg. i. 16, iv. 11.

[55] 1 Sam. xv. 4-7.

[56] A place in the extreme south of Judah, which of course must not be confounded with Mount Carmel in the north.

that place for the second time. The word of Jehovah had declared to the prophet that mysterious change in the divine purpose which is so often expressed by one striking word: "It *repenteth* me, that I have set up Saul to be king." The old man's affection for Saul overflowed in tears and cries of prayer all the night, but in the morning he rose up to fulfill his hard commission. No interview recorded in history has a deeper moral significance. Elated with his victory, and resolved to brave out the voice of conscience, Saul meets Samuel with affected pleasure, and anticipates inquiry by claiming the praise of a duty well discharged: "Blessed be thou of Jehovah! I have performed the commandment of Jehovah!" "What meaneth, then," rejoined Samuel, "this bleating of sheep, and this lowing of oxen?" Descending one more step in prevarication, and trying to evade the responsibility of the act, Saul replied that the people had reserved these for sacrifice, while they had destroyed the rest; but Samuel cuts short his excuses by bidding him hear the word of Jehovah. Before pronouncing the fatal sentence, he reminds him of his low estate before God exalted him, and asks why he had disobeyed the command of God. Saul repeats the same excuse, with another attempt to throw the responsibility on the people, and a word thrown in to propitiate the prophet, "to sacrifice unto Jehovah, *thy God*, in Gilgal." Then Samuel proclaims that eternal principle of *moral duty* in condemnation of every attempt to propitiate God, and yet to retain our sin and have our own way: "Hath Jehovah as great delight in burnt-offerings and sacrifices, as in obeying the voice of Jehovah! BEHOLD, TO OBEY IS BETTER THAN SACRIFICE, and to hearken than the fat of rams. For rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft,[67] and stubbornness is as iniquity and idolatry. *Because thou hast rejected the word of Jehovah, He hath also rejected thee from being king.*" Overwhelmed with remorse, Saul confessed his fault, though still pleading that he had done it for fear of the people, and prayed Samuel to pardon his sin, and to turn back and join him in worshiping Jehovah. Samuel refused, and reiterated the sentence. As he turned to depart, Saul caught at his prophet's mantle, but only to receive a new sign of his fate. The mantle was rent, and Samuel said that even so had Jehovah rent the kingdom of Israel from Saul, and given it to a neighbor of his, who was better than himself. He confirmed the sentence by a solemn asseveration: "THE STRENGTH OF IS-

[67] A sin against which Saul was most zealous.

RAEL will not lie nor repent, for He is not a man that he should repent!" It is beyond the power of human judgment to decide what might have been the result, even at this last moment, if Saul had betaken himself to public humiliation and importunate prayer; but his only prayer was to be saved from public humiliation. He entreated Samuel to honor him before the people by turning again to join in the sacrifices. Samuel consented, but he used the opportunity to inflict the sentence of death on Agag. He sent for the King of Amalek, who approached with every mark of outward deference, believing that "the bitterness of death was past." The pity we are tempted to feel for him is silenced by Samuel's declaration of the justice of his doom: "As thy sword hath made women childless, so shall thy mother be childless among women." And Samuel hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord in Gilgal.

This was Samuel's last interview with Saul, for whom he still retained that affection which is a strong tribute to the better features of Saul's character. While Saul went to his royal residence at Gibeah Samuel returned to his house at Ramah, where he mourned for Saul with a prolonged bitterness which at last incurred the reproof of God, who had new work for him to perform in the designation of Saul's successor. Meanwhile Jehovah's repentance at having made Saul king is emphatically repeated.[58]

§ 8. Samuel was recalled from the indulgence of his grief by a command to fill a horn with the consecrated oil laid up in the tabernacle, and to go to Bethlehem, where God had chosen a king among the sons of JESSE, the grandson of Boaz and Ruth,[59] and the heir of their wealth and distinction in the city. To remove his fear of Saul's anger, the prophet is directed to take with him a heifer, and to invite Jesse to a sacrifice. His arrival caused much alarm, but he assured the elders that he came in peace, and bade them and the house of Jesse to sanctify themselves for the sacrifice. There the family of Jesse made a goodly show. To his distinction as the chief man of the city, he added that of an age remarkable in those degenerate days,[60] and he was surrounded by all his eight sons, except the youngest, who seems to have been of small consideration in the family, and accordingly was sent abroad to tend the sheep. Struck with the noble figure of the eldest son, Eliab, the very counterpart of Saul, Samuel

[58] 1 Sam. xv., xvi. 1.
[59] 1 Sam. xvi. See the pedigree in the *Notes and Illustrations* (B).
[60] 2 Sam. xvii. 12.

said to himself, "Surely the anointed of Jehovah is before me:" but he was warned not to judge a second time by so false a standard. Jehovah said to him, "Look not on his countenance, or on the *height of his stature*, because I have refused him; for it is not as man seeth; for man looketh on the outward appearance, but *Jehovah looketh on the heart.*" In like manner the prophet rejected Abinadab, the second, Shammah, the third, and all the rest of the seven. Samuel asked Jesse, "Are all thy children here?" No; there still remained the youngest, who was with the sheep. "Send and fetch him," said the prophet, "for we will not sit down till he come." Soon there entered a fair youth, with reddish or auburn hair, and keen bright eyes,[61] his beautiful countenance flushed with his healthy occupation, and his whole aspect pleasant to behold. Then Jehovah said to Samuel, "Up and anoint him: for this is he!" In the presence of his brethren Samuel poured the horn of sacred oil upon his head, and then returned to his house at Ramah, having performed his last public act. From that day forth the Spirit of Jehovah came on DAVID ("*the beloved*"), for such was the name of Jesse's youngest son, the new "root" of the princely tribe of Judah, the first true King of Israel, and the greatest, since Abraham, of the progenitors of the CHRIST, who, as David's son, was "anointed" in his anointing.

This is all that we are distinctly told of David's early life in Scripture, the simple records of which must not be contaminated with the Oriental legends, nor even illustrated, without the greatest caution, from the Jewish traditions which are recorded by Josephus. It may be well here to notice the true authorities for the life of David.

1. Each of the three prophets, with whom David lived in the closest intimacy, Samuel, Gad, and Nathan, wrote a memoir of that part of his life which came respectively under their notice.[62] We may be quite sure that Samuel, from the time of his mission to Bethlehem, would watch David's career with the deepest interest, and that he would record all that he could learn of him and his ancestry in the history of his own times, which we can not doubt to have been the occupation of his last years at Ramah, "the *Book of the Prophet Samuel.*" The close relation maintained between David and the prophet is shown by the former taking refuge with the latter when he fled from the court of Saul. Gad joined him in his wanderings, and lived at his court, and Nathan

[61] 1 Sam. xvi. 12, in the Hebrew. [62] 1 Chron. xxix. 29.

was the faithful mentor of his later years. Though these books have not come down to us in their original form, we can not doubt that we have their substance, and generally their actual contents, in the *First and Second Books of Samuel*, with 1 Kings i. ii. Indeed it is strictly in accordance with the Hebrew idiom to read the passage in *Chronicles*, "the book (or history) of Samuel the seer, and Nathan the prophet, and Gad the seer," that is, their joint composition, which could then hardly be other than that which we still have under the double title of the Books of Samuel and of the Kings.

2. Another contemporary authority was the "*Chronicles (or State Papers) of King David*,"[63] a record which David undertook with his characteristic love of truth and order. That the substance of this work is preserved in the "*First Book of Chronicles*" is clear from its very form. Beginning from Adam, with the genealogies, which the Jews justly regarded as the basis of all history, and in them giving the most minute account of the tribe of Judah and the line of David,[64] it dismisses Saul with the genealogy of his family, and only breaks out into the form of a consecutive narrative with the battle in which he died, and from which the reign of David began.[65] The rest of the book is occupied entirely with the history of David.

3. Of still deeper interest for the true knowledge of David as a man and as the servant of Jehovah are his PSALMS, which serve as a mirror for his very nature, which we would venture to compare in this respect to Cicero's letters, were there not a sort of profanation in naming the most earnest strains in which the heart of man has ever been poured out as in the sight of God, beside such revelations as a man of many infirmities chose to make to his familiar friends. There are many critical difficulties in deciding which of the Psalms are David's and on what occasions they were written; what weight should be given to the titles (many certainly erroneous), and what to internal evidence; but there remains an ample store of his own undoubted utterances, of the deepest interest not only for his own life, but in which his is the very pattern of the experience of humanity, and himself the type of the "Son of Man," the true head of the human race. The "threefold cord" of personal experience, sympathetic utterance on behalf of humanity in general, and Messianic prophecy, must not be loosed in the vain attempt to discriminate

[63] 1 Chron. xxvii. 24.

[64] Of course the continuation of this and the other genealogies belongs to the ultimate form of the book.

[65] 1 Chron. x.

each strand. In some sense all that David says of himself belongs to every servant of Jehovah, and to the chief servant and son, who was the antitype of all the rest.

From these sources of information we can gather that David was of a beautiful, though not a commanding person, strong and agile, and endowed with the exquisite organization of the poet and the musician. As the youngest in a large family, he was subject to the scorn of his elder brothers, and his occupation as a shepherd was that which is usually allotted in the East to servants, women, and dependents, as we see in the cases of Rachel and Zipporah, Jacob and Moses. But these apparent disadvantages became the very life-springs of his manly and devout character. It is of course impossible to draw the line of distinction between his life before and after his designation by Samuel; but we may well believe that those elements of character were already forming which began to shine forth when the Spirit of Jehovah came upon him. The lonely watches which he kept by night, amid the pastures for which Bethlehem was famed, opened his mind to revelations only surpassed by those made to later shepherds in the same fields at the advent of his Son and Lord. If he did not, like them, actually hear the heavenly host praising God and saying, "Glory to God in the highest! Peace on earth, good-will to man!" he was taught by the inward voice of God's Spirit to utter the same strains to the music of his harp; and his Psalms show how he used the imagery spread out before his eyes by day and night.[66] At this time he must have first acquired the art which gave him one of his chief claims to mention in after times, "the sweet singer of Israel."[67] But the character thus formed was not that of a religious recluse, unfitted for the active work of life. The personal prowess which he proved by his celebrated combat with a lion and a bear in defense of his father's flocks,[68] appears to have been also exercised in conflicts with Bedouin robbers or Philistine marauders; for, on his first introduction to Saul, he is already known as "a mighty valiant man, and a man of war."[69] At the same time he had already a reputation for the prudence which distinguished him in after life, and which was doubtless the fruit of the self-reliance demanded by his position in his father's house. It seems probable that he found congenial com-

[66] See Psalms vii., viii., xix., xxii., xxiii., xxix., xlii., lxiii., cxlvii., and many others.

[67] 2 Sam. xxiii. 1.

[68] 1 Sam. xvii. 34, 35

[69] 1 Sam. xvi. 18. Even if we adopt another explanation of these words (see § 9), we must suppose him to have had a natural aptitude and early training for war.

panions in his nephews, Abishai, Joab, and Asahel, the sons of Zeruiah, and Amasa the son of Abigail, who were probably about his own age, and who afterward became his most famous champions in war, though the cause of many a trouble, from their want of sympathy with the gentler side of his character.

§ 9. To complete his qualifications for his future dignity, David was introduced to the court of Saul; and, after being displayed to the nation as a rival of the king even in warlike fame, his character was braced by a long persecution. The difficulties which appear on the comparison of the sixteenth and seventeenth chapters of Samuel, as they stand in our text,[70] may arise from the interweaving of different narratives in an order not strictly chronological. There is an evident reason for placing the departure of Jehovah's spirit from Saul in immediate contrast with its descent on David;[71] but the natural order of the events after David's anointing will be found, we think, in the passage which occurs as a retrospective episode in the story of Goliath.[72] The narrative is commonly misunderstood by its not being seen that this victory was the crowning incident of a long campaign.

We are told that "there was sore war against the Philistines all the days of Saul;"[73] and the whole system of God's dealings with Israel justifies our supposing that Saul's crowning act of disobedience was followed by a fresh assault of these enemies. The Philistines gathered their armies at Ephes-dammim (the *Bounds of Blood*), between Shochoh and Azekah, on the border between their own great plain and the highlands of Judah.[74] Saul and the men of Israel were gathered to oppose them;[75] and among those who followed him were the three eldest sons of Jesse—Eliab, Abinadab, and Shammah.[76] Not on one occasion only, but habitually, as we judge from the nature of the case, Jesse sent David to inquire of his brothers' welfare and to supply their wants.[77] With his natural courage animated by the knowledge of his

[70] The Vatican MS. of the LXX. omits xvii. 12–31, and also xvii. 54–xviii. 5. See note [66].

[71] 1 Sam. xvi. 13, 14.

[72] 1 Sam. xvii. 12.

[73] 1 Sam. xiv. 52.

[74] 1 Sam. xvii. 1. Ephes-dammim lay on the mountain forming the south side of the valley of Elah (*Valley of the Terebinth*), which is probably that now called *Wady es-Sumt* (*Valley of the Acacia*). It lies about fourteen miles south-west of Jerusalem, on the road to Gaza, and is intersected by a torrent whose bed is full of round pebbles, like those which David picked out of the brook. Ephes-dammim is elsewhere called Pas-dammim (1 Chron. xi. 13).

[75] 1 Sam. xvii. 2.

[76] 1 Sam. xvii. 13.

[77] 1 Sam. xvii. 17.

high destiny, we may be assured that David would not neglect the opportunity afforded, by his visits to the camp to begin irregular essays in the art of war. The taunt of his brother Eliab that he had come down, in "the pride and naughtiness of his heart, to see the battle,"[78] seems to breathe jealousy rather than contempt. The supposition that he had engaged in successful skirmishes with the Philistines as a visitor to the camp, and that, like King Alfred, he had relieved the tedium of the watches by his minstrelsy, will account for his being known to Saul's servants as "a mighty valiant man, and a man of war, and prudent in affairs," as well as "cunning in playing on the harp."[79]

Meanwhile the mind of Saul was oppressed by this new war, and by the foresight of the fate denounced by Samuel. "The spirit of Jehovah," which had descended upon him when he was anointed, now "departed from him, and an evil spirit from Jehovah terrified him."[80] His servants, who began to experience the terrible caprices of a despot's incipient madness, advised him to try the charms of music, always powerful against melancholy, and believed in the East to possess a magical influence over wild and venomous beasts as well as savage men. Saul consented, and sent to Bethlehem for David, who was recommended to him on the grounds just now stated. Jesse sent his son with a present to the king; and that harp, which has since cheered many a perturbed spirit, refreshed the soul of Saul and dispelled his evil fancies.[81] The narrator of this incident very naturally connects the favor gained by David's success with his ultimate advancement at the court of Saul, who obtained Jesse's consent to David's remaining with him, and made him his armor-bearer.[82] But it does not follow that this took place at once; and such a view is quite inconsistent with the plain statement that David returned from Saul to feed his father's sheep at Bethlehem.[83] His departure from the court explains Saul's forgetfulness, and Abner's ignorance of his person and family.[84] The commander of the forces was not likely to trouble himself about the young shepherd-minstrel; and, to say nothing of the proverbially short memory of kings for their benefactors, Saul had chiefly seen him in his hours of madness. Such is what we may safely infer to have been the course of events before the encounter with Goliath, without professing to de-

[78] 1 Sam. xvii. 28.
[79] 1 Sam. xvi. 18.
[80] 1 Sam. xvi. 14.
[81] 1 Sam. xvi. 15–20, 23.
[82] 1 Sam. xvi. 21, 22.
[83] 1 Sam. xvii. 15.
[84] 1 Sam. xvii. 55.

cide whether they all occurred during the encampment opposite to Ephes-dammim, or in part at an earlier period of the campaign.[85]

Let us return to the hostile armies at Ephes-dammim. The camps of Philistia and Israel were pitched upon two heights, separated by the valley of Elah, across which the hosts confronted one another in battle array morning after morning. A strange cause delayed their conflict. Every morning a champion of Gath, named GOLIATH,[86] came forth out of the camp of the Philistines, and stalked down into the valley to offer single combat. His height was six cubits and a span; he was armed in full panoply of brass (a rare thing in those days, and especially among the Israelites),[87] and a coat of mail weighing 5000 shekels. His spear-head of iron, a metal

[85] The above view of the course of events assumes the correctness of the received text. That of the Vatican MS. of the LXX. would lead us to suppose that David was retained at the court of Saul from his first introduction, growing in his favor and becoming his armor-bearer (1 Sam. xvi. 14–23). In that capacity he was about the king's person when Goliath defied the armies of Israel (1 Sam. xvii. 1–11), and he stepped forth in the midst of the veteran warriors to accept the challenge (1 Sam. xvii. 32). Saul's remonstrance is certainly capable of being understood as addressed to a youth known and loved, and for whose safety he feared; though, if David had been Saul's armor-bearer, we can scarcely understand his not having proved the weight of his armor, or his preference for the simple weapons of a shepherd (1 Sam. xvii. 38–40). The difficulties seem to be very plausibly removed by the omission of xvii. 12–31, and xvii. 55–xviii. 5; but whence did the Hebrew and the other MSS. of the LXX. obtain those passages? If not integral parts of the text in the place where they stand, they must at least be portions of some of the ancient records of David's life; and we still have to encounter the difficulty of finding their proper place in the narrative, for we can not treat them as apocryphal.

[86] It has been conjectured that he was one of the giant race of the Rephaim, some of whom took refuge from the Ammonites with the Philistines (Deuteron. ii. 20, 21; 2 Samuel xxi. 22). His height is variously stated; in the Hebrew text six cubits and a span (or 11 feet 4½ inches, taking the cubit at 21 inches); by the LXX. and Josephus, four cubits and a span (7 feet 10½ inches). There is also some confusion about his name; as Elhanan is said to have slain a Goliath of Gath whose description is like that of the text (2 Sam. xxi. 19); but the parallel passage in 1 Chron. xx. 5 gives "Lahmi, the brother of Goliath the Gittite." From these two passages we may infer that a certain giant of Gath, whose name, Rapha, seems to connect him with the Rephaim, had five sons, Goliath, Ishbibenob, Saph, Lahmi, and a fifth who is not named, but distinguished as having six fingers and toes on each hand and foot. We may here mention the ancient poem on David's victory over Goliath, which is appended to the Psalms in the LXX., but which scarcely reads like David's own composition.

[87] Comp. 1 Sam. xiii. 19–22. Even when Saul gives David his own armor, we read of a brazen helmet and a coat of mail, but not of the greaves and target of brass (comp. 1 Sam. xvii. 5, 6, with 1 Sam. xvii. 38).

then much rarer than brass, weighing 600 shekels, and its shaft was like a weaver's beam. Before him marched an armor-bearer, carrying his shield; and the whole description resembles, what it perhaps suggested, the poet's moon-like orb of Satan's shield, and his spear like "the mast of some great ammiral." With a voice answering to his form, he demanded of "the *servants* of Saul" to find a warrior to meet him, a free-born Philistine, and proposed that the nation whose champion was defeated should serve the other. His appearance struck dismay into Saul and all his people; they stood motionless throughout the day; and at length, the defiance having been repeated in the evening, both armies retired to their camps.[88]

This scene had been repeated for forty days, when David returned to the camp, on a visit to his brethren. He reached the circle of baggage outside the camp at the moment when both armies were drawn up, and the battle-cry was already raised. The temptation was irresistible. He left the bread and parched corn and cheeses, which he had brought as presents for his brothers and their captain, with the guard of the baggage, and ran into the ranks where his brethren stood. As he spoke to them, the champion of Gath approached and uttered his defiance, and all who stood near fled before him. The Spirit which rested upon David moved him with indignation at such a reproach on Israel. "Who," he asked, "is this Philistine, that he should defy the armies of the living God?" The by-standers told him that Saul would give his daughter to the man who should kill the Philistine, and enrich him greatly, and make his house free in Israel. Heedless of the taunts of Eliab, who rebuked his presumption with the authority of an elder brother, David repeated his inquiries till his words came to the ears of Saul. When brought before the king he bade Israel dismiss their fear, for he would go and fight with the Philistine. Not with proud contempt, but with generous anxiety, Saul reminded him that he was but a youth, and the Philistine a warrior from his youth. But David had a shepherd's exploits against wild beasts, not to boast of, but to plead in support of his faith, that "Jehovah, who had delivered him out of the paw of the lion, and out of the paw of the bear, would deliver him out of the hand of the Philistine." "Go! and Jehovah be with thee!" said Saul, his own early trust in God revived by the contagion of example. He armed David for the combat

[88] 1 Sam. xvii. 4–11.

in his own armor, and girded him with his own sword; but David, after the first few steps, cast them off as an untried encumbrance and betook himself to those shepherds' weapons, for their skill in which we have already seen that his countrymen were famous. The only arms of David were his shepherd's staff and sling, with five pebbles which he took from the water-course and placed in his pouch. The Philistine's scorn for the ruddy youth swelled into rage at the mode of his attack: "Am I a dog," he asked, "that thou comest to me with staves?" He seems to have overlooked the sling, "and he cursed him by his gods." David answered his threats with the calm certainty of victory which befitted a champion who avowed that the battle was Jehovah's. Both advanced, David with the swiftness of foot for which he was famous; but before his foe came close, he took a stone from his bag and slung it into the forehead of the Philistine, who fell to the ground upon his face. David rushed in and stood upon him, and, drawing the Philistine's own sword from its sheath, cut off his head. At this sight the Philistine army fled, pursued by Israel with great slaughter as far as Gath, and even to the gates of Ekron, whence the victors returned to spoil their camp. David's own trophies were the head, the armor, and the sword of the fallen champion. The first he exposed at Jerusalem; the second he put in his own tent; and the last he laid up in the tabernacle at Nob, till he took it for his own weapon in his time of need.[89]

As David had gone forth to the encounter, Saul had asked Abner whose son the young man was, but Abner could not tell him. Saul repeated the inquiry of David himself when Abner ushered the youth into his presence, with the head of the Philistine in his hand; and on learning his father's name, Saul sent to ask Jesse to let David remain in his presence, and he made him his armor-bearer. But Saul gave him more than the sunshine of royal favor, the warm love of his impulsive nature; while his son Jonathan conceived for David an affection which at once ripened into one of those friendships that have become proverbial in history—the perfect union of the "friend that sticketh closer than a brother." They made a covenant, which was faithfully observed even when Saul became David's enemy, and, according to the custom in such cases, Jonathan clothed David with his own garments, to his sword and bow, and girdle.[90]

[89] 1 Sam. xvii. 20–54.

[90] 1 Sam. xvi. 21, 22, xvii. 25–xviii. The comparison of xvi. 22 with xviii. 2 seems a decisive proof of the true order of the story.

In this new position, David confirmed the character for prudence which had at first been given him. Employed by the king in various important matters, he is repeatedly said to have "behaved himself wisely in all his ways," "more wisely than all the servants of Saul," and the reason is given, "Jehovah was with him."[91] He needed all his prudence, for Saul's love began soon to turn to jealousy. It is a very interesting question, whether any tidings of Samuel's visit to Bethlehem had reached the court. It is alike difficult to understand the keeping of such a secret, and the conduct of Saul and Jonathan to David if it had transpired. But something may be ascribed, on the one hand, to the jealousy between Judah and Benjamin,[92] which would lead the elders of Bethlehem to keep a secret so vital to their tribe; or something, on the other supposition, to the fatalism of Saul and the romantic generosity of Jonathan, combined with his faith in the providence of Jehovah. On the whole, we can hardly think that David was yet viewed as Saul's anointed successor, though Jonathan afterward recognizes him in that character, and Saul openly denounces him as a rival.[93] The first occasion for this jealousy was given by the songs of the Hebrew women, who came out of every city to greet the victors on their return from the war with the Philistines; and, as they trooped forth "singing and dancing, with tabrets, with joy, and instruments of music," they added to their wonted acclamation,

"*Saul hath slain his thousands,*"

the response of the whole chorus,

"AND DAVID HIS TEN THOUSANDS."

From that hour Saul viewed David with the evil eye, and his fits of melancholy became charged with impulses of murder. On the very next day he twice cast his spear at David as he sat at the royal table, and David only escaped by fleeing from Saul's presence. The king's saner hours were haunted by a jealous fear, which increased with David's prosperity.[94] He removed him from his office about his person, and made him captain over a thousand; but the only result was that David became better known and more beloved

[91] 1 Sam. xviii. 5, 14, 15, 30. The margin of our version gives "he *prospered;*" and we may well understand it of that perfect union of prudence and success which marks the very prosperous man.

[92] Besides other proofs of this, Judah had been the leader in the massacre of Benjamin (Judg. xx. 18).

[93] 1 Sam. xx. 15, 31. Still later he acknowledges David as his destined successor (1 Sam. xxiv. 20, xxvi. 25).

[94] 1 Sam. xviii. 12, 15.

by all the people.[95] Saul then began to plot more systematically against his life. He offered to perform the promise held out to the conqueror of Goliath by giving him his daughter Merab; urging him to win the prize by new enterprises, in which he hoped he might fall by the hand of the Philistines. After all, when the time for the marriage arrived, Merab was given to another. Meanwhile Saul's second daughter, Michal, had become enamored of David; and Saul, with the low cunning of a diseased mind, saw another opportunity for his destruction. He employed his servants to demand of David a dowry which could only be procured by the slaughter of a hundred Philistines; but David went down with his own troop and slew two hundred, and laid their bloody spoils at Saul's feet, thus at once disappointing the hope of his destruction, and leaving him no excuse for breaking his word.[96] He became the king's son-in-law; and, as Saul would naturally keep up appearances, this was probably the occasion of his elevation to the command of the body-guard, a post only second to that of Abner.[97] David's wife proved, like Jonathan, his faithful friend; for which Saul only hated him the more, and "became his enemy continually." He no longer concealed his thoughts, but ordered Jonathan and his courtiers to kill David. Jonathan, however, tried the effect of an earnest remonstrance with his father, contriving that David should overhear the conversation, so as to be assured of Saul's real feelings, and the result was the restoration of David to Saul's favor.[98]

§ 10. This reconciliation lasted only for a short time. David's exploits in a new war with the Philistines again provoked the fury of Saul, who nearly pinned him to the wall with his spear for the second time. David fled to his house, round which Saul set a watch during the night, intending to kill him in the morning.[99] Michal saved her husband's life by letting him down out of a window. She placed an image[100] in his bed, and told Saul's messengers that he was sick. Saul's persistent demand to have him brought to him exposed the deception, which Michal boldly justified. Meanwhile David went to Samuel at Ramah, and dwelt with him at

[95] 1 Sam. xviii. 13, 14, 16.

[96] 1 Sam. xviii. 17-27.

[97] 1 Sam. xviii. 5. Here, as before, the connection of thought in the writer's mind may have been preferred to the exact chronological order.

[98] 1 Sam. xviii. 28-xix. 7.

[99] Psalm lix. is referred to this occasion, on the authority of the title.

[100] In Hebrew *teraphim*, a proof that Michal had brought into the house of David that domestic idolatry which has often come under our notice.

Naioth (the pastures), near the city, among the "schools of the prophets," where David doubtless cultivated his native gifts of psalmody by more systematic instruction than he had yet received. When the messenger sent by Saul to take him saw the company of the prophets prophesying, with Samuel at their head, the Spirit of God fell upon them also, and they prophesied. This was repeated thrice; and at last Saul went himself. No sooner had he reached the well of Sechu, at the foot of the hill of Ramah, than the Spirit of God came upon him, and he prophesied all the way as he went to Naioth. There he stripped off his outer clothes, and fell down before Samuel, prophesying all that day and night. Well might this melancholy exhibition of reluctant homage, so different from his first willing reception of the divine spirit, cause the repetition of the surprise then uttered in scornful incredulity, but now grounded in sad experience, which gave new force to the proverb, "Is Saul also among the prophets?"[101]

Saul seems to have returned from Ramah, professing to be reconciled to David, whom he expected to resume his place at court;[102] but David only left his refuge at Ramah to appeal to Jonathan against his father's persecution.[103] He obtained his friend's consent to a decisive experiment on Saul's intentions, and they arranged a meeting, at which David was to learn his fate. At the same time they renewed their covenant, with the remarkable addition of the oath which Jonathan required of David, evidently in anticipation of his succeeding to the crown: "Thou shalt not cut off thy kindness from my house forever; no! not when Jehovah hath cut off the enemies of David every one from the face of the earth;" and David solemnly ratified this covenant for his descendants as well as himself, and afterward observed it faithfully.[104] The next day was the feast of the new moon; and instead of appearing at the king's table, David hid himself in the place agreed upon with Jonathan, a great heap of stones, called Ezel, in a field near the residence of Saul. Saul sat down to the banquet with Abner and Jonathan, and said nothing of David's absence, but found an excuse for him in his own mind on the ground of ceremonial uncleanness. On the second day, however, his suspicions were thoroughly roused, and he demanded of Jonathan the cause of David's absence. Jonathan's reply that he had given David leave to attend a family feast at Bethlehem (where, in fact, David

[101] 1 Sam. xix.
[102] 1 Sam. xx. 25-29.
[103] 1 Sam. xx. 1-24.
[104] 2 Sam. ix. xxi. 7.

may have spent these two days), brought down his father's rage upon his own head. With the deepest insult upon his birth, Saul taunted him with his friendship for David, told him that his kingdom would never be established during David's life, and ordered him to fetch him, that he might be slain. When Jonathan remonstrated, Saul hurled his spear at him, as he had done twice before at David, and Jonathan left the room in fierce anger. The next morning he went out to the field where David was hiding; and his manner of directing his attendant to gather up the arrows he shot gave David the signal to fly for his life. But first he came out from his hiding-place; and the friends renewed their covenant before parting, and with embraces and tears, in which David was the more vehement, they parted only to meet again for one brief interview.[105] It was reserved for David to give the last proof of his affection for Jonathan by his lamentation over his untimely fate, and the protection which he gave to his son Mephibosheth. Meanwhile he found himself a solitary exile, soon to be hunted "like a partridge on the mountains."

The conqueror of Goliath now sought shelter from the Philistines; but first he betook himself to Nob, where the tabernacle then stood. The high-priest, Ahimelech,[106] was alarmed at his coming alone; but David pretended an urgent commission from Saul; and saying that he had appointed his servants to meet him at a certain place, he asked five loaves of bread for himself and these imaginary attendants. The high-priest had none but the old show-bread, which had just been removed and replaced by the hot loaves, for it was the beginning of the Sabbath; and he gave this to David, on his assurance that he and his attendants were undefiled. This act was in direct violation of the law; but our Lord refers to it as justified by necessity, in illustration of the great principle, "I will have mercy, and not sacrifice," which overrides the mere letter of the positive law.[107] David's next care was to arm himself. With the ambiguous explanation that he had had no time to take his weapons because *the king's business required haste*, he asked for a sword or spear; and the

[105] 1 Sam. xx.; compare xxiii. 16–18.

[106] Called Ahiah in 1 Sam. xiv. 3, and Abiathar in Mark ii. 26. In the latter passage we have an interesting example of that truth to the spirit, rather than the letter, which marks the sacred writings. "Those who were with David" are spoken of as if his pretended appointment with his followers to meet him had been real.

[107] Matt. xii. 3; Mark ii. 25; Luke vi. 3, 4. Often as David is mentioned in the N.T. as the ancestor of Christ, this is the only allusion to the incidents of his life.

high-priest gave him the sword of Goliath, which had been laid up behind the ephod. We can not think that David's excuses imposed upon the high-priest, but rather that Ahimelech's readiness to aid him was a sign of his attachment to David's cause, founded, perhaps, on some knowledge of his divine designation. If any such feeling influenced him, however, he kept it to himself, and did not consult the oracle on David's behalf, as Saul afterward charged him with doing, on the report of Doeg, his chief herdsman, who happened to witness the transaction.[108]

From Nob David fled to Achish, king of Gath; but the Philistine chieftains showed so quick a memory of his slaughter of Goliath[109] that he only saved his life by feigning the madness of a slavering idiot, and Achish dismissed him with contempt. He found a refuge for himself in the largest of the caves in the limestone rocks which border the *Shefelah*, or great maritime plain near Adullam, a city of Judah, not far from Bethlehem.[110] Here he became established as an independent outlaw. Besides his brethren, who fled to him from their neighboring native city, he was joined by all those classes who are ever ready for revolt—debtors, malcontents, and persons in distress, such as those who had gathered round Jephthah in his outlawry.[111] His father and mother he placed in safety with the King of Moab, a people with whom the family were connected through Ruth. We must not think of David in the Cave of Adullam as a rebel against Saul, but rather as an independent chieftain, making war from his own stronghold against the Philistines. Among his band of 400 men, some performed deeds of valor which gave them a permanent precedence among his warriors. Two such trios were especially distinguished; and among the second three was Abishai, the son of David's sister Zeruiah, whose two other sons, Joab and Asahel, probably joined David at this

[108] 1 Sam. xxi. 1-7, xxii. 14, 15.

[109] The sword of Goliath may have been the means of his discovery. The title of Psalm lvi. states that he was made prisoner by the Philistines of Gath.

[110] 1 Sam. xxii. 1, 2; 2 Sam. xxiii. 13; 1 Chr. xi. 15; Gen. xxxviii. 1, 12, 20; Josh. xii. 15, xv. 35; 2 Chron. xi. 7; Neh. xi. 30; 2 Macc. xii. 38. It was probably the cave now called *Khureitûn*, the only very large cavern in Palestine (Robinson, vol. ii. pp. 23, 51-53; Bonar, *Land of Promise*, p. 244; Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 259). We see no reason for regarding the "hold" (*Matzed*, literally *lair*) mentioned in 1 Sam. xxii. 4, 5, as a fastness distinct from the cave, as Josephus makes it (*Bell. Jud.* vii. 8, § 3). Dean Stanley adopts this view, identifying the fortress with that afterward called *Herodium*, or with *Masada*, in which Herod placed his mother and bride.

[111] That some of these were Canaanites appears from the mention of Ahimelech the Hittite, 1 Sam. xxvi. 6.

time, though not yet mentioned by name. To this period belongs the romantic story of the water of the well of Bethlehem. David expressed a longing for the water of which he used to drink as a boy; and the three chief heroes cut their way through the army of the Philistines, which lay encamped in the valley of Rephaim, to the gate of Bethlehem, and brought the water to David. But with self-denial like that of Alexander in the desert of Gedrosia, and Philip Sidney in his thirst of death at Zutphen, David poured the water on the ground, exclaiming, "Shall I drink the blood of these men, that have put their lives in jeopardy?"[112] Another band joined him here of men of Judah and Benjamin, under Amasai, the son of his other sister Abigail, and eleven men of Gad crossed the Jordan to his camp.[113] With them perhaps came the prophet GAD, who is now first mentioned. He had probably been David's companion in the prophetic school at Ramah, and may now have been sent by Samuel to counsel David by the word of Jehovah.

By his direction, David left his concealment at Adullam for the forest of Hareth, among the hills of Judah;[114] and Saul no sooner heard of his appearance, than he set out in person to hunt him down. The king had begun to distrust his own immediate followers. As he stood with them under a grove at Ramah he taunted the men of his own tribe as having no feeling for him, and as conspiring with his own son on behalf of David, from whom *they* could not expect the benefits which would doubtless be reserved for Judah.[115] None responded to the appeal but his Edomite officer, Doeg. He recounted what he had witnessed at Nob, artfully suppressing the tale by which David had deceived Ahimelech, and adding that the high-priest had asked counsel of the oracle for David. Ahimelech, summoned to Saul's presence, denied the latter charge, and protested his ignorance of any treason on the part of David, whom he had treated as the king's son-in-law, honored in his court and intrusted with his confidence. Saul's fury regarded this plea as little as Ahimelech's sacred character, and he called on his guards to slay him, with all the priests of Nob. When none obeyed, he repeated the order to Doeg, and this son Esau put to death eighty-five priests on that one day. Nor was this all. The city of Nob was given up to massacre, and men, women, children, and sucklings, oxen, asses, and sheep, were all put to the sword. One

[112] 2 Sam. xxiii. 13–19; 1 Chr. xi. 15–21. [113] 1 Chr. xii. 8, 16–18.
[114] 1 Sam. xxii. 5.
[115] 1 Sam. xxii. 6–8: the appeal to the jealousy of the two tribes is clearly implied.

only of the sons of Ahimelech, named Abiathar, escaped and fled to David, who now saw with remorse the effect of the deceit he had practiced on the high-priest in Doeg's presence, and promised Abiathar his protection. We can not fail to see in this massacre the working of the curse on the house of Eli.[116]

David had now in his camp not only a prophet, but the successor to the high-priesthood; and he placed his movements under the guidance of the oracle of Jehovah. With this divine sanction, he overbore the fears of his followers and fell upon the Philistines, who had plundered the threshing-floors of Keilah, and were besieging the city. Having utterly defeated the Philistines, and gained great booty from them in cattle, David established himself in Keilah. Here Saul imagined he had caught him, as in a trap; and David, learning from God, by means of the sacred ephod, that the men of Keilah would give him up, left the city, with his little band, now amounting to 600 men, who were obliged to disperse themselves for safety.[117] David moved from one lurking-place to another in the wilderness of Ziph, while Saul was in constant search of him. It was at this juncture that the last interview took place between David and Jonathan, who found his friend in a certain wood, "and strengthened his hand in God," assuring him that he should be king over Israel, and expressing the vain hope that he himself would be next to him. When they had again renewed their covenant, Jonathan retired to his house instead of rejoining his father. The Ziphites betrayed David's movements to Saul, who left Gibeah in quest of him, preceded by the Ziphites, tracking his very footsteps like beaters after game. Thus hunted like a partridge over the hills of Judah, David fled to the wilderness of Maon, beyond Jeshimon, in the extreme south. Here Saul followed him so close that David fled from his rock of refuge to one side of a mountain, while the king was hunting for him on its other side; whence the place obtained the name of Sela-hammahlekoth (*the rock of divisions*). At length Saul was called away by the news of an invasion of the Philistines, and David betook himself to the dreary fastnesses of the wilderness of Engedi, on the margin of the Dead Sea.[118] Saul, having repelled the invaders, returned with

[116] 1 Sam. xxii. 9-23.

[117] 1 Sam. xxiii. 1-15.

[118] Engedi, "the fountain of the kid," was originally named Hazazon-tamar, "the pruning of the palm," on account of the palm-groves which surrounded it (2 Chr. xx. 2; Ecclus. xxiv. 14). It is about the middle of the western shore of the lake, and at an elevation of some 400 feet above

3000 men, chosen out of all Israel, to the pursuit of David and his little band, who were now hunted from rock to rock like the wild goats of that desert. It happened that Saul went alone into a cave where David and his men were hidden in the lateral caverns. Urged to use so favorable an opportunity, David contented himself with creeping behind the king and cutting off the skirt of his robe. But his heart smote him even for this insult to the anointed of Jehovah. Following Saul out of the cave, he cried after him, "My lord the king," and bowing down before him, he showed him his skirt, as a proof that he had spared his life, and made a most pathetic appeal to the king's forbearance, and protestation of his own innocence. The old impulsive affection of Saul burst the barriers of jealous hatred. David had called him "Father," and with tears he responds, "Is this thy voice, my son David?" He confesses his injustice and David's magnanimity, acknowledges the divine decree which had given the kingdom of Israel into the hand of David, and takes an oath of him not to cut off his name and house in Israel. Saul returned home, but David remained in his fastnesses.[119]

About this time Samuel died; and all Israel joined to mourn for him, with a bitterness doubtless enhanced by the fulfillment of his warnings concerning their chosen king. They buried him at his house at Ramah; and David, probably feeling that the last restraint on Saul was now removed, retired southward to the fastnesses of the wilderness of Paran. Here occurred a very interesting episode in his adventures. There lived at Maon a descendant of Caleb, named Nabal, possessed of great wealth. His flocks of 3000 sheep and 1000 goats fed on the pastures of Carmel. His wife Abigail was intelligent and beautiful, but the man himself was a mean, miserable churl. As his own wife said, he was Nabal (a *fool*, implying wickedness) by nature and by name. Amid the festivities of his sheep-shearing David sent ten young men, with a friendly greeting, to ask Nabal for a present. The request was founded on the security of his flocks while David's band had been near them; and it seems probable that Nabal had not only enjoyed immunity from any injury by the outlaws, but had even been protected by them from the Bedouin marauders. Such appears to have been David's mode of occupying his followers, and obtaining subsistence in return for their serv-

the plain is the fountain of *Ain Jidy*, from which the place gets its name. Traces of the old city exist upon the plain and lower declivity of the mountain, on the south bank of the brook.

[119] 1 Sam. xxiv.

ices. But Nabal spurned the request and denied the claim with contempt. "Who is David?" he asked, "and who is the son of Jesse? There be many servants nowadays that break away every man from his master!" David received the message, and prepared to avenge the insult, vowing the death of every man of Nabal's house. He took 400 men with him, and left 200 to guard the baggage—the first example of a proportion which afterward became a rule.[120] Meanwhile the prudent Abigail, being informed by a servant of her husband's behavior, hastened to provide, without his knowledge, an abundant present of bread, parched corn, sheep ready dressed, skins of wine, clusters of raisins, and cakes of figs. Sending forward her servants with the asses thus loaded, she went to meet David just as he emerged from the passes of the hills. Not content with entreating his forbearance, she acknowledged him as the champion who fought the battles of Jehovah, and as the future leader of Israel. Deploring the persecution he suffered from Saul, she used those powerful and oft-quoted figures: "The soul of my lord shall be *bound in the bundle of life* with Jehovah thy God: and the souls of thine enemies, *them shall He sling out, as out of the middle of a sling.*" Her beauty and sense made a deep impression upon David. For the present, he sent her home in safety, accepting her gift, and thanking her for keeping him from shedding blood. Nabal had meanwhile feasted like a king till he was drunk; so his wife kept her news till the morning. The shock was too great for his cowardice and avarice: "his heart died within him, and he became as a stone;" and in ten days he died. Abigail found a new husband in David, whose wife Michal had been given by Saul to another; and about the same time David also married Ahinoam of Jezreel.[121]

Meanwhile Saul had forgotten the promises made under his transient impulse of kindness and repentance. David's old enemies, the Ziphites, came to tell the king that he was again in the stronghold of Hachilah, east of Jeshimon, and Saul again led his chosen army of 3000 men, under Abner, in pursuit of him. Once more Saul fell into the power of David, and was magnanimously spared. Informed by his spies of the position of Saul's camp, David went down with his nephew Abishai by night, and found Saul asleep by the side of Abner in the midst of his body-guard, with his well-known spear stuck into the ground beside his bolster. Abishai proposed to smite Saul to the earth with that spear which

[120] Comp. 1 Sam. xxx. 24.
[121] 1 Sam. xxv. See the pedigree in *Notes and Illustrations.*

had twice been hurled at David; but David left his fate in the hands of God, and refused to stretch forth his hand against Jehovah's anointed. They took the spear and the cruse of water that was by his side and left the camp, where all were still sunk in a sleep sent by God. Retiring a safe distance to the top of a hill, David shouted to the people and to Abner, whom he taunted for the little care with which so valiant a man had watched over the king's life! Saul knew the voice, and the scene of remonstrance, confession, and forgiveness was again repeated, but with some striking variations. Saul begged David to return to him, promising not to harm him, and confessing that "he had played the fool;"[122] and when David would only trust his life to God and not to him, he parted from him with the words of prophetic blessing: "Blessed be thou, my son David, thou shalt both do great things, and also shalt still prevail."[123]

This was their last interview; for David, despairing of safety while within reach of Saul, resolved finally to seek shelter among the Philistines. Their power was now such that Saul could scarcely make head against them, much less pursue David into their country; and, in fact, he abandoned the attempt.[124] David went, as before, to Achish king of Gath, no longer as a solitary fugitive, but with his whole household, and his band of 600 men. This force, and still more, perhaps, the knowledge that he had finally broken with Saul, secured him respect, though the Philistine chieftains withheld from him their confidence. Achish assigned, for his residence and maintenance, the frontier city of Ziklag, which consequently belonged ever after to the kings of Judah.[125] We have here the only note of time in the history of David's wanderings. The whole time he spent in the country of the Philistines, that is, to his departure for Hebron after the death of Saul,[126] was a year and four months, or, according to the LXX. and Josephus, four months, or a little more. Whichever be the true reading, it suggests a reflection on the evils that sprang from his want of faith and patience for so short a period. His presence in Judah would have given an opportunity which Saul could hardly have refused for calling him forth as the champion of Israel. At all events,

[122] Here, as in other passages, the present sense of the English word quite fails to express the degraded wickedness implied by the Hebrew.

[123] 1 Sam. xxvi.

[124] 1 Sam. xxvii. 1, 4.

[125] 1 Sam. xxvii. 4, 5. Here is an indication that the book, in its present form, belongs to a period after the division of the kingdom.

[126] 2 Sam. ii. 1.

he would have been at hand to retrieve the disaster, and would doubtless have been hailed as king by the united voice of Israel. As it was, however, his nation suffered a terrible defeat, which, instead of doing his best to avert, he narrowly escaped taking a share in inflicting; his recognition as king of Israel was postponed for seven years and a half, at the cost of a civil war and the permanent alienation of Judah from the rest of Israel, and meanwhile he was involved in a course of pitiable deceit. He could not enjoy the protection of Achish without rendering him service against his country. So he sallied forth from Ziklag, but instead of attacking Israel, he fell upon the tribes of the southern desert of Shur, toward the confines of Egypt, the Geshurites, the Gezrites, and the Amalekites, and exhibited their spoil to Achish as having been won in the south of Judah, and from the allied tribes of the Jerahmeelites and the Kenites. To guard against detection, he put to the sword every man and woman of each settlement that he attacked. Achish himself was thoroughly imposed upon, and put such unlimited confidence in David that he summoned him to join in a grand attack which the Philistines were preparing against Israel, and David sank so low as to boast of the courage he would display.[127] The distrust of the other lords of the Philistines saved him from this dilemma.

§ 11. We must now look back to Saul.[128] Since the death of Samuel and the flight of David, darkness had gathered about his declining path like clouds around the setting sun The prophetic inspiration which had once marked him as the servant of Jehovah found vent, as we have seen at Ramah, in ravings scarcely to be distinguished from those of his madness. His religious zeal, always rash, as in the vow which so nearly cost the life of Jonathan, was now shown in deeds of sanguinary violence. If the slaughter of the witches and necromancers be defended by the strict letter of the Mosaic law, which however Saul himself had long permitted to slumber,[129] the massacre of the Gibeonites was the violation of a covenant which formed one of the sacred traditions of the nation, and was afterward visited as such on "the blood-stained house of Saul."[130] This deed may have been a sequel to Saul's inexpiable crime, the massacre of the priests at Nob, The day of retribution now came.

[127] 1 Sam. xxvii., xxviii. 1, 2.

[128] 1 Sam. xxviii. 3.

[129] 1 Sam. xxviii. 4, 9; comp. Ex. xxii. 18; Lev. xix. 31, xx. 27; Deut. xviii. 10, 11. It seems clear that this was a late act of Saul's reign.

[130] 2 Sam. xxi. 1-9.

The hosts of the Philistines had assembled at the great battle-field of Palestine, the valley of Jezreel.[131] They occupied the southern slopes of the "Little Hermon," by Shunem, while Saul and the Israelites were encamped on the opposite hills of Gilboa. A panic fear seized Saul at the sight of the army of the Philistines. Fain would he have inquired of Jehovah; but the high-priest was a fugitive from his murderous wrath; he had alienated the prophets, and their chief was in the camp of David; and God gave him no answer, "neither by dreams, nor by Urim, nor by prophets." In his extremity, he resorted to the very impostors who had been the victims of his zeal. Among those who had escaped him was a woman who lived at Endor, on the other side of the Little Hermon.[132] Her supernatural pretensions are described by the epithet "a woman of *Ob*" (the skin or bladder), which the LXX. explain as a ventriloquist.[133] Saul went to her abode by night and in disguise, with only two attendants, and desired her to bring up from the dead the person whom he should name. Fearing a snare, and having perhaps already some suspicions as to the quality of her visitors, the woman only consented on Saul's taking an oath that she should not be punished. She then inquired whom she should bring up, and Saul asked for Samuel. Then (to follow the narrative and reserve criticism for the end) the woman saw (or professed to see) the form of Samuel rising from the earth; and, uttering a loud cry, she charged Saul with having deceived her, for she now knew him to be the king. He calmed her fears, and demanded what she had seen. "I saw," she answered, "a god-like form[134] rising up out of the earth." In reply to Saul's inquiries, she further described the apparition as that of "an old man covered with a mantle," doubtless the prophetic robe always worn by Samuel.[135] By these tokens Saul recognized Samuel, and bowed his face to the ground, while Samuel asked, "Why hast thou disquieted

[131] On the topography, see p. 471.

[132] The name still lingers attached to a considerable but now deserted village to the north of the Little Hermon (*Jebel Duhy*). The rock of the mountain, on the slope of which *Endûr* stands, is hollowed into caves, one of which may well have been the scene of the incantation of the witch. The distance from the slopes of Gilboa to Endor is seven or eight miles, over difficult ground.

[133] 1 Sam. xxviii. 7. A tradition preserved by Jerome makes her the mother of Abner—an invention, probably, to account for her life having been spared. Another tradition names Abner and Amasa as Saul's two companions.

[134] *Elohim*, the plural of majesty. The word may denote, as we have seen, any person of dignity, and especially a judge.

[135] See note on p. 370.

me, to bring me up?" Saul poured forth his sore distress, attacked as he was by the Philistines and abandoned by Jehovah. Samuel replied that it was in vain to resort to him, for this was but the fulfillment of his prophetic word; that Jehovah had torn the kingdom out of his hand, and given it to David, because he had disobeyed him in sparing the Amalekites. He foretold his defeat by the Philistines, and added that on the morrow Saul and his sons should be with him among the dead. At this sentence, Saul fell prostrate his whole length upon the earth, and fainted away with fear and exhaustion, for he had fasted all the day and night. Having, at the urgent pressure of the woman and his attendants, partaken of a meal, the best that she could prepare for him, Saul returned to the camp the same night.[136]

Such is the plain narrative of Scripture, which certainly conveys the impression that there was a real apparition in the form of Samuel, and that the words heard by Saul were uttered by the spectre. But, when we remember that the Scripture relates things as they appear to the witnesses, without necessarily implying their reality, the question still remains, whether the apparition was real or an imposture. On this point, opinions have been divided in every age. All the analogy of experience, all the deductions of reasoning, and all the general lessons of Scripture, unite in branding every form of magic and necromancy as an imposture; and the safest conclusion is to reject every claim to supernatural power or knowledge, in any other form than as a revelation from God himself, from the arts of the Egyptian priests and the oracles of the Greeks down to the pitiful absurdities which find credence in our own day. Least of all can we admit the hypothesis of diabolical agency in such matters, except as tempting the impostors to deceive, and the dupes to believe. Satan is permitted to tempt men through their own desires, and even, as in the case of Job, to direct the powers of nature for mischief, under the special control of God, and, as in the frenzy of the demoniacs and of Saul himself, to work up an ungoverned mind to madness, till it distorts the body with epileptic fury; but his power over the other world, and his communication to men of superhuman knowledge, are inventions unsanctioned by the word of God, while sober criticism pronounces the evidence in their support to be inadequate. If these principles be established by general reasoning on the whole question, we are no longer bound

[136] 1 Sam. xxviii.

to clear up the difficulties of each particular case; and it is by committing themselves to this, in which the practiced impostor foils them, that many are made confirmed dupes. It must be admitted, however, that the case before us has some peculiar features which suggest, not that the woman was other than an impostor, but that her juggleries were overruled by God in a way as surprising to herself as to the other witnesses of the scene. Her shriek of terror at Samuel's appearance, if it proves the reality of the apparition, equally disproves her claims to have raised him, for she evidently expected no such result. On the other hand, the circumstance that Saul did not himself see Samuel, but only recognized him from the woman's description—a description of a very safe generality—agrees with the usual arts of these impostors, who invariably (except when optical delusions are employed) profess to see, or to cause a third party to see, what the inquirer himself is not permitted to behold.[137] But is it possible to explain the words of Samuel as a delusion? Only on the supposition that the belief that Samuel had come to revisit him from the dead so worked upon Saul's mind as to suggest through his conscience what seemed to be spoken in his ear. Such cases of oral deception are common in the history of apparitions, and there is nothing in the matter of the denunciation which might not be thus accounted for. Saul had long been aware of his rejection, and known that David was to succeed him: the allusion to his disobedience in sparing Amalek is but an echo of Samuel's reproof at the time: and the prediction of his defeat and death on the morrow may have been equally an echo of his fear. We should have had the materials for a more decisive judgment, had we been told, as in the narrative of St. Paul's conversion, whether the king's companions heard the voice that spoke to him: it is clear that they did not see the apparition. And this question involves another, as to the testimony from which the whole narrative was derived. The only witnesses of the scene were the witch, who had every motive to keep it, as well as herself, in close concealment, and Saul's two companions, who would speak freely of it after Saul's death. Their relation would be founded partly on what they themselves witnessed, such as the whole circumstances of the scene and the conversation between Saul and the witch, and partly on what the king chose to communicate to them, as his only remaining confidants, on their way back to the camp. Differ-

[137] As in the case of the modern Egyptian magicians, first made known, and afterward finally exposed by Mr. Lane.

ent readers will of course form different opinions, whether the words introduced by the simple phrase, "And Samuel said to Saul," were heard by the witnesses of the scene, or were repeated to them by Saul as the confidence of an overburdened heart; but we incline to the opinion that, had they been audible to all present, we should have had some notice of the fact, as we have in the case of the words spoken to St. Paul.[138]

Such a night was a dismal preparation for the ensuing day, which sealed the fate of Saul. But while the two armies still hang, like thunder-clouds, on the opposing heights, let us see what is passing in the rear of the Philistines. There is David and his band, with the forces of Gath under Achish, no doubt hoping that his position would secure him from taking any decisive part in the battle. But he was soon relieved from his false position. The princes of the Philistines no sooner saw him than they asked, "What do these Hebrews here?" In vain did Achish plead his perfect confidence in David: the other lords called to mind again the old songs of the ten thousand slain by David; and, declaring that he would side against them in the battle to reconcile himself with Saul, they insisted on his dismissal. After a show of great reluctance, and renewed expressions of confidence from Achish, David and his men departed with the morning light.

Having thus escaped the great danger of having to fight against Israel, he found that another disaster had been occasioned by his march with the Philistines. The Amalekites had seized the opportunity to take vengeance for David's forays; and when he and his men arrived at Ziklag the third day after leaving the Philistine camp they found the city burnt, and their wives and children carried away as captives, including the two wives of David himself. They wept over the ruin, and began to threaten David's life; "but David encouraged himself in Jehovah his God." He summoned Abiathar with the oracular ephod, and received the direction of Jehovah to pursue, with the promise of success. By means of a straggler, an Egyptian slave of one of the Amalekites, whom they found half dead with fatigue and hunger, they fell upon the enemy, who were feasting in all the disorder of security, and slaughtered them for a whole night and day, only 400 of the whole tribe escaping. Besides recovering their wives and children and all their property without any

[138] Acts ix. 7.

loss, they obtained a great booty in cattle from the enemy. A question now arose about the division of the spoil. It had happened that one-third of David's 600 men were too weary, after their long march, to keep up with the rest, and they had been left behind at the brook Besor with the baggage. As they exchanged congratulations with David on his return, the worser part of David's followers, "all the men of Belial," proposed that they should have no share in the spoil. David sternly forbade this injustice, and laid down what thenceforth became a law in Israel, that those who staid with the baggage should have an equal share, man for man, with those who went to the fight. From his own share of the spoil he sent presents to the elders of Judah, to Bethel, Hebron, and other cities that he had frequented with his bands, and to the friendly Arabs of the desert, the Jerahmeelites and the Kenites.[139]

§ 12. On the third day after this victory, David received news of the terrible overthrow of Saul and his army in Mount Gilboa on the day of his departure. The Philistines had occupied the valley of Jezreel,[140] and the Israelites were driven before them up the slopes and over the crest of Mount Gilboa with immense loss.[141] The hottest pursuit was made after Saul and the band who kept round him. His three sons, Jonathan, Abinadab, and Melchishua, were slain, and he himself was mortally wounded by the Philistine archers. Disabled from flight, he begged his armor-bearer to draw his sword and slay him, that his last moment might not be insulted by the uncircumcised foes of God. On his refusal, Saul fell upon his own sword and died, and his faithful attendant, who had feared to raise his hand against God's anointed, did not hesitate to share his fate. On the next day the Philistines found the bodies of Saul and his three sons among the dead, and messengers were instantly dispatched through all the cities of Philistia to command rejoicings in the idol temples. They carried Saul's remains from city to city, and at last deposited the trophy in the temple of Ashtaroth. His head was struck from his body, and placed in the temple of Dagon, probably at Ashdod, while the headless trunk was exposed, with those of his sons, on the wall of the Canaanitish city of Bethshan. In this extremity of shame and ruin, there was one city whose heroic people remembered that Saul had saved them from a fate as shameful. While the Israelites west of Jordan were aban-

[139] 1 Sam. xxix. [140] 1 Sam. xxix. 11. [141] 1 Sam. xxxi. 1.

doning their cities to be possessed by the Philistines, the men of Jabesh-gilead made a night march across the river and took down the bodies of Saul and his sons, which they carried to Jabesh and burnt.[142] They buried the bones under a tamarisk-tree, and observed a fast for seven days.[143] The ashes were removed long afterward by David to the sepulchre of Kish at Zelah.[144]

The sad tidings were brought to David at Ziklag by an Amalekite, who arrived with his clothes rent and earth upon his head, and said that he had escaped out of the camp of Israel, and had been an eye-witness of Saul's death.[145] He told the tale of the hot pursuit; and then added (whether as an invention to please David, or whether he had really come up to the place where Saul had fallen upon his sword, while he was still alive) that the king, despairing of escape, had begged to be dispatched by his hand, and that he had dealt the last fatal blow. He produced the crown and armlet which Saul used to wear in battle and gave them to David. The news was received with an unfeigned grief and consternation worthy of the reverence and affection which David had never lost for Saul, and of his deep love for Jonathan. He rent his clothes, and, with all his band, mourned and wept and fasted till the evening. Then he sent for the Amalekite, and asking how he had dared to put forth his hand to slay the anointed of Jehovah, he caused him to be put to death as guilty by his own confession. Finally, he took his harp, and poured forth a lamentation over Saul and Jonathan, which is the finest as well as the most ancient of all dirges. Under the title of "THE BOW," the favorite weapon of Jonathan, it was recorded in "The Book of Jasher,"[146] and taught as a standing lesson to the children of Judah. Its spirit is alike worthy of the poet and of the objects of

[142] Bethshan, elsewhere called Beth-shean (Josh. xvii. 11; 1 Chron. vii. 29), one of the towns from which the Canaanites were not driven out (Judg. i. 27), still bears the name of *Beisân*. It lies in the Ghôr, or Jordan Valley, about twelve miles south of the Sea of Galilee, and four miles west of the Jordan, on the brow of the descent, by which the great plain of Esdraelon (Jezreel) drops down to the level of the Ghôr. A few miles to the south-west are the mountains of Gilboa, and close beside the town runs the water of the *Ain-Jalûd*, the fountain of which is by Jezreel, and is in all probability the spring by which the Israelites encamped before the battle in which Saul was killed (1 Sam. xxix. 1).

If Jabesh-gilead was where Dr. Robinson conjectures—at *ed-Deir*, in the *Wady Yâbis*—the distance from thence to Beisân, which it took the men of Jabesh "all night" to traverse, can not be less than twenty miles.

[143] 1 Sam. xxxi.; 1 Chron. x.

[144] 2 Sam. xxi. 14.

[145] 2 Sam. i.

[146] See note on p. 305.

his eulogy. A less generous heart, and one less devoted to duty, might have been content with the tribute of affection to his friend Jonathan, and have left the memory of his unjust master to perish in silence. But David was not so insensible to Saul's better qualities, to his old affection, and to the claim of the King of Israel to be celebrated in death by the same harp that had soothed his tortured mind while he lived. And so the poem has verified to every succeeding age its own most beautiful and touching words:—

> "Saul and Jonathan were lovely and pleasant in their lives,
> And *in their death they were not divided*."

Together they are celebrated as "swifter than eagles, and stronger than lions;" and equal prowess is ascribed to the bow of Jonathan and to the sword of Saul. The mourner depicts the joy of the Philistines over "the mighty who were fallen" in strains which have ever since been proverbial:—

> "Tell it not in Gath,
> Publish it not in the streets of Askelon;
> Lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice,
> Lest the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph."

Nature is called to sympathize with the sorrow of Israel by devoting the scene of the disaster to a curse:

> "Ye mountains of Gilboa, let there be no dew,
> Neither rain upon you, nor fields of offerings:
> For there the shield of the mighty is vilely cast away,
> The shield of Saul,[147] as though he had not been anointed with oil."

Each of the fallen receives his special tribute. Saul is likened to

> "The *gazelle* of Israel, slain upon the high places;"

and the daughters of Israel, who once celebrated the slayer of his thousands, are called to weep for him

> "Who clothed them in scarlet, with other delights;
> Who put ornaments of gold on their apparel."

But the grand outburst of love and grief is reserved for Jonathan:

> "O Jonathan, thou wast slain in thy high places.
> I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan:

[147] This is a figure for the utter destruction of Saul's power, as in Psalm lxxvi. 3; not a mere literal statement that Saul left his shield on the field of battle, like a Grecian ῥίψασπις. It is superfluous to multiply examples of the *shield* as the emblem of martial power, under which the people dwell in safety—a figure used in the highest sense in Ps. lxxxiv. 11, "Jehovah God is a sun and shield;" and in Ps. cxv. 9, "He is their help and their shield." There is an interesting various reading:—"The shield of Saul, the weapons of the anointed with oil."

Very pleasant hast thou been unto me:
Thy love to me was wonderful,
Passing the love of women."

This noble utterance of grief, in which David is the mouth-piece of Israel, forms a fit conclusion to the second period of his own life, as well as to the fatal experiment undertaken by the Israelites and Saul, of establishing a kingdom on the principles of self-will, and after the model of the nations around, in place of the royalty of Jehovah.

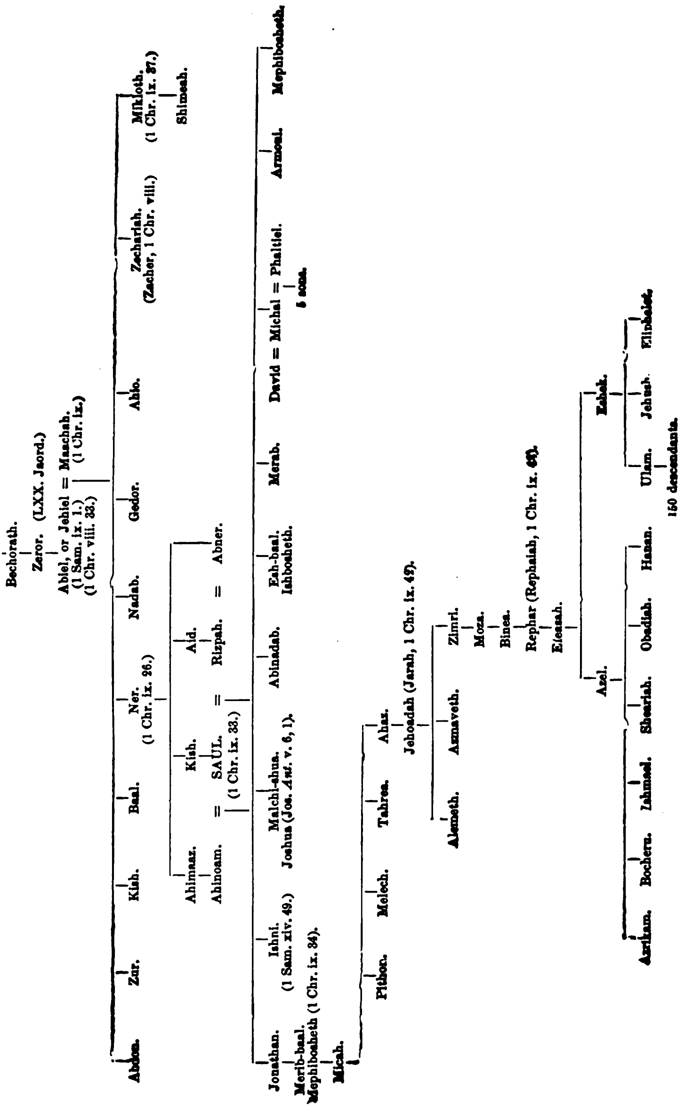
To this period we owe several of those Psalms which, while attesting the constancy of David's piety, have been ever since the manual for the afflicted and the oppressed. The simple songs of the shepherd "had prepared the way for his future strains, when the anointing oil of Samuel came upon him, and he began to drink in special measure, from that day forward, of the Spirit of Jehovah. It was then that, victorious at home over the mysterious melancholy of Saul, and in the field over the vaunting champion of the Philistine hosts, he sang how from even babes and sucklings God had ordained strength because of His enemies.[148] His next Psalms are of a different character: his persecutions at the hands of Saul had commenced. Psalm lviii. was probably written after Jonathan's disclosure of the murderous designs of the court: Psalm lix. when his house was being watched by Saul's emissaries.[149] The inhospitality of the court of Achish at Gath gave rise to Psalm lvi.; Psalm xxxiv. was David's thanksgiving for deliverance from that court, not unmingled with shame for the unworthy stratagem to which he had there temporarily had recourse. The associations connected with the Cave of Adullam are embodied in Psalm lvii.: the feelings excited by the tidings of Doeg's servility in Psalm lii. The escape from Keilah, in consequence of a divine warning, suggested Psalm xxxi. Psalm liv. was written when the Ziphites officiously informed Saul of David's movements. Psalms xxxiv. and xxxvi. recall the colloquy at Engedi. Nabal of Carmel was probably the original of the 'fool' of Psalm liii.; though in this case the closing verse of that psalm must have been added when it was further altered by David himself into Psalm xiv. The most thoroughly idealized picture suggested by a retrospect of all the dangers of his outlaw-life is that presented to us by David in Psalm xxii. But in Psalm xxiii., which forms a side-piece to it, and the imagery of which is drawn from his ear-

[148] Psalm viii.

[149] Psalms vi. and vii. are supposed by Ewald to refer to the plots which he fled to escape.

lier shepherd days, David acknowledges that his past career had had its brighter as well as its darker side; nor had the goodness and mercy which were to follow him all the days of his life been ever really absent from him. Two more psalms, at least, must be referred to the period before David ascended the throne, Psalms xxxviii. and xxxix., which naturally associate themselves with the distressing scene at Ziklag after the inroad of the Amalekites."[150]

[150] *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i. p. 956. Other Psalms referred by their traditional titles to this period are, Ps. lxiii. "When he was in the wilderness of Judah (or Idumæa, LXX.)," and Psalm cxlii., "A prayer when he was in the cave."


Bechorath.
Zeror. (LXX. Jaord.)
Abiel, or Jehiel = Maachah.
(1 Sam. ix. 1.)
(1 Chr. viii. 33.)
(1 Chr. ix.)
Abdon.
Zur.
Kish.
Baal.
Ner. (1 Chr. ix. 26.)
Nadab.
Gedor.
Ahio.
Zechariah. (Zacher, 1 Chr. viii.)
Mikloth. (1 Chr. ix. 37.)
Shimeah.
Ahimaaz.
Kish.
Abi.
Ahinoam. = SAUL. (1 Chr. ix. 33.) = Rizpah. = Abner.
Jonathan.
Ishui. (1 Sam. xiv. 49.)
Malchi-shua. Joshua (Jos. Ant. v. 6, 1).
Abinadab.
Esh-baal. Ishbosheth.
Merab.
David = Michal = Phaltiel.
5 sons.
Armoni.
Mephibosheth.
Merib-baal. Mephibosheth (1 Chr. ix. 34).
Micah.
Pithon.
Melech.
Tahrea.
Ahaz.
Jehoadah (Jarah, 1 Chr. ix. 42).
Alemeth.
Azmaveth.
Zimri.
Moza.
Binea.
Rephar (Rephaiah, 1 Chr. ix. 43).
Eleasah.
Azel.
Eshek.
Azrikam.
Bocheru.
Ishmael.
Sheariah.
Obadiah.
Hanan.
Ulam.
150 descendants.
Jehush.
Eliphelet.

PEDIGREE OF DAVID.—I. His Ancestry and Collaterals.

Salmon or Salmah (Ruth iv. 21; 1 Chr. ii. 11). — Elimelech = Naomi (Ruth i. 1).

Boaz = Ruth = Mahlon (Ruth iv. 10). — Chilion = Orpah.

Obed (Ruth iv. 17).

(2 Sam. xvii. 25) Nahash = unknown = Jesse. — Jonathan (1 Chr. xxvii. 32).

Zeruiah (1 Chr. ii. 16). — Abigail = Jether (1 Chr. ii. 17). = Ira!! (Jerome, *Qu. Heb.* on 1 Chr. xi. 40). — Eliab, Elihu (1 Chr. xxvii. 18). — Abinadab. — Shammah, Shimma, Shimeah (2 Sam. xxi. 21). — Nethaneel. — Raddai (Rael, Jos. *Ant.* vi. 3, 1). Rei, Ewald. — Ozem (Asam, Jos. *Ant.* vi. 8, 1). — (One is not given, unless Elihu, Syr. and Arab. 1 Chr. ii. 15.) — DAVID.

Abishai. — Joab. — Asahel. — Amasa. — Abihail = Rehoboam. (2 Chr. xi. 19). — Jonathan (2 Sam. xxi. 21; 1 Chr. xxvii. 32). (Nathan!! Jer. *Qu. Heb.* on 1 Sam. xvi. 12.) — Jonadab (2 Sam. xiii. 3). — Joel!! (Jerome, *Qu. Heb.* on 1 Chr. xi. 38).

Zebadiah (1 Chr. xxvii. 7).

II. His Family.

(I.) WIVES OF THE WANDERINGS.
(1 Sam. xxvii. 3; 1 Chr. iii. 1.)

Ahinoam of Jezreel = Abigail of Carmel.

Amnon or Jehiel!! (Jer. *Qu. Heb.* on 1 Chr. xxvii. 32). — Chileab or Daniel (1 Chr. iii. 1; Jos. *Ant.* vii. 1, 4).

(II.) WIVES AT HEBRON.
(2 Sam. iii. 2–5; 1 Chr. iii. 1–4.)

Maacah of Geshur = Haggith = Abital = Eglah = Michal (2 Sam. iii. 13).

Absalom. — Tamar. — Adonijah. — Shephatiah. — Ithream.

3 sons who died (2 Sam. xiv. 27, xviii. 18). — Tamar (or Maacah) (2 Sam. xiv. 27; Jos. *Ant.* vii. 8, 5). = REHOBOAM.

ABIJAM.

N. B.—There were, besides, 10 concubines (2 Sam. v. 13, xv. 16), whose children (1 Chr. iii. 9) are not named.

(III.) WIVES AT JERUSALEM.
(2 Sam. v. 13–16; 1 Chr. iii. 5–8, xiv. 4–7.)

Ibhar, Ebear (LXX.). — Elishua, Elishama (1 Chr. iii. 6). — Eliphelet. — Nogah (1 Chr. iii. 3). — Nepheg. — Japhia. — Elishama. — Eliada, Beelieda (1 Chr. xiv. 7). — Eliphelet. — Jerimoth (2 Chr. xi. 18).

Mahalath = REHOBOAM.

(2.) Bathsheba (1 Chr. iii. 5). Bathshua.

one died as a child (2 Sam. xii. 15). — Shammua, Shimea (1 Chr. iii. 5). — Shobab. — Nathan. — Jedidiah or SOLOMON (2 Sam. xii. 25).

Mahalath = REHOBOAM = Tamar (or Maacah) (1 K. xv. 2).

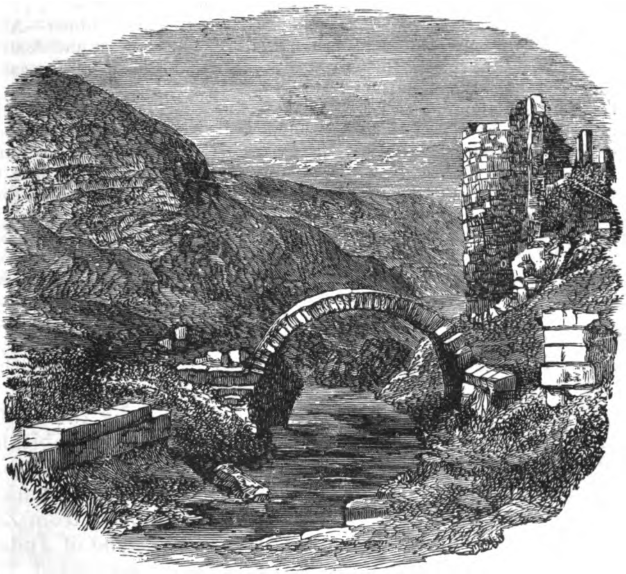
ABIJAM.

(C.) THE SCHOOLS OF THE PROPHETS.

The sacerdotal order was originally the instrument by which the members of the Jewish theocracy were taught and governed in things spiritual. But during the time of the judges the priesthood sank into a state of degeneracy, and the people were no longer affected by the acted lessons of the ceremonial service. They required less enigmatic warnings and exhortations. Under these circumstances a new moral power was evoked — the Prophetic Order. Samuel was the instrument used at once for effecting a reform in the sacerdotal order (1 Chr. ix. 22), and for giving to the prophets a position of importance which they had never before held. So important was the work wrought by him that he is classed in Holy Scripture with Moses (Jer. xv. 1; Ps. xcix. 6; Acts iii. 24), Samuel being the great religious reformer and organizer of the prophetical order, as Moses was the great legislator and founder of the priestly rule.

Samuel took measures to make his work of restoration permanent as well as effective for the moment. For this purpose he instituted companies, or colleges of prophets. One we find in his lifetime at Ramah (1 Sam. xix. 19, 20); others afterward at Bethel (2 K. ii. 3), Jericho (2 K. ii. 5), Gilgal (2 K. iv. 38), and elsewhere (2 K. vi. 1). Their constitution and object were similar to those of theological colleges. Into them were gathered promising students, and here they were trained for the office which they were afterward destined to fulfill. So successful were these institutions, that from the time of Samuel to the closing of the Canon of the Old Testament, there seems never to have been wanting a due supply of men to keep up the line of official prophets. The apocryphal books of the Maccabees (I. iv. 46, ix. 27, xiv. 41) and of Ecclesiasticus (xxxvi. 15) represent them as extinct. The colleges appear to have consisted of students differing in number. Sometimes they were very numerous (1 K. xviii. 4, xxii. 6; 2 K. ii. 16). One elderly, or leading prophet, presided over them (1 Sam. xix. 20), called their father (1 Sam. x. 12), or master (2 K. ii. 3), who was apparently admitted to his office by the ceremony of anointing (1 K. xix. 16; Is. lxi. 1; Ps. cv. 15). They were called his sons. Their chief subject of study was, no doubt, the law and its interpretation; oral, as distinct from symbolical, teaching being henceforward tacitly transferred from the priestly to the prophetical order. Subsidiary subjects of instruction were music and sacred poetry, both of which had been connected with prophecy from the time of Moses (Ex. xv. 20) and the judges (Judg. iv. 4, v. 1). The prophets that meet Saul "came down from the high place with a psaltery, and a tabret, and a pipe, and a harp before them" (1 Sam. x. 5). Elijah calls a minstrel to evoke the prophetic gift in himself (2 K. iii. 15). David "separates to the service of the sons of Asaph and of Heman and of Jeduthun, who should *prophesy* with harps and with psalteries and with cymbals. . . . All these were under the hands of their father for song in the house of the Lord with cymbals, psalteries, and harps for the service of the house of God" (1 Chr. xxv. 1-6). Hymns, or sacred songs, are found in the Books of Jonah (ii. 2), Isaiah (xii. 1, xxvi. 1), Habakkuk (iii. 2). And it was probably the duty of the prophetical students to compose verses to be sung in the Temple (see Lowth, *Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews*, Lect. xviii.). Having been themselves trained and taught, the prophets, whether still residing within their college, or having left its precincts, had the

task of teaching others. From the question addressed to the Shunammite by her husband, "Wherefore wilt thou go to him to-day? It is neither new moon nor Sabbath" (2 K. iv. 23), it appears that weekly and monthly religious meetings were held as an ordinary practice by the prophets. Thus we find that "Elisha sat in his house," engaged in his official occupation (cf. Ezek. viii. 1, xiv. 1, xx. 1), "and the elders sat with him" (2 K. vi. 32), when the King of Israel sent to slay him. It was at these meetings probably that many of the warnings and exhortations on morality and spiritual religion were addressed by the prophets to their countrymen. The general appearance and life of the prophet were very similar to those of the Eastern dervish at the present day. His dress was a hairy garment, girt with a leathern girdle (Is. xx. 2; Zech. xiii. 4; Matt. iii. 4). He was married or unmarried, as he chose, but his manner of life and diet were stern and austere (2 K. iv. 10, 38; 1 K. xix. 6; Matt. iii. 4).



Rabbah, the chief City of the Ammonites. (See note on p. 449.)

CHAPTER XXI.

THE REIGN OF DAVID. B.C. 1056–1015.

§ 1 David king of Judah at Hebron—Ish-bosheth proclaimed king of Israel by Abner—Civil War—Deaths of Asahel, Abner, and Ish-bosheth. § 2. David king of all Israel—His army at Hebron—He takes Jerusalem—Alliance with Hiram king of Tyre—Forms a harem—Victories over the Philistines. § 3. Removal of the ark from Kirjath-jearim—Death of Uzzah—Second removal from the house of Obed-edom to Zion—Psalms on this occasion—Divine service arranged—The building of God's house postponed by Divine command—Messianic Psalms. § 4. David's victories over the Philistines, Moabites, Syrians, and Edomites—Israel reaches its fullest limits. § 5. Character and Constitution of the kingdom — i. The Royal Family — ii. Military Organization— ii. Civil Administration — iv. The Religious Institutions — David's Prophetic character — Psalmody — Levites — Double High-priesthood — Courses of the Priests—Order of Prophets. § 6. David's kindness to Mephibosheth—Touching story of Rizpah. § 7. War with the Ammonites and Syrians—Victories of Joab and David—Siege of Rabbah—David and Bathsheba—Murder of Uriah—Mission of Nathan—David's repentance—Death of David's child—Birth of Solomon—Final conquest of Ammon. § 8. SECOND PERIOD OF DAVID'S REIGN—Family troubles—Amnon, Tamar, and Absalom—Rebellion of Absalom—He is

crowned at Hebron. § 9. David's flight from Jerusalem—The priests and ark sent back—Ahithophel and Hushai—Ziba and Shimei—Absalom at Jerusalem—David at Mahanaim—Disappointment and death of Ahithophel—Absalom pursues David. § 10. Battle in the wood of Ephraim—Death and burial of Absalom—David's lamentation—His return to Jerusalem—The farewell of Barzillai. § 11. Discord of Judah and Israel—Rebellion of Sheba—Joab kills Amasa—Death of Sheba—War with the Philistines—David's Psalm of Victory. § 12. THIRD PERIOD OF DAVID'S REIGN—The numbering of the people, and the three days' pestilence—The place of the sanctuary determined—Preparations for its building, and designation of Solomon. § 13. Rebellion of Adonijah—Proclamation of Solomon—David's last congregation. § 14. His final charge to Solomon—Fate of Adonijah, Abiathar, Joab, and Shimei—David's last words, death, and burial. § 15. His character.

§ 1. THE battle of Gilboa left Israel in a state as forlorn as that which ensued upon the defeat of Aphek, except that the ark was not lost, and David was ready to be her deliverer. The country west of Jordan was overrun by the Philistines, who occupied the cities from which their inhabitants had fled.[1] The surviving members of the house of Saul took refuge on the east of Jordan, while David, at the command of God, removed with his band and all his family from Ziklag to Hebron, the ancient sacred city of the tribe of Judah. Here the men of Judah came to him, and anointed him king over their tribe.[2] Thence he sent a message to the men of Jabesh-gilead to thank them for the honor paid to Saul's remains and to announce his accession to the throne. He was now thirty years old, and he reigned in Hebron 7½ years (B.C. 1056-1048). The next event recorded is Abner's proclamation of Ish-bosheth,[3] the eldest surviving son of Saul, as king over Gilead, the Ashurites, the valley of Jezreel, Ephraim, and Benjamin, and nominally over all Israel: his residence was at Mahanaim, east of Jordan. It is added that Ish-bosheth was forty years old when he began to reign over Israel, and that he reigned two years. Now, as we can not suppose an interval of five years from his death to David's full recognition, and as the Philistines were in full possession of all Israel west of Jordan except where David's power extended, it would seem that Abner was occupied for five years or more (B.C. 1056–1050) in recovering the territory of the other tribes from them, after which the two years of Ish-bosheth begin to be reckoned, so as to end just before David's full recognition as king of all Israel (B.C. 1048).

[1] 1 Sam. xxxi. 7.
[2] 2 Sam. i. 1-7, 11.
[3] 2 Sam. i. 8-10: he is called Eshbaal in 1 Chron. viii. 33, ix. 39. See the pedigree in *Notes and Illustrations* to chap. xx.

When Abner had established Ish-bosheth's power west of the Jordan, he endeavored to conquer Judah, and a civil war ensued, which was only ended by his own death and that of Ish-bosheth. The war was commenced by Abner's advancing to Gibeon, where he was met by the forces of Judah under Joab, the son of David's sister Zeruiah, who now takes a foremost place in the history. The Pool of Gibeon, on the opposite sides of which the armies encamped, was made memorable by the deadly combat of twelve Benjamites against twelve men of Judah, in which each man seized his adversary by the head with one hand, and with the other thrust his sword through his side, so that all of them fell down dead together. The scene of this mutual slaughter received the name of Helkath-hazzurim (*the field of the strong men*).[4] In the battle which ensued, the men of Israel were routed. Abner himself was closely pursued by Asahel, one of the three sons of Zeruiah, who were as swift-footed as the wild roe. Unable to escape, and unwilling to kill Asahel, Abner twice entreated him to go after some one else, that he might have spoils to carry back with him; but, as Asahel persisted, Abner thrust him through with a back stroke of his spear, and he fell dead, to the dismay and grief of all who came up to the spot. His brothers, Joab and Abishai, pressed on the pursuit as far as the hill of Ammah, east of Giah, in the wilderness of Gibeon. There, at sunset, the Benjamites rallied round Abner, and, after a parley between him and Joab, the latter sounded the trumpet of recall, and both parties retired during the night—Abner to Mahanaim, and Joab to Hebron. The former had lost 360 men, the latter only sixteen, besides Asahel, whom they buried in his father's sepulchre at Bethlehem.[5]

The war went on long without any decisive action, but with a constantly increasing advantage to the side of David; "David waxed stronger and stronger, and the house of Saul waxed weaker and weaker."[6] At length Abner, on an insult received from Ish-bosheth, who was a mere puppet in his hands, made overtures to David, who required, as a preliminary, the restoration of his wife Michal. David made the demand of Ish-bosheth, who took Michal from her second husband, Phaltiel, and sent her to Hebron. Abner now treated with the elders of Israel, and especially with the tribe of Benjamin, reminding them of David's designation by Je-

[4] 2 Sam. ii. 12–16. The left-handedness of the Benjamites may have contributed to the result.

[5] 2 Sam. ii. 17–32.

[6] 2 Sam. iii. 1.

hovah, and of his services against the Philistines. So favorable was the response that he resolved to go in person to Hebron, with a guard of only twenty men, to represent to David the feelings of Israel and Benjamin. Having been welcomed and feasted by David, he promised to gather all Israel to his standard, and went away in peace. But both his journey and his scheme were doomed to a sad miscarriage.[7]

Joab, who stood to Abner in the relation of the avenger of blood on account of the death of Asahel, only returned to Hebron from an expedition against the Bedouins of the desert after Abner had departed. He accused the king of dismissing an enemy who had come only as a spy; and without David's knowledge, he sent messengers after Abner, who brought him back to Hebron under the pretense of further conference. Drawing Abner aside under the gateway of the city for private converse, Joab smote him under the fifth rib, so that he died. In this treacherous revenge for blood shed most unwillingly, and in fair fight, Joab was aided and abetted by his brother Abishai.[8]

Calling Jehovah to witness that he and his kingdom were guiltless for all future time of Abner's blood, David imprecated a terrible curse on Joab and his house. He then called his followers to bury Abner at Hebron with the honors due to a prince and chieftain. Joab was obliged to join in the universal mourning, "and King David himself followed the bier." David's conduct formed the climax of his favor with the people, who well knew his innocence: "as whatsoever the king did pleased all the people." But he bitterly felt his impotence to restrain his too powerful relations, and vented his indignation in the words which have become proverbial: "These men, the sons of Zeruiah, be too hard for me." He added threats that the doer of evil should be rewarded according to his wickedness; but it was not till Joab had again mortally provoked him by killing Absalom, that he deposed him from his office of captain of the guard, and gave it to Amasa, whose treacherous murder filled up the measure of Joab's crimes. Even then David left his punishment as a legacy to Solomon, by whom he was put to death.[9]

Ish-bosheth, left helpless by the loss of Abner, fell a victim to the conspiracy of two of his captains, who slew him on his bed, intending to proclaim Jonathan's son, Mephibosheth (or Merib-baal), who was not only an infant, but lame. Being a child of five years old when the tidings were brought of the

[7] 2 Sam. iii. 6–21. [8] 2 Sam. iii. 22–27, 30.
[9] 2 Sam. iii. 31–39, xix.; 1 K. ii. 5, 6, 33, 34.

death of Saul and Jonathan, he was carried off by his nurse, who let him fall in the hurry of the flight, and so lamed him for life. His royalty was as impotent as his person; but yet he was the least unfortunate of Saul's house, from the favor which David showed him for his father's sake, and in fulfillment of their covenant. We shall hear much of him afterward; but meanwhile it is not clear from the narrative whether he was even proclaimed or brought out from his place of refuge, which, according to Josephus, was in the house of Machir ben-Ammiel, a prince of Gad or Manasseh, at Lo-debar, near Mahanaim.[10]

The murderers of Ish-bosheth carried his head to David at Hebron, only to meet the fate of the messenger of Saul's death. They were put to death; their hands and feet cut off, and their bodies hanged over the Pool of Hebron, while the head of Ish-bosheth was buried in the sepulchre of Abner.[11]

§ 2. The minds of all the people were not united in favor of David. The elders came to him at Hebron, recognizing him as their brother, recalling his leadership of Israel in the time of Saul, and acknowledging that God had appointed him "to feed His people Israel." So they anointed him as king of Israel at Hebron, and he made with them a covenant, based doubtless on the law given by Moses for the constitution of the kingdom, and the event was celebrated by a three days' feast.[12] David was now at the head of a powerful army, composed of the best warriors of all the tribes, who came ready armed to him at Hebron. Judah sent 6800, Simeon 7100, Levi 4600, besides 3700 priests, under Jehoiada, with whom came the young Zadok, already famous for his valor, and destined to bring back the high-priesthood into the house of Eleazar. Even Benjamin, which had hitherto stood fast by the family of Saul, contributed 3000 men; Ephraim, 20,800, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, 18,000. Two hundred captains led the whole tribe of Issachar, whose decision gained for them the praise that "they had understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to do." The 50,000 of Zebulun were all "expert in war, well armed, firm in their ranks, and of no double heart;" Naphtali furnished 37,000 such warriors, under 1000 captains; Dan, 28,600; and Asher, 40,000. The tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half-Manasseh

[10] 1 Sam. iv. 4; 1 Chron. viii. 34, ix. 40; Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 5, § 5.

[11] 1 Sam. iv. It deserves notice that all these transactions between the death of Saul and David's elevation to the kingdom of all Israel are omitted in the *First Book of the Chronicles*.

[12] 2 Sam. v. 1–3; 1 Chron. xi. 1–3, xii. 39.

sent 120,000 well-armed warriors across the Jordan. The sum is 337,600 men, besides the whole tribe of Issachar.[13]

Having this powerful army, David resolved to remove the seat of government from the remote Hebron nearer to the centre of the country, and his choice at once fell upon Jerusalem, the strong city of the Jebusites, situated on a rocky height 2600 feet above the level of the sea. But another reason also probably recommended Jerusalem to David as the capital of his kingdom. It was impossible for him to desert the great tribe to which he belonged, and over which he had been reigning for some years. Now Jerusalem was the natural escape out of this difficulty, since the boundary between Judah and Benjamin ran at the foot of the hill on which the city stands.[14] Jerusalem consisted of an upper and a lower city; and though the latter was taken by the men of Judah in the time of Joshua, the upper city defied their attacks, and the whole remained a Jebusite city till the period at which we have arrived.

David now advanced against the place at the head of the formidable army already described. No doubt he approached the city from the south. As before, the lower city was immediately taken, and, as before, the citadel held out.[15] The undaunted Jebusites, believing in the impregnability of their fortress, manned the battlements "with lame and blind." But they little understood the temper of the king or of those he commanded. David's anger was thoroughly roused by the insult, and he at once proclaimed to his host that the first man who would scale the rocky side of the fortress and kill a Jebusite should be made chief captain of the host. A crowd of warriors rushed forward to the attempt, but Joab's superior agility gained him the day, and the citadel, the fastness of ZION, was taken (1046 B.C.). It is the first time that that memorable name appears in the history. The fortress, which now became the capital of the kingdom, received the name of "the city of David;" and David fortified its whole circuit round about from Millo, while Joab repaired the rest of the city.[16] In this capital, the power of the king was now thoroughly established: "David went on, and grew great; for the Lord of hosts was with him."[17] His power was acknowledged by Hiram king of Tyre, who sought for the al-

[13] 1 Chron. xii. 23–40.

[14] The city itself was actually in Benjamin, but by crossing the narrow ravine of Hinnom you set foot on the territory of Judah. On the topography of Jerusalem, see *Notes and Illustrations*.

[15] Joseph. *Ant*. vii. 3, § 1.

[16] 2 Sam. v. 6–9; 1 Chron. xi. 4–8.

[17] 2 Sam. v. 10; 1 Chron. xi. 9.

liance which he henceforth steadily maintained with David and Solomon, and who now sent cedar-timber from Lebanon, with masons and carpenters, to build David a palace. But there was already "a worm in the bud," which afterward blighted all David's happiness. Disregarding the express command of Moses,[18] he formed a numerous harem. Already, while at Hebron, he had added to his first wife (1), Michal, restored to him by Ish-bosheth, and to (2), Ahinoam, and (3), Abigail, the two wives of his wanderings, four others, namely (4), Maacah, the daughter of Talmai, king of Geshur (5), Haggith (6), Abital, and (7), Eglah; and each of them, except Michal who was childless, had borne him one son at Hebron, namely (1), Amnon (2), Chiliab (3), Absalom (4), Adonijah (5), Shephatiah, and (6), Ithream, and one daughter, Tamar, who was full sister to Absalom by Maacah.[19] At Jerusalem he took more wives, whose names and number are not stated, and who bore him ten more sons. Besides these, he had ten concubines, whose children are not named. This list does not include BATHSHEBA, whose story will be related presently. She bore David five sons, of whom the youngest, SOLOMON, was his successor.[20] In all this David stopped short of that fatal step contemplated in the warning of Moses, and taken by Solomon, of multiplying to himself wives from heathen nations, so as to turn away his heart from God;[21] but the miseries he suffered in his family give the best answer to the folly which quotes Scripture in sanction of polygamy. He reigned at Jerusalem for thirty-three years, besides the seven years and a half in Hebron, making his whole reign, in round numbers, forty years (B.C. 1056–1015). He was thirty years old at his first accession, and seventy at his death.[22] It is emphatically stated that "David perceived that Jehovah had established him king over Israel, and that he had exalted his kingdom *for his people Israel's sake*."[23]

A twofold work had been given him to perform: to establish the worship of Jehovah in the place which he had chosen above all others for his abode, and to extend the kingdom of Israel to the bounds promised to their fathers. With the former object first in his thoughts, he had proposed to the tribes who gathered at Hebron that the ark should be brought up from Kirjath-jearim, but the project was delayed by war. The Philistines resolved not to give up without an effort their

[18] Deut. xvii. 17.
[19] 2 Sam. iii. 2–5; 1 Chron. iii. 1-4.
[20] 2 Sam. v. 13–16; 1 Chron. iii. 5–9. See the pedigree in *Notes and Illustrations* to chap. xx.
[21] Deut. xvii. 17.
[22] 1 Sam. v. 4, 5; 1 Chron. iii. 4, xxvi. 31, xxix. 27.
[23] 2 Sam. v. 12.

long domination over Israel, gathered their hosts in the valley of Rephaim, or the valley of the Giants.[24] At the command of God, David fell upon them with a fury as resistless as the outburst of water through a broken dike, whence the scene of slaughter was called Baal-perazim (*the "height" of the outbursts*). The Philistines were not only routed, but disgraced by the burning of their idols, which were left on the field of battle. A second victory was gained in the same valley by a stratagem prescribed by God, whose presence was indicated to the army of Israel by a rustling in the tops of the mulberry-trees, and the Philistines were smitten from Gibeon to Gazer. "And the fame of David went out into all lands; and Jehovah brought the fear of him upon all nations."[25] Henceforth David is found acting on the offensive against the Philistines; and meanwhile their defeat and the friendship of King Hiram secured peace along the whole maritime coast.

§ 3. David had now the long desired opportunity for the removal of the ark. He had "sworn to Jehovah, and vowed to the mighty God of Jacob. Surely I will not come into the tabernacle of my house, nor go up into my bed; I will not give sleep to mine eyes, nor slumber to mine eyelids, until I find out a place for Jehovah, an habitation for the mighty God of Jacob."[26] Since its restoration by the Philistines, the symbol of Jehovah's presence had had its stated abode at Kirjath-jearim, here called Baalah, under the care of Abinadab and his family.[27] Thither David went with 30,000 men, chosen from all the tribes, and transported the ark, with music and singing, from Abinadab's house in Gibeah (the citadel of Kirjath-jearim) on a new cart, driven by Uzzah and Ahio, the two sons of Abinadab. But its progress to Jerusalem suffered a melancholy interruption. As the procession reached the threshing-floor of Nachon (or Chidon), the oxen shook the cart, and Uzzah laid his hand upon the ark to steady it, forgetting that Jehovah needed not his aid. The profanation was punished by his instant death, to the great grief of David, who named the place Perez-uzzah (the *breaking-forth on Uzzah*). But Uzzah's fate was not merely the penalty of his own rashness. The improper mode of transporting the ark, which ought to have been borne on the shoulders of the Levites, was the primary cause of his unholy deed; and Da-

[24] The site of the valley is uncertain, but it probably extended toward Bethlehem.

[25] 2 Sam. v. 18-25; 1 Chron. xiv. 8, 17; comp. Isa. xxviii 21.

[26] Ps. cxxxii. 1-5.

[27] 1 Sam. vi. 21, vii. 1.

vid distinctly recognized it as a punishment on the people in general, "because we sought Him not after the due order."[28]

The terror of this proof of Jehovah's jealousy stayed further progress for the time, and the ark was carried aside to the house of Obed-edom, the Gittite. There it remained three months, and brought to the family of this Philistine a blessing like that which had long crowned the house of Abinadab.[29]

Meanwhile David prepared for its final transport to Jerusalem with a care suitable to the awful lesson he had received. Instead of removing the old tabernacle, which was doubtless much impaired by age, he set up a new tent for it in the city of David. In the first procession, the king and his warriors had perhaps held too prominent a place, to the injury of the religious solemnity, which was now duly preserved. David intrusted the duty of carrying it to those whom Jehovah had appointed. He assembled the three families of the house of Levi, with the sons of Aaron, and the high-priests of both the branches, Zadok, of the house of Eleazar, and Abiathar, of the house of Ithamar,[30] and bade them sanctify themselves to bring up the ark of God; and so they carried it on their shoulders after the manner prescribed by Moses. They were escorted by David and his chosen warriors, with the elders of Israel, and the procession started with every sign of joy. The first movement was watched with deep anxiety, lest there should still be some fault to provoke God's anger: but when the Levites had taken six steps in safety, it was seen that God helped them; and the procession halted, while David sacrificed seven bullocks and seven rams. He then took his place before the ark, clothed only with the linen ephod of the priestly order, without his royal robes, and danced with all his might, playing upon the harp as he led the way up to the hill of Zion amid the songs of the Levites, the joyful shouts of all the people, and the noise of cornets, and trumpets, and cymbals, and psalteries, and harps. Having placed it in the tabernacle he had prepared, and having offered burnt-offerings and peace-offerings, he blessed the people in the name of Jehovah, and dealt to each of the multitude, women as well as men, a loaf of bread, a large piece of

[28] 1 Chron. xv. 13.

[29] 1 Samuel vi. 1-11; 1 Chron. xiii.

[30] Comp. 2 Sam. viii. 16. The precedence given to Zadok in 1 Chron. xv. 11, may be due to the state of things when the book was composed. Perhaps Zadok had been recognized as high-priest by Saul after Abiathar's flight to David.

meat, and a flagon of wine, doubtless from the offerings. He then returned to bless his household; but his reception cast a shade even over this most joyful day of all his reign. His enthusiastic dance before the ark had been observed with scorn by his wife Michal from a window of the new palace; she met him on his return with insulting reproaches, to which he made an indignant answer; and she remained barren to the day of her death.[31]

In both these ceremonials a prominent feature was the singing the praises of Jehovah to the music of various instruments. On the first removal of the ark, we are told that "David and all Israel played before God with all their might, and with singing, and with harps, psalteries, timbrels, cymbals, and trumpets." On the second occasion David made a complete arrangement of the musical service, placing it under the direction of the priests, Zadok and Abiathar, and appointing the Levites for its performance, with ASAPH[32] at their head. The First Book of Chronicles describes the order of this "service of song," and preserves the Psalm of thanksgiving which David first delivered into the hand of Asaph and his brethren.[33] The comparison of this with several in the Book of Psalms shows that it is either an outline which was afterward expanded into separate poems, or an epitome of the Psalms used on the occasion. For there are many Psalms to be referred to the removal of the ark to Jerusalem, both on the ground of tradition and of their own internal evidence. At the head of these is the 132d, in which David in his own name describes the removal cf the ark from the first desire of his heart to its final accomplishment, records God's eternal covenant with him and his house, and celebrates Jehovah's choice of Zion for his abode. The 68th is equally suitable for the first removal of the ark, for the solemn pause in which David offered sacrifice when the Levites had lifted it at its second removal, or for its entrance into the city of David; it begins with the words appointed by Moses to be sung when the ark was lifted, "Let God arise, let his enemies be scattered," and it advances from the record of victory

[31] 2 Sam. vi.; 1 Chron. xv., xvi.

[32] Psalms l. and lxxiii. to lxxxiii. are attributed to Asaph, but probably all except the l., lxxiii., and lxxvii. are of later origin. He was in after-times celebrated as a seer as well as a musical composer, and was put on a par with David (2 Chr. xxix. 30; Neh. xii. 46). The office appears to have remained hereditary in his family, unless he was the founder of a school of poets and musical composers, who were called after him "the sons of Asaph" (comp. the Homeridæ) (1 Chr. xxv. 1; 2 Chr. xx. 14; Ezra ii. 41).

[33] 1 Chron. xvi.; comp. Ps. cv. 1-15, xcvi., cvi., cvii., cxviii., cxxxvi.

after victory to the final establishment of God's house at Jerusalem, and the prediction of the worship He should receive from all nations of the earth. The 24th marks the entrance of the ark into the citadel of Zion by its grand refrain,

> "Lift up your heads, O ye gates;
> And be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors;
> And the King of glory shall come in":—

words which clearly set forth the idea which runs through all these psalms, of victory as well as praise. They celebrate not only the inauguration of the place of religious worship, but the installation of Jehovah, the glorious King, who has at length completed the victory over the heathen enemies of his people, in the citadel from which he shall still go forth to conquer all the world. He is marked as the God of battles by the new name which heralds his entrance:—

> "*Who is this King of glory?*
> Jehovah strong and mighty,
> Jehovah mighty in battle."
> "*Who is this King of glory?*
> THE LORD OF HOSTS,[34]
> He is the King of glory."

The 96th, 105th, 106th, as we have seen, are probably the full form, adapted to the Temple service, of the Psalm which David delivered to Asaph and his brethren at the close of this great ceremony. Of others less certainly belonging to this occasion, the 15th describes the character of a true citizen of Zion, and forms a sort of proclamation against impiety in the new city; the 101st is in a similar vein, with more especial reference to David's conduct of his own house; the 29th (in the LXX.) and the 30th have titles referring them to this time.

All other arrangements were made by David with equal care for the whole order of divine worship, according to the law of Moses. Asaph and his brethren were appointed to minister in the daily service before the ark. The office of chief doorkeeper was committed to Obed-edom, in whose house the ark had rested. Zadok and the priests were charged with the daily and other sacrifices at the Tabernacle, which remained at Gibeon.[34b]

David's zeal for the house of God was still only fulfilled in part. His new city was blessed with the symbol of Jehovah's presence, but that sacred object had itself no worthy

[34] Properly JEHOVAH OF ARMIES; but we preserve the phrase so familiar to our ears.

[34b] 1 Chron. xvi. 37–43.

abode. The palace built for the king by Hiram's workmen was now finished, and no war summoned him from its halls; but, as he sat in it, he was troubled by the thought, which has so often since lighted up the "Lamp of Sacrifice;"—"See now, I dwell in a house of cedars, but the ark of the covenant of Jehovah dwelleth within curtains." He uttered his feelings to the prophet Nathan, who now first appears as David's chief counselor; and, as if there could be but one response to so pious a desire, without waiting to consult God, Nathan replied, "Do all that is in thy heart, for God is with thee."[35] But that same night the word of God came to Nathan, bidding him tell David that he was not to build a house for God to dwell in. He is reminded that Jehovah had been content to dwell in a tent ever since the Exodus, and that He had not spoken a word to any of the tribes or the judges about building him a house of cedar. In these words, which sound like a gentle rebuke for a tendency to materialism in God's worship, we see the same principle which Solomon recognizes in the very act of dedicating his temple: "Behold! the heaven and heaven of heavens can not contain Thee; how much less this house that I have built!"[36] But the design was only postponed, not forbidden. Just as God condescended to the wish of the people for a king, and then made the stability of David's throne the new basis of the commonwealth, so he chose a habitation for himself in the city of David, as a sign that the period of pilgrimage was ended, and that his home was with the king and people of His choice. So Nathan was commissioned to tell David that Jehovah, who had been with him hitherto, would first establish *his* house, and would raise up one of his sons, whose kingdom should be established forever, and who should build the house of God in the place chosen by Himself.[37] This prediction, referring first to Solomon, is expressed in terms that could only be fulfilled in the Messiah; and it is clear that David understood it so, from the wonderful prayer which he poured out before God in thanksgiving for the honor put upon him.[38] Similar feelings are uttered in several of the "Messianic Psalms," which have therefore been regarded as written on the occasion of Nathan's prophecy, such as the 2d, 45th, 22d, 16th, 118th, and 110th, in all of which the promises of God to David and his house are celebrated in

[35] 2 Sam. vii. 1–3; 1 Chron. xvii. 1, 2.

[36] 1 K. viii. 27; 2 Chr. ii. 6; comp. Is. lxvi. 1; Acts vii. 49, xvii. 24.

[37] 2 Sam. vii. 4–17; 1 Chron. xvii. 3–15.

[38] 2 Sam. vii. 18–29; 1 Chron. xvii. 16–27.

that wonderfully expressive language which reveals Him who was at once David's Son and Lord.[39]

§ 4. His own throne, and the service of God's sanctuary, being thus established, David advanced to the final subjugation of the enemies of Israel.

i. We have already mentioned the two last invasions of the PHILISTINES: they were now, in their turn, invaded and subdued by David, who took the proud frontier city of Gath, "The bridle of the mother-city," with its "daughter towns."[40] Except one or two minor combats, we hear of no further trouble from the Philistines during David's reign. This conquest secured to Israel its promised boundary on the south-west, the "river of Egypt."

ii. Turning to the eastern frontier, David exacted from MOAB a signal vengeance for all her enmity against Israel down from the time of Balak. Two-thirds of the people were put to death, and the other third reduced to tribute.[41] David's personal relations to this nation, whose blood he shared, had been so friendly that we have seen him committing his father and mother to the care of the King of Moab. A Jewish tradition says that they were foully murdered. There is not a word of this in the Scripture narrative; but we may be quite sure that David's vengeance was provoked by some treacherous insult, as in the later case of Ammon. Thus was Balaam's prophecy fulfilled:—"Out of Jacob shall come he that shall have dominion, and shall destroy him that remaineth of Ar" (the metropolis of Moab).

iii. The eastern frontier being now secured, for Nahash the Ammonite was his friend, David advanced to the conquest of the promised boundary on the north-east, "the great river Euphrates."[42] Two SYRIAN kingdoms lay between him and his purpose. That of ZOBAH, which has been mentioned more than once before, was then governed by Hadadezer, the son of Rehob, whom David defeated, taking from him his force of 1000 chariots, 700 horse, and 20,000 infantry. The chariot-horses were hamstrung, according to the command of Moses, but David could not resist the temptation of reserving 100 chariots as an ornament for his royal state.[43] The

[39] Comp. Matt. xxii. 44; Mark xii. 36; Luke xx. 42.

[40] 2 Sam. viii. 1; 1 Chron. xviii. 1: the above is Gesenius's explanation of the obscure phrase "Metheg-ammah," which Ewald renders, "the bridle of the fore-arm."

[41] 2 Sam. viii. 2; 1 Chron. xviii. 2. To this war belong the exploits of Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada (2 Sam. xxiii. 20; 1 Chron. xi. 22).

[42] 2 Sam. viii. 3; 1 Chron. xviii. 3; comp. Gen. xv. 18.

[43] 2 Sam. viii. 3, 4; 1 Chron. xviii. 3, 4.

Syrians of Damascus, coming to the help of Hadadezer, were defeated with the loss of 22,000 men; and that fairest and oldest of the cities of the world was made tributary to David, and garrisoned by his troops. "Thus did Jehovah preserve David whithersoever he went."[44]

These victories led to an alliance with Toi, king of HAMATH (the Cœle-Syria of the Greeks),[45] who sent his son Joram to congratulate David on the defeat of Hadadezer, his own enemy. This, together with the old friendship of Hiram king of Tyre, secured the northern frontier; and David returned to Jerusalem, laden with the golden shields of Hadadezer's body-guard, the brass taken from his cities, and the vessels of gold and silver and brass which Joram had brought as presents. All these, together with the spoils of Moab and the Philistines, the plunder formerly taken from Amalek, and that gained afterward from Edom and the sons of Ammon, he dedicated for the service of the future Temple.[46]

iv. The long conflict of EDOM with his brother Israel was now brought to its first decision by a great victory gained by Abishai, the son of Zeruiah, in "the valley of Salt" (on the south of the Dead Sea), in which the Edomites lost 18,000 men.[47] David was probably in Syria at the time of this battle, which was followed up by a great army under Joab, who in six months almost exterminated the male population. David then visited the conquered land, and placed garrisons in all the cities. The young king, Hadad, however, escaped to Egypt, and became afterward a formidable enemy to Solomon.[48]

These victories, which David celebrates in the 60th and 110th Psalms,[49] carried the southern frontier of Israel to the eastern head of the Red Sea; and from that point to the frontier of Egypt, the Arab tribes had felt enough of his power as an exile not to molest him in the hour of his triumph. The bounds of the promised land were now fully occupied, though not even now so completely as if Israel had been faithful from the first. For, besides the scattered remnants of the old inhabitants, several of whom (as Ittai

[44] 2 Sam. viii. 5, 6; 1 Chron. xviii. 5-7.

[45] In its fullest sense it extended still further north, to the valley of the Orontes.

[46] 2 Sam. viii. 7-12; 1 Chron. xviii. 7-11.

[47] 2 Sam. viii. 13, 14; 1 Chron. xviii. 12, 13: the word "Syrians" in the former passage is due to an obvious error of the text, *Aram* for *Edom*.

[48] 1 K. xi. 14-22.

[49] The title of the former, and the contents of both, fix their composition to the time of the conquest of Edom.

the Gittite, Uriah the Hittite, and others) were conspicuous among the king's great men; besides that the Philistines and others, who had been devoted to extermination, were only reduced to tribute; there was one fair province unsubdued, the whole coast of Phœnicia, the great cities of which still flourished under their native kings, the chief of whom was David's firm ally.

These extended limits were only preserved during the reigns of David and of Solomon, a period of about sixty years. For that time, however, the state formed no longer a petty monarchy, barely holding its own among the surrounding nations, as under Saul; but it was truly one of the great Oriental monarchies; too truly, indeed, for the magnificence of Solomon sapped its strength, and prepared its speedy dissolution. Meanwhile David's position is thus described by the prophet Nathan:—"Thus saith Jehovah of hosts, I took thee from the sheepcote, from following the sheep, to be ruler over my people, over Israel: and I was with thee whithersoever thou wentest, and have cut off all thine enemies out of thy sight, and have made thee a great name, like unto the name of the great men that are in the earth."[60] Thus "David reigned over all Israel, and executed judgment and justice among all his people."[61]

§ 5. The constitution which David established for his kingdom was preserved, in its main forms, to the end of the monarchy.

i. *The Royal Family.*—We have already spoken of David's goodly progeny, which well entitled him to the epithet of "patriarch."[62] The princes were under the charge of Jehiel, probably the Levite of that name:"[63] but, when Solomon was born, he was committed to the care of the prophet Nathan.[64] The warm love of David for his sons[65] was shown in an indulgence that was the proximate cause of the family calamities which were visited on him as a judgment for his one great sin. But those dark clouds had not yet gathered; and he had nothing to mar his pleasure in his children, two of whom, at least, Absalom and Adonijah, inherited his beauty.

ii. The *Military Organization* was based on that of Saul.

(1.) "The *Host*" was composed, from the first formation

[60] 2 Sam. vii. 9.

[61] 2 Sam. viii. 15; 1 Chron. xviii. 14.

[62] Acts ii. 29.

[63] 1 Chron. xxvii. 32, xv. 21; 2 Chron. xx. 14.

[64] 2 Sam. xii. 25, according to one interpretation.

[65] 2 Sam. xiii. 31, 33, 36, xiv. 33, xviii. 5, 33, xix. 4; 1 K. i. 6.

of the nation in the desert, of all males capable of bearing arms, who were summoned to war by the judges or princes of tribes when the necessity arose. Saul formed a chosen band of 3000 as a standing army, the nucleus of the whole force, under ABNER, as commander-in-chief. The same post was held under David by JOAB, who won it by the capture of the citadel of Jerusalem. He led out the host to war when the king did not take the field in person.[56] The standing organization was improved under David by the division of the whole host into twelve bodies of 24,000 each (288,000 in all), whose turn of service came every month, and each of which had a commander chosen from David's band of mighty men of valor.[57] In accordance with the institution prescribed by Moses, the force was entirely of infantry: the 100 chariots reserved by David from the Syrians seem to have been only for purposes of state. The weapons constantly alluded to in the history and the Psalms are spears and shields, swords and bows. The use of body armor is mentioned in the story of Goliath.

(2.) The ***Body-guard*** was recruited to so great an extent from foreigners (and chiefly Philistines, a practice dating probably from David's exile) that the force bore a foreign name, like the *Scottish* archers and the *Swiss* guards of the French kings and the Pope. At least it seems most probable that "Cherethites and Pelethites" are proper names, the former of a Philistine tribe,[58] and the latter a form of the word Philistines. They are mentioned in close connection with the "Gittites," a body of 600 men who came to David from Gath, under Ittai; but these seem only to have joined him on the special occasion of his flight from Absalom.[59] The commander of the Cherethites and Pelethites was Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada, the priest of the line of Eleazar.[60]

(3.) The ***Heroes***, or ***Mighty Men*** (*Gibborim*), were a peculiar and favored body (like the *Cent Gardes* of Napoleon), composed originally of the 600 warriors who joined David in his exile, and afterward maintained at the same number. They were formed into three great divisions of 200 each, and thirty bands of twenty each, with their respective leaders. The captains of twenties formed "the thirty," and the com-

[56] 2 Sam. xii. 26; 1 K. xi. 15.

[57] 1 Chron. xxvii. 1–15.

[58] 1 Sam. xxx. 14. The words are otherwise interpreted "executioners" and "couriers," functions certainly performed by the body-guard. See 2 K. xi. 4; 1 K. xiv. 27.

[59] 2 Sam. xv. 18–22.

[60] 2 Sam. viii. 18, xx. 23; 1 K. i 38, 44; 1 Chron. xviii. 17.

manders of two hundreds "the three," above whom was "the captain of the mighty men." This post was held by Abishai, the son of Zeruiah; but, though first in rank, he was inferior in prowess to "the three," who were Jashobeam (or Adino) the Hachmonite, Eleazar, son of Dodo the Ahohite, who was with David at Ephes-dammim, and Shammah, son of Agee the Hararite. We have also a list of "the thirty," some of whose names occur also in other passages: it opens with the name of Asahel, the brother of Joab, who was slain by Abner, and closes with that of Uriah the Hittite, who fell by the treachery of David himself.[61]

iii. The *Civil Administration* was conducted under the eyes of the king himself, assisted by a council, of which the chief members were Jonathan, the king's nephew, son of his brother Shimeah, who seems to have been his chief secretary;[62] Ahithophel of Gilo, afterward so famous as Absalom's adviser; his rival Hushai the Archite, the king's "friend" or "companion;" Jehoiada, the son of Benaiah; and Zadok and Abiathar, the high-priests; together with Joab, and probably Benaiah, whose military rank gave them, like Abner and David under Saul, a high place at the court. Then there were the great officers of state, Sheva or Seraiah, the "scribe" or public secretary; Jehoshaphat, the "recorder" or historian; Adoram; and Ira, the Jairite, who was "a chief ruler about David,"[63] with functions probably judicial, and the same rank was held by David's sons.[64] The royal possessions in the fields, cities, villages, and castles, comprising farms, vineyards, olive and other trees, stores of wine and oil, herds of oxen and camels, and flocks of sheep, besides treasure, were intrusted to officers for each branch, all under a chief treasurer, Azmaveth, the son of Adiel.[65] But a place was still found for the patriarchal government of the tribes, whose princes are enumerated;[66] the prince of Judah being, not David himself, but his brother Elihu (doubtless the same as Eliab)[67] by the right of primogeniture.

iv. The *Religious Institutions* were in part mixed up with

[61] 2 Sam. xxiii. 8–39; 1 Chron. xi. 11–47. The comparison of the two lists affords an interesting example of the minor variations of the sacred text. The excess above the number of thirty is naturally accounted for by the new appointments required to fill up vacancies.

[62] 1 Chron. xxvii. 32. it seems that "nephew" is the truer meaning of the word translated uncle, and that this is the same Jonathan as in 2 Sam. xxi. 21; 1 Chron. xx. 7.

[63] The LXX. translate the word "ruler" as "priest."

[64] 2 Sam. viii. 16–18, xx. 23–26; 1 Chron. xviii. 14–17, xxvii. 32–34.

[65] 1 Chron. xxvii. 25–31.

[66] 1 Chron. xxvii. 16–22.

[67] 1 Sam. xvi. 16.

the constitution of the monarchy itself. Like Saul and some of the judges, we see David offering sacrifices—an apparent usurpation of the priestly office, to be explained perhaps by the patriarchal priesthood, which was vested in the chief of a family, and therefore by a natural analogy in the chief of the state;[68] and he even gives the priestly benediction.[69] But his peculiar character, as the religious head of the state, is seen in his inspiration as a prophet and psalmist. "*Being a prophet*," as St. Peter explicitly declared,[70] he foretold, in plainer and more glowing language than any that had yet been used, those great events, of which the whole ceremonial of the Jewish Church, and even his own kingdom, were but types, "the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow." As a prophet too, he taught the people those principles of religious and moral truth of which the Psalms are full, and which, in the Proverbs, were to a great extent learnt by Solomon from him. As "the sweet Psalmist of Israel," who said of himself "The Spirit of Jehovah spoke by me, and His word was in my tongue," it was his peculiar honor, not only for the Jewish Church, but for the Church Universal to the end of time, to direct that part of God's worship which is the best utterance of the heart, the tuneful notes of praise, inseparably blended with prayer and with the utterance of divine truth. His pre-eminence in this respect is unaffected by the doubts about the authorship of many of the Psalms. A great truth is expressed by the common title which names the whole book "The Psalms of David;" for he founded psalmody as an institution, taught it to Asaph and his other immediate successors, and gave the model which all later psalmists followed.[71]

While he thus furnished the matter of psalmody, he regulated its manner, by arranging for the first time a full choral service. To this office David, in conjunction with the chiefs of the Levites, set apart three families, one from each of the three houses of the tribe, the Gershonites, Kohathites, and Merarites. They were *prophets* as well as singers, "to prophesy with harps, with psalteries, and with cymbals;"[72] and they handed down their art from generation to generation

[68] Even Samuel, though a Levite, was not a priest.

[69] 2 Sam. vi. 6.

[70] Acts ii. 30.

[71] It is not meant to be implied that David did not himself work upon more ancient models such as the "Hymn of Miriam" (Ex. xv.), the "Prayer of Moses the Man of God" (Ps. xc.), the "Song of Deborah" (Judg. v.), and the "Thanksgiving of Hannah" (1 Sam. ii.).

[72] 1 Chron. xv. 16–22, xxv. 1, 2, comp. xxiii. 6.

by a systematic course of instruction, "the teacher as well as the scholar."[73] These families were those of ASAPH, the son of Berechiah the Gershonite, the chief singer, and also distinguished as a seer;[74] of HEMAN the Kohathite, son of Joel, and grandson of the prophet Samuel, and himself "the king's seer in the words of God;"[75] and of JEDUTHUN (or Ethan), a Merarite, who is also called "the king's seer."[76] The names of each of these leaders are found in the titles of particular Psalms; and the tripartite division was observed till the Captivity,[77] and probably restored after the return.[78] At first they were divided between the ark at Jerusalem and the tabernacle at Gibeon, the family of Asaph being assigned to the former, and those of Heman and Jeduthun to the latter.[79] The three families numbered 288 principal singers, divided by lot into twenty-four courses of twelve in each; but the total of the Levites engaged in praising Jehovah "with the instruments which David made" was 4000.[80] The rest of the Levites, amounting to 34,000, were arranged into the three families of Gershon, Kohath, and Merari. Six thousand bore the dignity of officers and judges, 4000 were set apart to the humbler office of doorkeepers,[81] and the general service of the sanctuary, "the work of the house of Jehovah," was committed to the remaining 24,000.[82] They were relieved of the hardest part of that work, the carrying the tabernacle and its vessels, now that God had given rest to his people, to dwell at Jerusalem forever;[83] and as the offices which remained, though numerous, were comparatively light, David assigned them to the Levites above *twenty* years, though the census was still taken according to the ancient standard of *thirty* and upward.[84] Their offices were to wait on the priests for the service of the house of Jehovah, purifying the holy place and the holy things, preparing the show-bread and the meat-offerings, praising God at the morning and evening service,

[73] 1 Chron. xxv. 3-8; 2 Chron. xxiii. 13. The profession of art was commonly hereditary among all the nations of antiquity; as we see in the case of music and poetry in the Homeridæ.

[74] 2 Chron. xxix. 30: "the words of Asaph" in this passage may mean his tunes. The question of his authorship of any of the Psalms is doubtful. See note on p. 436.

[75] 1 Chron. xxv. 5; comp. 1 Chron. vi. 33-38, with the commentaries of Lord Arthur Hervey, *Genealogies of our Lord*, p. 214.

[76] 2 Chron. xxx. 15.

[77] 2 Chron. xxix. xxx.

[78] Neh. xi. 17; 1, Chron. ix. 16.

[79] 1 Chron. xvi. 37-42; 1 Chron. xxv. 8-31.

[80] 1 Chron. xxiii. 5.

[81] 1 Chron. xxiii. 4, 5; comp. Ps lxxxiv. 10.

[82] 1 Chron. xxiii. 4.

[83] 1 Chron. xxiii. 25, 26.

[84] 1 Chron. xxiii. 3, 23, 27.

and assisting in offering the burnt sacrifices on the Sabbaths and the stated feasts.[85]

For the higher duties allotted by the law of Moses to the priesthood, the sons of Aaron were arranged according to the two houses of Eleazar and Ithamar; his two elder sons, Nadab and Abihu, having died childless for their profanity.[86] We have seen that Eleazar succeeded his father as high-priest; but it is clear that the head of the house of Ithamar was in some sense co-heir to the office. In the person and family of Eli this state of things was reversed: the high-priesthood was vested in the house of Ithamar; while that of Eleazar did not abdicate its claims. So, under David, we find both Zadok and Abiathar recognized as priests, the former being named first, by the right of primogeniture, while the latter actually held the office of high-priest. This double priesthood was in fact connected with a twofold service; Zadok ministering at the old tabernacle in Gibeon, and Abiathar before the ark at Jerusalem. By the census taken toward the close of David's reign, it appeared that the families of the house of Eleazar were twice as many as those of the house of Ithamar, there being sixteen of the former and eight of the latter.[87] The twenty-four chiefs of these families were made the heads of twenty-four "courses," who were arranged in order by lot for the performance of the services of the sanctuary, and named ever afterward from their present chiefs.[88] The courses were as follow:—

1. Jehoiarib.	7. Hakkoz.	13. Huppah.	19. Pethahiah.
2. Jedaiah.	8. Abijah.	14. Jeshebeah.	20. Jehezekel.
3. Harim.	9. Jeshuah.	15. Bilgah.	21. Jachin.
4. Seorim.	10. Shecaniah.	16. Immer.	22. Gamul.
5. Malchijah.	11. Eliashib.	17. Hezir.	23. Delaiah.
6. Mijamin.	12. Jakim.	18. Aphses.	24. Mahaziah.[89]

To the eighth course (that of Abijah, or Abia) belonged Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist.[90] The term for which each course was on duty is not expressly stated; but from the analogy of the service of the porters,[91] and from the testimony of the Jewish writers, it seems to have been weekly, beginning on the Sabbath, the services of the week being

[85] 1 Chron. xxiii. 24-32.

[86] Lev. x.; Numb. xxvi. 60, 61.

[87] The disparity may have been caused in part by the slaughter of the priests with Hophni and Phinehas, and in part by Saul's massacre at Nob.

[88] Even when, after the Captivity, the courses were found to be reduced to 4, these were again divided into 24, which were called by the ancient names.

[89] 1 Chron. xxiv.

[90] Luke i. 5-10, 23.

[91] 1 Chron. ix. 25; 2 K. xi. 5.

arranged among the members of the course by lot.[92] The twenty-four courses of singers were associated respectively with those of the priests.[93]

These arrangements formed the model of the Temple service under Solomon, except that the separate worship of Gibeon was discontinued; and the house of Ithamar was finally excluded from the high-priesthood by the deposition of Abiathar.[94]

Lastly, a special intercourse was maintained by David with Jehovah through the *prophets;* first, SAMUEL, who anointed him, and afterward protected him at Ramah; next GAD, who joined him in his exile; and lastly, NATHAN, the counselor of his throne, and faithful reprover of his grievous sins.

§ 6. Thus established in his kingdom, David had no further fear of rivalry from the house of Saul, and he was anxious to find an opportunity of performing his covenant with Jonathan. He learnt from Ziba, who had been one of Saul's courtiers, that Mephibosheth, the lame son of Jonathan, was living in the house of Machir at Lo-debar; and, having sent for him, he restored to him all the land of Saul and his family. Committing the charge of this property to Ziba, David retained Mephibosheth at Jerusalem, and gave him a place at the royal table, like his own sons.[95] We do not know how long afterward, but probably earlier than it stands in the order of the narrative, the king protected Mephibosheth from a great danger. The land was visited with a famine for three years; the cause of which was declared by the oracle of Jehovah to be "for Saul and for his bloody house, because he slew the Gibeonites."[96] This massacre, in shameful violation of the oath of Joshua and the elders of Israel, was one of those acts of passionate zeal in which Saul tried to drown the remorse of his later years. In reply to David's offer of satisfaction, the Gibeonites demanded the lives of seven of Saul's sons; and the king gave up to them the two sons of Saul by his concubine Rizpah, and the five sons that Michal had borne to Adriel, to whom she was married when Saul took her from David. These seven were hanged by the Gibeonites on the hill of Gibeah, Saul's own city. They hung there from the beginning of barley harvest till the rains set in, though the law provided that, in such cases, the bodies

[92] Still the numbers raise the suspicion that the first arrangement may have been *monthly:* two courses being engaged each month, one at Gibeon and one at Jerusalem.

[93] 1 Chron. xxv.

[94] 1 K. ii. 26, 27.

[95] 2 Sam. ix.

[96] 2 Sam. xxi. That this was earlier than it stands, appears from the allusion in xix. 28.

should be buried by sunset.[97] But Rizpah took her station upon the rock, with only a covering of sackcloth, to keep the bodies from the birds of prey by day and from the wild beasts by night, till the rain began to fall. Touched with her devotion, David caused their remains to be taken down and interred in the sepulchre of Kish at Zelah, together with the bones of Saul and Jonathan, which he transported from Jabesh-gilead.[98] Mephibosheth, the son of Jonathan, whom David had refused to give up to the Gibeonites,[99] was now the sole survivor of the house of Saul, with his infant son Micah, through whom the family was continued to the latest period of the nation's history.[100] We hear of him again before the end of David's reign.

It has been observed that this famine was the first of those three great adversities of David's reign which are described in the alternative proposed by the prophet Nathan: a three years' famine, a three months' flight, or a three days' pestilence; when David, having had bitter experience of the first two, chose the third, as a dispensation direct from God.[101]

§ 7. This first period of David's reign is marked by another great success in war, and, in connection therewith, by the fall which embittered the rest of his life, and which, as the prophet declared at the time, has ever since "given great occasion to the enemies of Jehovah to blaspheme."[102] NAHASH, king of the children of Ammon, who had been David's ally, and some suppose his relation, died, leaving the throne to his son Hanun.[103] David sent an embassy of condolence and friendship to the new king; but Hanun, persuaded by his counselors that the ambassadors only came as spies, sent them back with shameful personal insults. In anticipation of David's vengeance, the Ammonite obtained help from the Syrians of Beth-rehob, Zobah, Maacah, and Ish-tob, who joined him with 33,000 men.[104] On the other side, Joab took the field, with all the host of Israel. A decisive battle was fought

[97] Deut. xxi. 22, 23. Perhaps the Gibeonites had made a vow that they should hang till the return of rain promised the end of the famine.

[98] Comp. 1 Sam. xxxi. 10–13. The charge made against David of consenting to this deed in order to hasten the extinction of the rival house, is refuted by his treatment of Mephibosheth.

[99] 2 Sam. xxi. 7.

[100] See the pedigree, in *Notes and Illustrations* to chap. xx.

[101] 2 Sam. xxiv. 13; reading "three years of famine," as in the LXX. and in 1 Chron. xxi. 12.

[102] 2 Sam. xii. 14.

[103] 2 Sam. x.; 1 Chron. xix.

[104] According to *Chronicles*, there were nearly as many chariots, 32,000, besides those of Maacah. It seems probable that the numbers in *Samuel* ought also to be referred to the chariots.

before Rabbah, the capital of Ammon. While the Israelites had followed the Beni-ammi up to the gates, the Syrian allies had enclosed them in the rear. Joab took front against the Syrians, with all the chosen warriors of Israel, leaving the rest under Abishai to make head against the Beni-ammi. The Syrians were routed, and the Ammonites then fled, and shut themselves up in their city, while Joab returned to Jerusalem. The defeated Syrians formed a grand confederacy under Hadarezer, with their brethren beyond the Euphrates; but David crossed the Jordan with the whole force of Israel, and defeated them in a pitched battle, in which they lost 7000 charioteers, 40,000 infantry, and their captain, Shophach. The Syrians became tributary to David, and abandoned the cause of Ammon.

The next year, at the return of the campaigning season, Joab again took the field, and ravaged the lands of the Beni-ammi, and shut them up in Rabbah, their chief city, and a strongly fortified place.[105] David remained at Jerusalem; and if this inaction arose from a growing inclination to a luxurious enjoyment of his royal state, his self-indulgence led him into a terrible temptation and wrought his fall. In the restlessness which follows a day of such indolence, he rose one evening from his bed to enjoy a walk upon the roof of his lofty palace of cedar, which overlooked the woman's court of a neighboring house; and there he saw a fair woman in her bath, and became at once enamored. On inquiry, he found that she was BATHSHEBA (or Bathshua), the daughter of Eliam (or Ammiel),[106] son of his counselor, Ahithophel, and the wife of one of his "thirty mighty men," Uriah the Hittite, who was then fighting the king's battles under Joab. Such a discovery might have checked the passion even of a heathen despot, but David fell; and, when the consequence of his crime exposed himself to discovery and Bathsheba to a shameful death, the king, after a vain attempt to conceal his guilt, which only showed more of the noble nature of the

[105] 2 Sam. xi. 1; 1 Chron. xx. 1. Rabbah, now called *Amnâm*, lies on a river about 22 miles from the Jordan, and on the road from Hesbon to Bosra. It consisted of an upper and a lower city, the latter being called by Joab "the city of waters" (2 Sam. xii. 27). The upper city rose abruptly on the north side of the lower town, and was a place of very great strength. Rabbah afterward received from Ptolemy Philadelphus (B.C. 285–247) the name of Philadelphia, and in the Christian times became the seat of a bishopric. Its site is marked by several magnificent ruins of buildings, probably erected during the 2d and 3d centuries of the Christian era. The drawing at the head of this chapter shows the stream and part of the hill on which the upper city stood.

[106] 1 Chron. iii. 5.

man he had outraged,[107] added treacherous murder to his adultery. He made Uriah the bearer of his own death-warrant to Joab, who exposed the brave man to a sally from the best warriors of the Ammonites, and he fell in happy ignorance of his sovereign's guilt and his own wrongs. The artifice was kept up by a message from Joab to the king, excusing the apparent rashness of his attack by the significant conclusion, "Thy servant, Uriah the Hittite, is dead also," and the messenger was sent back to comfort Joab with a cold-blooded allusion to the fortune of war. After the customary mourning for her husband, Bathsheba, who seems throughout to have consented to the sin, was taken to the house of David, and became his wife, and soon afterward bore him a son.[108]

Thus far man's share in this drama of lust and blood. But now another voice is heard: "THE THING THAT DAVID HAD DONE DISPLEASED JEHOVAH."[109] He sent the prophet Nathan to the king with that well-known parable of the rich man, who spared his own abundant flocks and herds, and seized for his guest the one ewe-lamb of the poor man, his darling and his children's pet.[110] Our surprise that David's conscience was not at once awakened may yield to the consideration that his heart was not yet hardened in guilt, so that his natural sense of justice broke forth in the indignant sentence, "As Jehovah liveth, the man that hath done this thing is a son of death;" and he was going on to describe the restitution he would exact, when the lips of Nathan uttered those words, which have from that day been echoed by every sinner's awakened conscience, "THOU ART THE MAN!" Then the prophet pronounced the sentence of the King of kings on him who had just been sentencing the unknown culprit. Reproaching David with his ingratitude for all that Jehovah had done and would yet have done for him, he denounced the appropriate punishment; that, as his sword had broken up the house of Uriah, the sword should never depart from his own house; and that, as he had outraged the sanctities of domestic life, his own should be likewise outraged, but with the difference which God always makes between the secret sin and the public punishment: "For thou didst it se-

[107] 2 Sam. xi. 6–13.

[108] 2 Sam. xi. The whole story is omitted in the Book of Chronicles (see 1 Chron. xx. 1), except the bare mention of Bathsheba's family (1 Chron. iii. 5). It was probably so managed that the public may have only viewed it as a somewhat hasty marriage of the king to Uriah's widow.

[109] 2 Sam. xii. 27. The original word implies the very height of burning indignation.

[110] 2 Sam. xii. 1–4

cretly, but I will do this thing before all Israel, and before the sun." Then follow the few simple words of repentance and forgiveness: "And David said unto Nathan, I have sinned against Jehovah. And Nathan said unto David, Jehovah also hath put away thy sin; thou shalt not die." But the path of repentance, however plain, is a "straight and narrow way," and how David "agonized" to enter into it, we may read in the fifty-first Psalm. In the bitterness of his anguish, as well as in the fullness of his pardon, David once more appears as the type of the sinning, suffering, repenting, and forgiven man, who has ever since found in that one psalm the perfect utterance of his deepest feelings:—

> "The rock is smitten, and to future years
> Springs ever fresh the tide of holy tears,
> And holy music, whispering peace
> Till time and sin together cease."[111]

But even the "godly sorrow, which worketh repentance unto life," does not avert the temporal consequences of sin, whether in the form of its natural fruits or of special judgments. And so Nathan not only does not recall the woes denounced on David's house, which were in part the natural consequence of his polygamy, and of that weak parental indulgence which has been the besetting sin of many a great man,[112] but he goes on to declare a special punishment for that consequence of David's sin which we still see in action: "Because by this deed thou hast given great occasion to the enemies of Jehovah to blaspheme, the child also that is born unto thee shall surely die." And now David was called to prove the sincerity of his repentance by his submission to the punishment which began to work. No sooner had Nathan gone home, than God struck the new-born child with a mortal sickness; and David prayed and fasted, and lay all night on the ground, refusing all comfort from his attendants. On the seventh day David learnt the child's death from the whisperings of the courtiers, who feared to crush him with the news. To their great surprise, he put off all signs of mourning, went to worship in the house of God, and then sat down to eat; explaining to his attendants that, while there remained any hope of the child's life, he fasted and wept in the forlorn hope that God might yet grant him its life; but now mourning could not bring it back from the dead; and he added those memorable words, which we can not but understand as expressing the higher hopes, with which they have

[111] *Christian Year*, Sixth Sunday after Trinity.
[112] Eli and Samuel, for instance.

so often been echoed by bereaved Christian parents: "*I shall go to him;* but he shall not return to me."[113] And "God, who comforteth them that are cast down," ordained that his relation to Bathsheba should be the source not only of comfort to David himself, but of glory to his kingdom, and of blessing to all generations of mankind, by the birth of a son, whom he named SOLOMON, in memory of the *peace* which was established at the same time, and whom, at the command of Nathan, he also named JEDIDIAH (beloved of Jehovah), in token of the special favor which God showed him from his birth.[114] He became the successor of David, and the progenitor of the Messiah, of whose kingdom, as "the Prince of Peace," his peaceful reign was a conspicuous type.

The peace, which the name of Solomon commemorates, had been established by the final conquest of the Ammonites. Joab, having reduced Rabbah to the last extremities by taking the lower city, with its waters,[115] reserved the honor of the victory for David, who marched out at the head of all Israel and took the city. He placed on his own head the sacred crown, called the "crown of Milcolm (or Moloch)," weighing a talent of gold, and set with precious stones, and added the spoil of the city to the treasures prepared for the house of God.[116] The long resistance of the city, and the insult which had provoked the war, were punished by a cruel massacre, in which all the cities of the Beni-ammi were involved. "David brought out the people, and put them under (or, cut them with) saws, and harrows of iron, and axes, and made them pass through the brick-kiln,"[117] the fire, perhaps, through which their children passed "to their grim idol."

The triumphant return of David and his army to Jerusalem concludes the first period of his reign, the glory of which is overshadowed by that great sin, the punishment of which was to render its second part so disastrous.

[113] The 32d Psalm expresses David's return to hope and peace.

[114] 2 Sam. xii. 24, 25. In 1 Chron. iii. 5, three other sons are mentioned, Shimea, Shobab, and Nathan, and Solomon is the *fourth*. The inference that Solomon was the youngest seems hardly reconcilable with the plain order of the narrative in Samuel, or with the probable duration of the Ammonite war.

[115] See note on p. 449.

[116] 2 Sam. xii. 26, 30; 1 Chron. xx. 1, 2. The crown is said to have been worn by David ever afterward; but this could only have been on rare ceremonies, and then for a few moments, from its enormous weight, 114 pounds.

[117] 2 Sam. xii. 31; 1 Chron. xx. 2. There is no good ground for any milder interpretation of the passage. Dr. Kitto has pointed out the probability that it was, as in the case of Adoni-bezek, one of those retaliatory acts by which alone such enemies could be taught to respect the laws of war.

§ 8. Before his marriage with Bathsheba, David had sixteen sons, who lived as princes among the people, each in his own house. Only three of them are of any note in history: the eldest, AMNON, son of Ahinoam of Jezreel; the third, ABSALOM, son of Maacah of Geshur; and the fourth, ADONIJAH, son of Haggith. For the precedence due to Amnon as the first-born he was likely to have a formidable rival in Absalom, whose mother was a king's daughter, and who was himself unequaled for beauty among the people. But we do not hear of any jealousy or dissension among the king's sons till the following occasion led to fatal results. Absalom had a sister named Tamar, who shared his beauty, and of whom Amnon became so violently enamored that he fell sick.[118] Marriage with a half-sister was forbidden by the Mosaic law,[119] though Tamar, in pleading with Amnon, suggested that David might have consented to that alternative to avoid the crime which Amnon effected by a base stratagem.[120] Amnon incurred the anger of David, who probably spared his life because he was his first-born, and the hatred of Absalom, who waited in silence an opportunity for revenge. When two years had thus passed, Absalom invited the king with all his sons, and Amnon in particular, to a sheep-shearing feast at Baalhazor, on the border of Ephraim. David seems to have had suspicions, even after such an interval of time; but in the end he consented to his son's going, though he himself remained at home. Amid the mirth of the feast, Absalom's servants, having received their orders beforehand, slew Amnon when he was merry with wine. The king's sons fled, preceded by the rumor that they were all slain; but they soon arrived, weeping for Amnon, when the king and all his servants joined them in their mourning. Absalom fled to his grandfather, Talmai, king of Geshur, and remained there three years; while David, comforted for the irrecoverable fate of Amnon, grieved for the loss of his living son.

To end this state of things, Joab employed a "wise woman" of Tekoah (afterward the birthplace of the prophet Amos), who appeared before the king in mourning, with a fictitious tale similar to the case of his own family.[121] One of her two sons, she said, had slain the other in a quarrel, and all the family demanded the death of the homicide, which would leave her childless, and cut off her husband's name. When the king promised her protection, she applied the parable to

[118] 2 Sam. xiii. 1. We must not infer that Tamar was David's only daughter.

[119] Lev. xviii. 9, 11.

[120] 2 Sam. xiii. 1–14.

[121] 2 Sam. xiv.

him, and reproved him because he did not "fetch home again his banished." She enforced her request by the oft-quoted proverb, "We must needs die, and are as water spilt on the ground, which can not be gathered up again," and pleaded that God, in sparing the young man's life, had given the means for his recall.[122] Learning from the woman by whom she had been prompted, David sent for Joab, and bade him bring back Absalom, whom however the king refused to see. Absalom dwelt for two years in his house at Jerusalem with his three sons,[123] and his beautiful daughter Tamar, gaining favor with the people by his handsome person. There can be no doubt that he was already meditating, perhaps not the dethronement of his father, but his own association in the kingdom as his heir. At length, impatient of his exclusion from the court, he sent for Joab, who was too cautious to go to him; upon which Absalom compelled him to come by setting fire to one of his fields of standing corn. Joab interceded with the king, who received his son and gave him the kiss of peace. We may suppose that the interview put an end to Absalom's hopes of sharing his father's throne, for he now began to prepare for rebellion.[124] He surrounded himself with a body of fifty foot-runners, besides chariots and horsemen; and, taking his station beside the city gate, he met the suitors who came to the king with expressions of his regret that their causes were neglected, and with the wish that he were judge over the land, to give them redress, while every reverence made to him was returned with an embrace. "So Absalom stole the hearts of the men of Israel." This may partly be accounted for by the common love of change, and impatience at long-continued prosperity; but, besides this, Absalom's unchecked proceedings prove that David was not living as of old in sight of the people—a certain cause of loss of popularity: the affair of Băthsheba, though only known in part, and his treatment of Absalom, may have bred discontent; and it has been conjectured, from the choice of Hebron as the head-quarters of the rebellion, that the men of Judah were offended at finding themselves merged with the other tribes. Absalom's chief captain and chief counselor, Amasa and Ahithophel, were of that tribe, and there are symptoms of discord

[122] This seems to be the meaning of 2 Sam. xiv. 14, a passage from which, besides the proverb above quoted, we derive a phrase of a favorite hymn:

> "O let the dead now hear thy voice;
> Now bid *thy banished ones* rejoice."

[123] They seem all to have died before Absalom (2 Sam. xviii. 18).

[124] 2 Sam. xv. We may probably infer from the silence of Scripture that David's second son Chileab was dead.

between Judah and the other tribes at the time of the king's return.[125]

When the plot was ripe,[126] Absalom obtained leave from the king to go to Hebron, the ancient sanctuary of his tribe, to pay a vow which he had made at Geshur in case he should return to Jerusalem. He took with him 200 men, not yet privy to his design, and sent round secret messengers to all the tribes, warning the adherents whom we have seen him gaining at Jerusalem that the trumpet would give the signal of his having been proclaimed king at Hebron. But perhaps his most prudent step was his sending for Ahithophel, David's most able counselor, from his own city of Giloh. It is natural to suppose that Ahithophel had resented David's conduct to his grand-daughter Bathsheba; and his absence from Jerusalem, to sacrifice at his own city, may have been but a preparation for joining Absalom.

§ 9. The first news of the conspiracy reached David as tidings of its success. He at once resolved to fly from Jerusalem, lest the city should be stormed, and his servants consented. His departure from Jerusalem is related with a minuteness to which we have no parallel in the Scripture history of any single day, except that of which this was the type, when the son of David, betrayed by "his own familiar friend," and rejected by his own people, went out by the same path "bearing his reproach." It was early in the morning when the king, leaving his palace in the care of his ten concubines, went forth by the eastern gate with all his household and a crowd of people; for there were still many who showed him the deepest attachment. Among his faithful guard of Cherethites and Pelethites, and his chosen heroes, the 600 who had followed him ever since his residence at Gath,[127] was Ittai the Gittite. David released him and his countrymen from their allegiance; but Ittai vowed that he would follow the king in life or death, and David bade him lead the way. They passed over the brook Kidron (the Cedron of the New Testament), by the way that led over the Mount of Olives to Jericho and the wilderness, while "all the country wept with a loud voice." As David halted in the valley to let the people pass on, he was joined by Zadok

[125] 2 Sam. xix. 41.

[126] 2 Sam. xv. 7. "After *forty* years" is probably an error of the text. Josephus says "*four* years;" and the only possible epoch from which to date the forty years, namely, David's accession, brings the rebellion into the last year of his reign, which is clearly untenable.

[127] 2 Sam. xv. 18, reading *Gibborim* for *Gittim* (Ewald, *Geschichte*, iii. 177).

and Abiathar, with all the Levites, bringing with them the ark of God. With self-renouncing reverence, David refused to have the ark removed, for his sake, from the sanctuary where he had fixed its abode, and exposed to share his perils. If Jehovah willed to show him favor, he would bring him back to see both the ark and His habitation; if not—"Behold here am I! let Him do to me as seemeth good to Him!" He reminded the priests that they could do him effectual service in the city by employing their two sons, who were both swift runners, to bring him tidings, and so he sent them back with the ark. The weeping troop then ascended the Mount of Olives in the garb of the deepest mourning, the king himself walking barefoot; and just as the grief reached its height, at the last view of the towers of Jerusalem, word was brought to David that Ahithophel was among the conspirators. He had scarcely uttered the prayer that God would turn the wise counsel of Ahithophel into foolishness, when the means of its fulfilment was presented. At the summit of the mount, he was met by his other counselor and chosen "friend," Hushai the Archite, in the garb of mourning. David bade him to return into the city and offer his services to Absalom, in order to defeat the counsel of Ahithophel, and to place himself in communication with Zadok and Abiathar, whose sons would bring his messages to the king. Hushai returned to Jerusalem just as Absalom was entering the city, and was received by him with taunts for his desertion of his "friend," which must have confirmed him in his purpose, though he answered them with professions of fidelity to his new master as the chosen of Jehovah and of Israel.[128]

Meanwhile, just at the height of noon, David passed over the brow of the hill into the territory of Benjamin, where he found himself among the friends of Saul. One of these, Ziba, the servant of Mephibosheth, met David, with two asses laden with refreshments, and by an artful story of his master's treason, obtained a gift of all his property. The other member of the house of Saul, Shimei, the son of Gera, a native of Bahurim, came out from that village as David passed by, and pelted him and his retinue with stones, cursing him as the bloody murderer of Saul's house. Abishai would have avenged the insult; but the king, with an outburst of impatience at the overbearing sons of Zeruiah, let him curse on, as the messenger of the curse of God—a submission which

[128] 2 Sam. xv. 37, xvi. 16-19.

seems to express the voice of David's conscience for the murder of Uriah. And what was there, he asked, so strange in the curses of a Benjamite when his own son sought his life? Uttering a hope that Jehovah would requite him good for this cursing, he suffered the man to continue his insults down the hill-side. At the close of the day he reached the Jordan, and rested at its fords, the place he had appointed with the priests.[129] Here they were roused at midnight by Ahimaaz, the son of Zadok, and Jonathan, the son of Abiathar, who had narrowly escaped with their lives, bringing a warning to cross the river the same night.[130]

For the day had been a busy one at Jerusalem. Absalom had no sooner entered the city than, by the advice of Ahithophel—who acted on the favorite maxim of conspirators, to commit their party by some unpardonable crime—he perpetrated the outrage which had been foretold by the prophet Nathan.[131] Ahithophel's next advice proved the sagacity for which he was unrivaled.[132] He proposed to pursue David with 12,000 chosen men, and to fall upon him when weary and dispirited: his followers would be sure to fly, the king's life only should be sacrificed, and the rest would return and dwell in peace.[133] Absalom and the elders of Israel did not shrink from the atrocity of the scheme, but it was thought better first to consult Hushai. With consummate art, he inspired Absalom with the fear that David had chosen some hiding-place, where he and his men of war would be found chafing like a bear robbed of her whelps; and the first pursuers would certainly be smitten with an overthrow which would cause a panic through all the land. Let Absalom rather gather the whole multitude of Israel from Dan to Beersheba, and take the field in person, with the certainty of falling upon David as the dew covers all the ground; or, if he had taken refuge in a city, the force of Israel would drag it bodily with ropes into the river. The result was that which is usual with councils of war. The more daring plan, and the first thoughts, which are generally best, were abandoned for the "safer" course: "For Jehovah had appointed to defeat the good counsel of Ahithophel, to the intent that Jehovah might bring evil upon Absalom."[134]

Before, however, this decision was fully taken, Hushai advised the priests to send David warning of the plan of Ahith-

[129] 2 Sam. xvi. 14; comp. xv. 28, xvii. 22, xix. 18; Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 9, § 4.
[130] 2 Sam. xvii. 15–22.
[131] 2 Sam. xvi. 20–22. In the East the harem of a king passes to his successor.
[132] 2 Sam. xvi. 23
[133] 2 Sam. xvii. 1–3.
[134] 2 Sam. xvii. -14.

ophel. On receiving it, as we have seen, David crossed the Jordan,[135] with all his people, before the morning, and took up his abode at Mahanaim, the very place which had been the capital of his rival, Ish-bosheth, while he himself reigned at Hebron. Here he was visited by Shobi, the son of Nahash, whom David had no doubt set up as a vassal king of Ammon, in place of his brother Hanem, and by Machir, the former protector of Mephibosheth, and by Barzillai the Gileadite, of Rogelim, whose touching farewell is recorded later. These faithful friends brought him all the supplies needful for the rest and refreshment of his exhausted followers.[136]

Meanwhile Hushai was without a rival at the court of Absalom. Ahithophel was so mortified at the rejection of his advice, and so convinced of the consequent ruin of Absalom's party, that he took his departure to his native city; and, having set his house in order, he hanged himself, and was buried in the sepulchre of his fathers.[137] His name has passed into a byword for the truth that "God taketh the wise in his own craftiness;" and his unscrupulous treason forbids all sympathy with his fate. We may apply to him what was said of one of our own party leaders:—"His great crimes were enhanced by his immense talents, of which God gave him the use, and the devil the application." Absalom assumed the royal state, and was solemnly anointed as king.[138] Joab's office of captain of the host was conferred by him upon Amasa, the son of Ithra by Abigail, the daughter of Nahash, step-daughter to Jesse, and sister to Zeruiah: he was half-cousin to David, and own cousin to Joab and Abishai.[139] Absalom then crossed the Jordan in pursuit of David, and pitched his camp in Mount Gilead.[140]

§ 10. David prepared to receive the attack with his usual skill.[141] He divided his forces into three bodies, under Joab, Abishai, and Ittai; and yielding to the people's entreaties, he himself remained to hold out the city in case of a defeat. Confident, however, in his tried veterans, and still more in

[135] The 3d Psalm was probably composed in the morning after crossing the Jordan. Ps. cxliii. by its title in the LXX., "When his son was pursuing him," belongs to this time. Also, by long popular belief, Ps. xlii. has been supposed to have been composed in the trans-Jordanic exile of David, and the complaints of Ps. lv., lxix., and cix., to be leveled against Ahithophel.

[136] 2 Sam. xvii. 15-29.

[137] 2 Sam. xvii. 23. It is impossible to dismiss the name of Ahithophel without some allusion to Dryden's celebrated poem "Absalom and Ahithophel," in which the former stands for Monmouth, and the latter for Shaftesbury.

[138] 2 Sam. xix. 10.

[139] 2 Sam. xvii. 25. See the pedigree of David in *Notes and Illustrations* to chap. xx.

[140] 2 Sam. xvii. 26.

[141] 2 Sam. xviii.

the help of God, he was chiefly solicitous for the safety of his rebellious son. "Deal gently for my sake with the young man, even with Absalom," was his charge to the captains in the hearing of all the people, as he sat in the gate to see them march out to the battle. The armies met in "the forest of Ephraim,"[142] in Mount Gilead, where the entangled ground was most unfavorable to the untrained hosts of Absalom. They were overthrown with a slaughter of 20,000 men, more of whom perished in the defiles of the forest than in the battle itself; if that might be called a battle, which consisted in a number of partial combats spread over the face of the country. Amid this scattered fight, Absalom was separated from his men; and as he fled from a party of the enemy, the mule on which he rode carried him beneath the low branches of a spreading terebinth, and left him hanging by the luxuriant hair which formed his pride.[143] The first soldier who came up spared his life, because of the king's command, and went to tell Joab. The unscrupulous chief hurried to the spot, and thrust three javelins into Absalom's heart, while his ten armor-bearers joined in dispatching him. Having sounded the trumpet of recall, Joab took down the body and cast it into a pit, over which the people raised a great heap of stones, as a mark of execration;[144] a burial which the historian contrasts with the splendid monument which Absalom had prepared for himself in Shaveh, or the "King's Dale."[145]

David waited at Mahanaim with an impatience which his knowledge of Joab must have rendered doubly painful. Joab's manner of sending the message has been explained from a desire, which even he felt, to spare the feelings of Ahimaaz, the young friend and messenger of the king. Bidding him wait till the morrow, Joab sent a Cushite follower of his own unknown to the court,[146] with no other orders than to tell what he had seen. The blunt soldier, conscious of having done the king good service even by his disobedi-

[142] No very satisfactory explanation has been given of the use of this name on the east of Jordan. See Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 329, note.

[143] Comp. 2 Sam. xiv. 26. Two things are to be noted as contributing to Absalom's fate: the ostentation of going into battle on the mule, which marked his rank as prince, instead of on foot, like David and all the great warriors, and the vanity of wearing his hair in a style only becoming to a Nazarite.

[144] As in the case of Achan (Josh. vii. 26).

[145] 2 Sam. xviii. 1-18; Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 10, § 3. The so-called "Tomb of Absalom," just outside Jerusalem, in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, is a late Roman edifice.

[146] See v. 26, 27, where the watchman recognizes Ahimaaz, but not the Cushite.

ence, makes no attempt to break the news. But Ahimaaz was more considerate. Having prevailed on Joab to let him run after the Cushite, he outstripped him by his better knowledge of the ground.[147] David was sitting in the gateway of Mahanaim, when the watchman on the tower above announced first one, and then a second runner. He presently recognized Ahimaaz by his style of running, and David felt sure that his favorite messenger must bring good tidings. And so at first it seemed; for he offered his breathless congratulations on the king's deliverance from his enemies. But the eager question, "Is the young man Absalom safe?" was evaded by the mention of some strange confusion that prevailed when the runner left. Before the king had time to ascertain his meaning, the Cushite entered with his news of the victory. The inquiry about Absalom was repeated, and called forth the answer, "The enemies of my lord the king, and all that rise against thee to do thee hurt, be as that young man!" Then burst the floodgates of a father's heart. No scene in all history appeals to deeper feelings, and none is related in such simple and pathetic words as this:—"And the king was much moved, and went up to the chamber over the gate, and wept: and as he went, thus he said, O my son Absalom! my son, my son Absalom! would God I had died for thee, O Absalom, my son, my son!"[148]

The king's grief turned the victory into mourning, and the people stole back into the city like the remnants of a defeated army. David shut himself up, repeating the same mournful cry.[149] The hand that had struck the blow roused him from his grief. Joab went into his presence, and upbraided him with lamenting for his enemies, instead of encouraging his friends, who would soon be driven away by his neglect. Most had already dispersed to their tents, but they returned on hearing that David had resumed his post at the gate of Mahanaim. Confusion prevailed throughout the tribes. They remembered that it was David who had delivered them from the Philistines; and, now that Absalom, their anointed king, was dead, they asked each other, "Why speak ye not a word of bringing the king back?"[150] At this crisis David sent for the priests, Zadok and Abiathar. Through them he appealed to the tribe of Judah, as his brethren, while he promised to make Amasa captain of the host in the place of

[147] 2 Sam. xviii. 23. This disputed passage seems to mean that, while the Cushite followed a direct line over the hills, Ahimaaz took a more circuitous but easier course along the valley of the Jordan.

[148] 2 Sam. xviii. 33. [149] 2 Sam. xix. 1-4. [150] 2 Sam. xix. 5-10.

Joab. The tribe, thus gained over as one man, invited him to cross the Jordan, and met him at the ancient camp of Gilgal. David's triumphant return is related as fully as his sad departure. With the men of Judah came a thousand Benjamites under Shimei, who was eager to make his peace with his insulted king; and Ziba, with his fifteen sons and twenty servants, crossed the river to anticipate his master's claim for restitution. The ferry-boat, which carried over the king and his household, had scarcely touched the shore, when Shimei fell down before him to confess his guilt and entreat pardon, which was granted, with another impatient rebuke of Abishai's remonstrances. The clemency, which David deemed becoming to the hour of victory, was sound policy toward Benjamin. He swore to preserve Shimei's life, but he kept a close watch on a man who had proved so dangerous, and warned Solomon against him on his death-bed; and Shimei justified David's distrust and provoked his own fate, by a new act of disobedience.[151]

David was next met by Mephibosheth, whose supposed ingratitude was only noticed by a gentle rebuke.[152] Mephibosheth, however, had a different tale to tell from that of Ziba, whom he accused of having compelled him to remain at Jerusalem while he went to slander him to the king. But he submitted all to David's disposal, since his life had been spared, when all Saul's family were but dead men; and now he had come to meet the king in the deep mourning which he had worn since his departure. Ziba seems not to have denied the truth of Mephibosheth's statement; but David, weary of the case, and unwilling to leave any one discontented on that joyful day, divided the property between Ziba and Mephibosheth, who thus received half when he thought he had lost the whole.[153]

The most affecting incident of the day was the farewell of Barzillai, the wealthy Gileadite, who had supplied David's wants while he was at Mahanaim. He accompanied David over the Jordan, and the king invited him to Jerusalem that he might return his hospitality. "How long have I to live?" asked Barzillai, who had reached his eightieth year, "that I should go up with the king to Jerusalem?" Contenting himself with escorting David a little beyond the Jordan, he

[151] 1 K. ii. 8, 9, 36–46. That David's injunction is only to be understood as a warning conditional on Shimei's own conduct is proved by the course actually taken by Solomon.

[152] 2 Sam. xix. 25; where we must read "*from* Jerusalem."

[153] 2 Sam. xix. 24–30.

left his son Chimham to receive the favors which he himself was too old to enjoy; and one of David's last acts was to commend the family to the generosity of Solomon.[154]

§ 11. The joy of the king's return was disturbed by the angry jealousy of the rest of Israel against Judah for beginning the movement without them.[155] The fierce tone of Judah seems to have provoked the old animosity of Benjamin; and Sheba, the son of Bichri, a Benjamite, proclaiming that the tribes had no interest in the house of Jesse, blew the trumpet of revolt, and raised the cry, "Every man to his tents, O Israel!" The king, who had now returned to Jerusalem, ordered his new captain, Amasa, to muster the forces of Judah in three days, that the rebellion might be crushed while it was confined to Benjamin. Amasa's slowness compelled David to have recourse again to the sons of Zeruiah, and Abishai led forth the body-guard of Cherethites and Pelethites and the heroes, accompanied by Joab. Gibeon once more became the scene of battle. They found Amasa there before them with the main army, and under the show of an embrace, Joab dealt his favored rival one fatal blow, and then pressed on the pursuit after Sheba with his brother Abishai. One of Joab's followers stood over Amasa as he lay wallowing in his blood on the highway, bidding all the friends of Joab and of David to go forward; but, when he saw their hesitation, he carried the corpse aside into a field, and covered it with a mantle, and so the pursuit went on.[156] Sheba fled northward, raising the tribes of Israel on his way, to Abel-beth-maachah, near the sources of the Jordan, "a city and metropolis in Israel."[157] The forces of Sheba seem to have melted away before Joab's hot pursuit, and he was besieged in Abel. This city was proverbial for the oracular wisdom of its inhabitants; and "a wise woman" now saved it by first learning Joab's demands in a parley, and then inducing the people to comply with them by throwing the head of Sheba over the wall.[158] The suppression of this rebellion closes the second period of David's reign. Its remaining part was only disturbed by a war with the Philistines at Gezer, the

[154] 2 Sam. xix. 31–40. See the beautiful use made of this incident by Keble: *Christian Year*, *Restoration of the Royal Family*.

[155] 2 Sam. xix. 41–43.

[156] 2 Sam. xx. 1–13.

[157] 2 Sam. xx. 14–22; also called Abel-maim (*the meadow of waters*). Its site was probably in the marshy ground round the "Waters of Merom." Comp. 1 K. xv. 20; 2 K. xv. 29; 2 Chron. xvi. 4 (Stanley's *S. & P.*, p. 390, note).

[158] The whole history of Absalom's rebellion and the events that followed, down to the death of Sheba, is omitted in *Chronicles*.

date of which is unknown, and in which several of David's heroes signalized their individual strength and prowess.[159]

To this epoch ought probably to be referred the remarkable Psalm, which is recorded in the *Second Book of Samuel*, as "a song spoken by David to Jehovah in the day that Jehovah delivered him out of the hand of all his enemies and out of the hand of Saul."[160] It stands in the *Book of Psalms* as the eighteenth, with the description of David in the title as "the servant of Jehovah;" words no doubt intended to ascribe to Him all David's glories. Needless difficulty has been felt about the mention of Saul in the title, which even recent events might have suggested, as Sheba's rebellion was the dying effort of Saul's party; but, what is more natural than that, in thanking God for deliverance from all his enemies, David should lay the greatest emphasis on the earliest and the most dangerous of them all?[161]

§ 12. David's life, in the very character of its separate parts, is typical of that whole course of experience which is seen in the men who best represent humanity: a youth of promise, a manhood of conflict, trouble, and temptation, not free from falls, and a serene old age. The work which was properly his own was now done, and the third and closing period of his reign was occupied in preparing for the culminating glories of the *earthly* kingdom of Israel under his successor. But the parallel would scarcely have been true, had the evening of his life been perfectly unclouded. As has been remarked before, the three periods of his reign were stamped each with a great external calamity, the lesson of which God made plainer by the *numerical* parallel; *three years of famine*, to avenge the cruelties of Saul, *three months of flight* before rebellious Absalom, and now *three days of pestilence*, a form of judgment analogous to the offense that called it down.

"Satan stood up against Israel, and provoked David to number the people."[162] That this was no ordinary census, is

[159] 2 Sam. xxi. 15–22; 1 Chron. xx. 4–8.

[160] 2 Sam. xxii. Perhaps it may be placed after the pestilence; but the absence of any allusion to that deliverance, and the specific reference to success in war, both in the title and the Psalm itself, best accord with the place here given to it. The title must be regarded as an integral part of the Psalm.

[161] This view is confirmed by the allusions in 2 Sam. xxii. 5–7, 17–20; Psalm xviii. 4–6, 16–19, and especially the words "my *strong enemy*," v. 18 (17 of the Psalm).

[162] 1 Chron. xxi. 1. We learn from the parallel passage, 2 Sam. xxiv. 1, that Satan was the allowed agent of Jehovah's anger, excited doubtless by the spirit which the act displayed.

clear not only from the punishment that followed it, but from the remonstrances of Joab, to whom the business was intrusted,[163] and to whom it was so "abominable" that he omitted the tribes of Levi and Benjamin altogether.[164] By David's own desire, all under twenty were omitted "because Jehovah had said that he would increase Israel like to the stars of the heavens."[165] And that some distrust of this truth was at the root of David's sin, is implied in the terms of Joab's remonstrance. The transaction seems to have sprung from a self-confident desire to consolidate the forces of the kingdom, to exult in their greatness, and to hold them in the readiness of a full military organization for new enterprises. Nor is it unreasonable to suppose that some specific conquest was meditated beyond the limits of the promised land. And so God sent a punishment which showed how easily He who had promised that Israel should be increased like the stars of heaven and the sand by the sea-shore,[166] and who could have added unto the people, how many soever they might be, a hundred-fold,[167] could cut down their numbers at a stroke.

Early in the morning after the work was finished, the prophet Gad was sent to David, whose conscience had already prepared him for the visit, to offer the choice of three modes of decimating the people, a three years' famine, a three months' flight before his enemies, or a three days' pestilence. The king, who had experienced the two former calamities, now chose the latter with pious resignation, saying, "Let us fall now into the hand of Jehovah; for His mercies are great, and let me not fall into the hand of man." The pestilence raged for the appointed time, and 70,000 of the people died, from Dan to Beersheba.[168] Its cessation was a turning-point in the history of the nation. The breaking out of the plague in Jerusalem itself was accompanied by the awful appearance of an angel hovering in the air just outside of the wall, and stretching out a drawn sword toward the city. At this sight, David cried to Jehovah, praying that He would let the punishment fall on him and his house, "but these sheep,

[163] 2 Sam. xxiv. 3; 1 Chron. xxi. 3.

[164] 1 Chron. xxi. 6, xxvii. 24. The latter passage seems to imply that the plague began before Joab came to these two tribes; but it appears from 2 Sam. xxiv. 9, that Joab completed all he intended.

[165] 1 Chron. xxvii. 23. The result of the census was not recorded in the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah. From 2 Sam. xxiv. 9, we learn that it gave 800,000 valiant warriors for Israel, and 500,000 for Judah. It occupied Joab 9 months and 20 days.

[166] Gen. xv. 5. [167] 2 Sam. xxiv. 3.

[168] 2 Sam. xxiv. 10-15; 1 Chron. xxi. 9-13.

what have they done?" His intercession was accepted. The prophet Gad came to him again, bidding him to erect an altar to Jehovah on the spot over which the angel had been seen. That spot was occupied by *the threshing-floor of* ARAUNAH, or ORNAN, one of the old Jebusites of the city. He was evidently a man of the highest consideration; and, from certain expressions, it has even been supposed that he had been the king of Jebus before its capture by David.[169] Araunah was engaged, with his four sons, in threshing corn by means of sledges drawn by oxen, when the vision of the angel caused them to hide themselves for fear; but on seeing the king approach, with his courtiers, Araunah came forth and bowed down before him, offering, as soon as he learned his wish, to give him the threshing-floor as a free gift, and the oxen and the implements for a burnt-offering. But David refused to offer to Jehovah that which had cost him nothing, and paid to Araunah the royal price of 600 shekels of gold for the ground, and 50 shekels of silver for the oxen. There he built an altar to Jehovah, and offered burnt-offerings and peace-offerings, and the plague ceased.[170]

This altar first distinctly marked the hill as the sacred spot which Jehovah had long promised to choose for his abode. The ark had indeed been placed for some time in the city of David, but the stated sacrifices had still been offered on the original brazen altar before the tabernacle of Gibeon;[171] and even after the removal of the ark, God had spoken to David of His choice of a place to build His house as yet to be made.[172] That choice was now revealed by the descent of fire from heaven on David's sacrifice, as upon the altar of burnt-offering in the wilderness;[173] and David recognized the sign, and said, "This is the HOUSE OF JEHOVAH GOD, and this is the altar of the burnt-offering for Israel."[174] The place received the name of MORIAH (*vision*) from the appearance of God to David, as the first destroying angel, and then by the sign of fire.[175]

David at once commenced his preparations for the edifice. We have seen him long ago devoting to this use the spoils of his victories, which now amounted to 100,000 talents of gold and 1,000,000 talents of silver;[176] and now he collected

[169] 2 Sam. xxiv. 23. "All these things did Araunah, *a king*, give unto the king."

[170] 2 Sam. xxiv. 18–25; 1 Chron. xxi. 18–30. [171] 2 Chron. i. 3.

[172] 2 Sam. vii. 10, 13.

[173] 1 Chron. xxi. 26.

[174] 1 Chron. xxii. 1.

[175] 2 Chron. iii. 1. Respecting the supposed identity of this Moriah with the place of Israel's sacrifice, see *Notes and Illustrations*, p. 92, 93.

[176] There has been much discussion concerning the enormous and seem-

all the skilled foreign workmen that could be found in the land, to hew stones and to do all other work: he prepared iron and brass without weight, and procured the cedar-wood of Lebanon from the Sidonians and Tyrians. But the work itself was destined to another hand. To his son SOLOMON, now designated as his successor, he gave the charge to build a house for Jehovah, God of Israel. He told his son how God had denied him this desire of his heart, because he had been a man of war, and had shed much blood upon the earth; and how He had promised its fulfillment by a son, who was to be named Solomon (*peaceful*), because under him Israel should have peace, and whose throne should be established over Israel forever. He also charged the princes of Israel to help Solomon, and to set their heart and soul to seek Jehovah.[177]

§ 13. The designation of Solomon gave the deathblow to the hopes of ADONIJAH, the son of Haggith, David's fourth, and eldest surviving son, a man of great personal beauty, whom his father had always treated with indulgence.[178] Taking advantage of David's increasing feebleness,[179] he resolved to make himself king. Like Absalom, he prepared a guard of chariots and horses and fifty foot-runners, and he gained over Joab and Abiathar. Zadok, however, with Benaiah, the captain of the body-guard, and David's heroes, and the prophet Nathan, remained faithful to the king. When Adonijah thought his project ripe, he invited his adherents, with all the king's sons (except Solomon), who seem to have shared his jealousy, to a great banquet at the rock of Zoheleth, near Enrogel, where, amid the mirth of the festival, the cry was raised, "Long live King Adonijah."

ingly incredible amount of the gold and silver; though, considering the way in which treasures have always been amassed in the East, it is hard to assign the limits of credibility. One suggestion is to adopt some other talent than the Babylonian. But the safest way is to avoid attaching undue importance to exact arithmetical computations, as comparatively indifferent, and to be content with the general impression produced by the *large number* of what we know to have been *very considerable units*. We may be quite sure that, in the original documents, the exact quantities were faithfully copied from the registers of the scribes; but we can not be sure that they have been accurately transmitted to us, or, if they have, that we perfectly understand their value in our denominations either of weight or money.

[177] 1 Chron. xxii., xxviii. 2-8. The comparison of these passages with 2 Sam. vii. suggests that David's renewed desire to build the Temple had called forth fuller intimations of God's will both in respect to himself and to Solomon. In another passage, Solomon himself assigns the *constant occupation* of David in war as the reason of the delay (1 K. v. 8).

[178] 1 K. i. 6.

[179] 1 K. i. 1-4.

The prophet Nathan informed Bathsheba of these proceedings, and arranged with her a plan to secure the interests of her son. Bathsheba went into David's chamber, followed soon after by Nathan, to tell him that Adonijah reigned, in spite of his promise to Solomon. The aged king had lost nothing of his prudence and decision. At his command, Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet, supported by Benaiah, with the body-guard of Cherethites and Pelethites, proclaimed Solomon king amid the rejoicings of the people, and anointed him with the sacred oil, which Zadok took out of the tabernacle. The guests of Adonijah dispersed at the news, which was brought by Jonathan, the son of Abiathar, and Adonijah himself fled for sanctuary to the horns of the altar; but on Solomon's assurance that his life should be spared if he proved worthy of his clemency, he retired to his own house.[180] David gathered all the people to an assembly, in which he gave a solemn charge to them and their new king, to whom also he delivered patterns for the house of God, and the materials he had collected for the building. These were greatly increased by the freewill-offerings of the princes and the people. After David had offered thanksgiving and prayer for Solomon, all the people feasted together, and Solomon was inaugurated into his kingdom for the second time, while Zadok was publicly anointed as high-priest. The new king was established in prosperity and in favor with the people before his father's death. "And Jehovah magnified Solomon exceedingly in the sight of all Israel, and bestowed upon him such royal majesty as had not been on any king before him in Israel."[181] A constant memorial of this solemnity is preserved in that most magnificent of the Psalms of David, the seventy-second, in which the blessings predicted for the reign of Solomon form a transparent veil for the transcendent glories prophesied for Christ's kingdom, and which is marked as the crowning contribution of its author to the service of the sanctuary by its concluding words, "The prayers of David, the son of Jesse, are ended!"

§ 14. Amid these happy omens for his house, David approached the end of his life. His last act was to send for Solomon and renew the charge to him to keep the statutes of Jehovah, as written in the law of Moses, that so he might prosper in all his deeds.[182] He added directions in reference to the men with whom the young king might not know how to deal. Joab was named as a just object of vengeance for

[180] 1 K. i. [181] 2 Chron. xxiii.–xxix. [182] 1 K. ii. 1-4.

his two treacherous murders of Abner and Amasa, which are described in very striking figurative language.[183] BARZILLAI and his house are commended to Solomon's favor. The denunciation of SHIMEI has been already noticed. We may here anticipate the first acts of Solomon's reign, and see how he dealt with these and his other enemies. No sooner was David dead, than Adonijah had the audacity to solicit, through the intercession of Bathsheba, the hand of Abishag the Shunammite, who had been the companion of David's old age, though not exactly his concubine. In the latter case, marriage with her would have been only permitted to the king's successor; and in this light Solomon seems to have viewed the request. Indeed we can only understand what followed on the supposition, that this was a first insidious step in a new conspiracy of Adonijah with Abiathar and Joab, as Solomon's answer clearly implies.[184] Adonijah was put to death by the hand of Benaiah; but Abiathar, in consideration of his office and his old companionship with David, was only banished to his home at Anathoth, and deposed from the high-priesthood, which thus passed from the house of Ithamar, according to God's sentence against Eli.[185] Upon this Joab fled for sanctuary to the horns of the altar; and there, refusing to come forth, he was slain by the hand of Benaiah. His death is regarded as a satisfaction for the blood of Abner and Amasa, the guilt of which was thus removed from the house of David, but his fate was sealed by his accession to Adonijah's conspiracy. He was buried in his own house in the wilderness, and Benaiah succeeded to his command.[186] Shimei was ordered by Solomon to dwell in Jerusalem, with the express warning that his departure from the city, on whatever pretext, would seal his fate. Three years afterward he went to Gath in pursuit of two of his servants, who had fled to Achish, and on his return Solomon caused him to be put to death.[187]

To return to David: the short Psalm, entitled "The last words of David,"[188] seems, from its closing sentences, to have been uttered in connection with his final words to Solomon. Its opening sums up the chief features of his life: "David, the man raised up on high, the anointed of the God of Jacob, and the sweet Psalmist of Israel." After a reign of forty years, seven in Hebron, and thirty-three at Jerusalem, "he died in a good old age, full of days, riches, and honor, and

[183] 1 K. ii. 5, 6. [184] 1 K. ii. 13-25. [185] 1 K. ii. 26, 27; comp. 1 Sam. ii. 31-35. [186] 1 K. ii. 28-35. [187] 1 K. ii. 36-46. [188] 2 Sam. xxiii. 1-7.

Solomon his son reigned in his stead." He was buried "in the city of David." After the return from the Captivity, "the sepulchres of David" were still pointed out between Siloah and "the house of the mighty men," or "the guard-house."[189] His tomb, which became the general sepulchre of the kings of Judah, was known in the latest times of the Jewish people. "His sepulchre is with us unto this day," says St. Peter at Pentecost.[190] His acts were recorded in the Book of Samuel the seer, and of Nathan the prophet, and of Gad the seer, "with all his reign and his might, and the times that went over him, and over Israel, and over all the kingdoms of the countries." The substance of these records is preserved in the Books of Samuel and the beginning of the First Book of Kings.[191]

§ 15. The character of David has been so naturally brought out in the incidents of his life that it need not be here described in detail. In the complexity of its elements, passion, tenderness, generosity, fierceness—the soldier, the shepherd, the poet, the statesman, the priest, the prophet, the king—the romantic friend, the chivalrous leader, the devoted father—there is no character of the Old Testament at all to be compared to it. Jacob comes nearest in the variety of elements included within it. But David's character stands at a higher point of the sacred history, and represents the Jewish people just at the moment of their transition from the lofty virtues of the older system to the fuller civilization and cultivation of the later. In this manner he becomes naturally, if one may so say, the likeness or portrait of the last and grandest development of the nation and of the monarchy in the person and the period of the Messiah. In a sense more than figurative, he is the type and prophecy of Jesus Christ. Christ is not called the son of Abraham, or of Jacob, or of Moses, but he was truly "the son of David."

To his own people his was the name most dearly cherished after their first ancestor Abraham. "The city of David," "the house of David," "the throne of David," "the seed of David," "the oath sworn unto David" (the pledge of the

[189] Neh. iii. 16.

[190] Acts ii. 29. The edifice shown as such from the Crusades to the present day is on the southern hill of modern Jerusalem, commonly called Mount Zion, under the so-called "Cœnaculum." The so-called "Tombs of the Kings" have of late been claimed as the royal sepulchre by De Saulcy, who brought to the Louvre (where it may be seen) what he believed to be the lid of David's sarcophagus. But these tombs are *outside* the walls, and therefore can not be identified with the tomb of David, which was emphatically *within* the walls.

[191] 1 K. ii. 10, 11; 1 Chron. xxix 26–30. See chap. xix. § 1.

continuance of his dynasty), are expressions which pervade the whole of the Old Testament and all the figurative language of the New, and they serve to mark the lasting significance of his appearance in history.[192]

His Psalms (whether those actually written by himself be many or few) have been the source of consolation and instruction beyond any other part of the Hebrew Scriptures. In them appear qualities of mind and religious perceptions not before expressed in the sacred writings, but eminently characteristic of David—the love of nature, the sense of sin, and the tender, ardent trust in and communion with God. No other part of the Old Testament comes so near to the spirit of the New. The Psalms are the only expressions of devotion which have been equally used through the whole Christian Church—Abyssinian, Greek, Latin, Puritan, Anglican.

The difficulties which attend on his character are valuable as proofs of the impartiality of Scripture in recording them, and as indications of the union of natural power and weakness which his character included. The Rabbis in former times, and critics (like Bayle) in later times, have seized on its dark features and exaggerated them to the utmost. And it has been often asked, both by the scoffers and the serious, how the man after God's[193] own heart could have murdered Uriah, and seduced Bathsheba, and tortured the Ammonites to death? An extract from one who is not a too indulgent critic of sacred characters expresses at once the common sense and the religious lesson of the whole matter. "Who is called 'the man after God's own heart?' David, the Hebrew king, had fallen into sins enough—blackest crimes—there was no want of sin. And therefore the unbelievers sneer, and ask 'Is this your man according to God's heart?' The sneer, I must say, seems to me but a shallow one. What are faults, what are the outward details of a life, if the inner secret of it, the remorse, temptations, the often baffled, never-ended struggle of it be forgotten? . . . David's life and history, as written for us in those Psalms of his, I consider to be the truest emblem ever given us of a man's moral progress and warfare here below. All earnest souls will ever discern

[192] It may be remarked that the name never appears as given to any one else in the Jewish history; as if, like "Peter" in the Papacy, it was too sacred to be appropriated.

[193] This expression has been perhaps too much made of. It occurs only once in the Scriptures (1 Sam. xiii. 14, quoted again in Acts xiii. 22), where it merely indicates a man whom God will approve, in distinction from Saul who was rejected. A much stronger and more peculiar commendation of David is that contained in 1 K. xv. 3–5, and implied in Ps. lxxxix. 20–28.

in it the faithful struggle of an earnest human soul toward what is good and best. Struggle often baffled—sore baffled—driven as into entire wreck, yet a struggle never ended, ever with tears, repentance, true unconquerable purpose begun anew.[194]

[194] Carlyle's *Heroes and Hero-Worship*, p. 72. The preceding character of David is taken from Dean Stanley's art. DAVID, in the *Dict. of the Bible.*

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

TOPOGRAPHY OF JERUSALEM.

JERUSALEM stands in latitude 31° 46′ 35″ north, and longitude 35° 18′ 30″ east of Greenwich. It is 32 miles distant from the sea, and 18 from the Jordan; 20 from Hebron, and 36 from Samaria. "In several respects," says Professor Stanley, "its situation is singular among the cities of Palestine. Its elevation is remarkable; occasioned not from its being on the summit of one of the numerous hills of Judæa, like most of the towns and villages, but because it is on the edge of one of the highest table-lands of the country. Hebron indeed is higher still by some hundred feet, and from the south, accordingly (even from Bethlehem), the approach to Jerusalem is by a slight descent. But from any other side the ascent is perpetual; and to the traveller approaching the city from the E. or W. it must always have presented the appearance beyond any other capital of the then known world—we may say beyond any important city that has ever existed on the earth—of a mountain city; breathing, as compared with the sultry plains of Jordan, a mountain air; enthroned, as compared with Jericho or Damascus, Gaza or Tyre, on a mountain fastness" (*S. & P.* 170, 1).

The elevation of Jerusalem is a subject of constant reference and exultation by the Jewish writers. Their fervid poetry abounds with allusions to its height, to the ascent thither of the tribes from all parts of the country. It was the habitation of Jehovah, from which "He looked upon all the inhabitants of the world" (Ps. xxxiii. 14); its kings were "higher than the kings of the earth" (Ps. lxxxix. 27).

In exemplification of these remarks, it may be said that the general elevation of the western ridge of the city, which forms its highest point, is about 2600 feet above the level of the sea. The Mount of Olives rises slightly above this—2724 feet. Beyond the Mount of Olives, however, the descent is remarkable, Jericho—13 miles off—being no less than 3624 feet below, viz., 900 feet under the Mediterranean. On the north, Bethel, at a distance of 11 miles, is 419 feet below Jerusalem. On the west, Ramleh—25 miles—is 2274 feet below. Only to the south are the heights slightly superior—Bethlehem, 2704; Hebron, 3029.

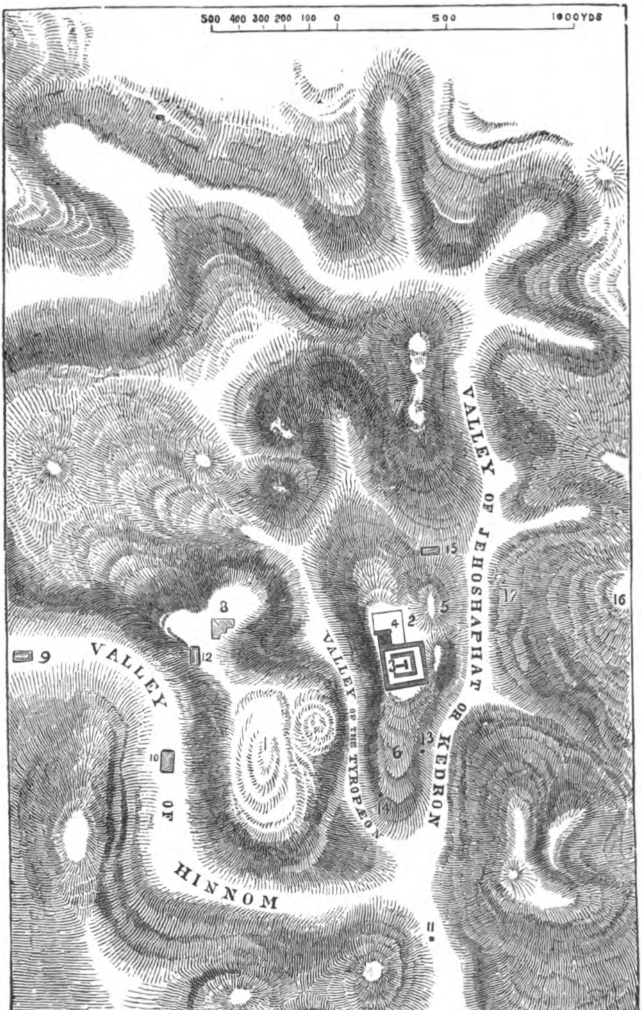
Jerusalem, if not actually in the centre of Palestine, was yet virtually so. "It was on the ridge, the broadest and most strongly marked ridge of the backbone of the complicated

hills which extend through the whole country from the plain of Esdraelon to the desert. Every wanderer, every conqueror, every traveller who has trod the central route of Palestine from N. to S. must have passed through the table-land of Jerusalem. It was the water-shed between the streams, or, rather, the torrent beds, which find their way eastward to the Jordan, and those which pass westward to the Mediterranean" (Stanley, *S. & P.* 176). This central position, as expressed in the words of Ezekiel (v. 5), "I have set Jerusalem in the midst of the nations and countries round about her," led in later ages to a definite belief that the city was actually in the centre of the earth—in the words of Jerome, "umbilicus terræ," the central boss or navel of the world.

To convey an idea of the position of Jerusalem, we may say roughly, and with reference to the accompanying plan, that the city occupies the southern termination of a table-land, which is cut off from the country round it on its west, south, and east sides, by ravines more than usually deep and precipitous. These ravines leave the level of the table-land, the one on the west and the other on the north-east of the city, and fall rapidly until they form a junction below its south-east corner. The eastern one—the valley of the Kedron, commonly called the Valley of Jehoshaphat, runs nearly straight from north to south. But the western one—the Valley of Hinnom—runs south for a time, and then takes a sudden bend to the east until it meets the Valley of Jehoshaphat, after which the two rush off as one to the Dead Sea. How sudden is their descent, may be gathered from the fact that the level at the point of junction—about a mile and a quarter from the starting-point of each—is more than 600 feet below that of the upper plateau from which they commenced their descent. Thus, while on the north there is no material difference between the general level of the country outside the walls, and that of the highest parts of the city, on the other three sides, so steep is the fall of the ravines, so trench-like their character, and so close do they keep to the promontory at whose feet they run, as to leave on the beholder almost the impression of the ditch at the foot of a fortress, rather than of valleys formed by nature.

The promontory thus encircled is itself divided by a longitudinal ravine running up it from south to north, rising gradually from the south like the external ones, till at last it arrives at the level of the upper plateau, and dividing the central mass into two unequal portions. Of these two, that on the west is the higher and more massive—the Mount Zion of modern tradition. It was the citadel of the Jebusites, and the fortress of Zion, which David built. The hill on the east is considerably lower and smaller, so that, to a spectator from the south, the city appears to slope sharply toward the east. Here was the lower city of the Jebusites, Mount Moriah, the "Akra," or "lower city," of Josephus, now occupied by the great Mohammedan sanctuary, with its mosques and domes. This central valley, at about half-way up its length, threw out a subordinate on its left or west side, the "Tyropœon Valley" of Josephus.

One more valley must be noted. It was on the north of Moriah, and separated it from a hill on which, in the time of Josephus, stood a suburb or part of the city called Bezetha, or the New-town. Part of this depression is still preserved in the large reservoir with two arches, usually called the Pool of Bethesda, near the St. Stephen's Gate.



Plan of Jerusalem.

1. *Mount Zion*. 2. Moriah. 3. The Temple. 4. Antonia. 5. Probable site of Golgotha. 6. Ophel. 7. Bezetha. 8. *Church of the Holy Sepulchre*. 9. 10. The Upper and Lower Pools of Gihon. 11. Enrogel. 12. Pool of Hezekiah. 13. *Fountain of the Virgin*. 14. Siloam. 15. Bethesda. 16. Mount of Olives. 17. Gethsemane.



Tomb of Darius, near Persepolis.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE REIGN OF SOLOMON. B.C. 1015–975.

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§ 1. The epoch of Solomon's reign marks the climax of the Hebrew monarchy, and, according to the usual law of human

greatness, the beginning of its decline. Starting from the vantage-ground on which the kingdom had been placed by the conquests of David, through the favor of Jehovah, he preserved its ascendency by a wisdom which has become proverbial, and prepared its downfall by his luxury and arrogance. Having achieved the greatest work done by any ruler of Israel since Moses, the building of the house of God upon Mount Moriah, and the settlement of His worship, he left to after times the name of

> "That uxorious king, whose heart, though large,
> Beguiled by fair idolatresses, fell
> To idols foul."

The author and compiler of the richest maxims of wisdom in the literature of the world, he so used up the resources of intellectual as well as sensual pleasure, as to end with the confession "Vanity of vanities! All is emptiness and vexation of spirit!"

The life of Solomon presents a striking contrast to his father's in its uneventful character. His great work was the building of the HOUSE OF GOD, commonly called the *Temple*,[1] at Jerusalem. The rest of the history of his reign is chiefly occupied with the description of his magnificence and wealth, as the sovereign of what was then the greatest monarchy of Western Asia.

We have already related his birth as the son of Bathsheba, his proclamation as king at the time of the rebellion of Adonijah, his second and more solemn anointing at the last assembly held by David, and the measures of severity forced upon him by the new conspiracy of Joab and Abiathar with Adonijah after his father's death, as well as the punishment of Shimei, though this was full three years after his accession. We now return to the narrative of his reign.

§ 2. The date of Solomon's accession as sole king can be fixed with precision to the year 1015 B.C.[2] Jewish tradition makes him eighteen years old at this epoch, which agrees with the date of the Scripture narrative. He reigned forty years, or, more precisely, thirty-nine years and a half,[3] the sum of his own and his father's reign being eighty years.

[1] The distinction here implied is not merely one of words; for the use of the name borrowed from heathen antiquity tends to conceal the fact, which is made prominent in the scriptural phrase, that the edifice was the chosen *abode of Jehovah* in the midst of his chosen people. Thus St. Stephen says, "But Solomon built him an *house*" (Acts vii. 47).

[2] See note to chap. iii. *On Scripture Chronology.*

[3] B.C. 1015-975.

The first act of the foreign policy of the new reign must have been to most Israelites a very startling one. Solomon showed the desire to strengthen his throne by foreign alliances in a manner which marks the great difference of spirit between the new monarchy and the ancient theocracy. He made an alliance with Pharaoh, king of Egypt, and took his daughter to be his wife.[4] This Pharaoh was probably a late king of the xxist (Tanite) dynasty; for the eminent head of the xxiind dynasty, Sheshonk I. (Shishak), belongs to the latter part of the reign of Solomon, and to that of Rehoboam.[5] That this flagrant breach, not only of a general principle, but of the specific law against intercourse with Egypt, passed unpunished for the time, is an example of that great system of forbearance which lies at the basis of each new dispensation of God's moral government. But the law of retribution for sinful actions by their natural effects was working from the very first, and this marriage of Solomon was the first step toward his fall into idolatry. Meanwhile "Solomon loved Jehovah, walking in the statutes of David his father," and "God was with him, and magnified him exceedingly;" and the only blot upon the outward purity as well as prosperity of the kingdom was the retention of the "high places," which had been the seats of the ancient worship, for sacrifice, in the absence of any house of God. The hill of Gibeon, where stood the tabernacle and the altar of burnt-offering, seems only to have been regarded as the chief of these high places; and it was probably in the course of a series of sacrifices at the different sacred heights that Solomon visited Gibeon, "the great high place," and there, in the midst of a great convocation of the people, sacrificed a tenfold hecatomb—a thousand burnt-offerings—upon the altar.[6]

This was the occasion chosen by Jehovah for His first personal revelation to Solomon. In the following night God appeared to him in a dream, and asked him to choose what He should give him. After a thanksgiving for the mercies shown to David, and a prayer that the promise made to him might be established, Solomon, confessing himself to be but a little child in comparison to the great work committed him in governing and judging the people, asked for the wisdom and knowledge that might fit him for the office—"an understanding heart to judge Thy people, to discern between good

[4] 1 K. iii. 1. But, as Rehoboam was forty-one years old at his accession, Solomon must have married his mother—Naamah of Ammon—before his father's death, and therefore before he married the daughter of Pharaoh.

[5] See chap. xxiii. § 2.

[6] 1 K. iii. 2-4; 1 Chron. i. 1-6.

and bad." The desire, thus expressed in Solomon's own words, does not seem to have so high a meaning as is often assigned to it. He does not ask that profound spiritual wisdom, which would teach him to know God and his own heart: in this he was always far inferior to David. His prayer is for practical sagacity, clear intelligence, quick discernment, to see the right from the wrong amid the mazes of duplicity and doubt which beset the judge, especially among an Oriental people. And this gift he received. His aspirations, if not for the highest spiritual excellence, were for usefulness to his subjects and fellow-men, not for long life, riches, and victory for himself; and because he had not selfishly asked these things, they were freely granted to him in addition to the gift he had chosen. Assured of God's favor, he returned to Jerusalem, and renewed his sacrifices before the ark, and made a feast to all his servants.[7]

An occasion soon arose to prove his divine gift of sagacity. Two women appeared before his judgment-seat with a dead and a living infant. The one who appealed to the king for justice alleged that they had both been delivered in the same house, the other woman three days after herself; that the other had overlaid her child in the night, and had exchanged its corpse for the living child of the first while she slept. The second declared that the living child was hers, and both were alike clamorous in demanding it. The king resolved to appeal to the maternal instinct, as a sure test even in the degraded class to which both the women belonged. Calling for a sword, he bade one of his guards divide the living child in two, and give half to one woman and half to the other. It is a strange proof of the progress of the monarchy toward despotic power that the command should have been taken in earnest, but so it seems to have been. The woman who had borne the living child now prayed that it might be given to the other to save its life, while the latter consented to the cruel partition; and the king had now no difficulty in deciding the dispute. The fame of the decision spread through all Israel, inspiring fear of the king's justice, and a conviction that God had given him that wise discernment which is prized in the East as a ruler's highest quality.[8]

§ 3. Solomon arranged his court on the same general basis as his father's, but on a scale of much greater magnificence.

[7] 1 K. iii. 5-15; 2 Chron. i. 7-13.
[8] 1 K. iii. 16-28. See the story of a similar judgment by an Indian king in Kitto's *Daily Bible Illustrations*, vol. iv. *in loc.*

Among the names of his chief officers we find several of his father's most distinguished servants and their sons. There were "princes" or chief governors, two "scribes" or secretaries, a "recorder," a "captain of the host," "officers" of the court, the chief of whom had, like Hushai under David, the title of "the king's friend;" there was a chief over the household, and another over the tribute. The priests were Zadok and Abiathar, though, as we have seen, the latter was deposed.[9] The supplies needed for the court were levied throughout the whole land by twelve officers, to each of whom was allotted a particular district to supply one month's provisions.[10] But these contributions were increased by the subject kingdoms between the Euphrates, which was the eastern border of Solomon's dominions, from Tiphsah (Thapsacus) to Azzah, and the land of the Philistines and the Egyptian frontier. The provision for each day consisted of thirty measures of fine flour and seventy measures of meal, ten fat oxen and twenty from the pastures, and 100 sheep, besides venison and fowl.[11] Judah and Israel, increasing rapidly in numbers, gave themselves up to festivity and mirth, and "dwelt safely, every man under his vine and under his fig-tree, from Dan even to Beersheba, all the days of Solomon."[12] In the great military establishment, which Solomon maintained for state as well as for defense, he set at naught the law against keeping up a force of cavalry. He had 40,000 stalls of horses for his 1400 chariots and 12,000 cavalry horses,[13] and their supplies of straw and provender were furnished by the twelve officers just mentioned. The horses and chariots were brought from Egypt, whence also the kings of the Hittites and the kings of Syria obtained theirs. A chariot cost 600 shekels of silver, and a horse 150. The chariots and cavalry were placed in garrison in certain cities, called "chariot cities," and partly with the king at Jerusalem. The commerce with Egypt supplied also linen yarn, which was made a royal monopoly. As the result of this and other commerce (to be spoken of presently), silver and gold are said, in the hyperbolical language of the East, to have been as stones at Jerusalem, and the cedars of Lebanon as abundant as the sycamore, the common timber of Palestine.[14]

But all this magnificence was transcended by the personal qualities of Solomon himself. We have, it is true, no di-

[9] 1 K. iv. 1-6.
[10] 1 K. iv. 7-19.
[11] 1 K. iv. 21-24. [12] 1 K. iv. 20, 25.
[13] This is the proper sense of the word rendered "horseman" in 1 K. iv. 26. The "dromedaries" of ver. 28 are properly "swift horses" used for posts.
[14] 2 Chron. i. 14-17.

rect description of his personal appearance, but the wonderful impression which he made upon all who came near him may well lead us to believe that with him as with Saul and David, Absalom and Adonijah, as with most other favorite princes of Eastern peoples, there must have been the fascination and the grace of a noble presence. Whatever higher mystic meaning may be latent in Ps. xlv., or the Song of Songs, we are all but compelled to think of them as having had, at least, a historical starting-point. They tell us of one who was, in the eyes of the men of his own time, "fairer than the children of men," the face "bright and ruddy" as his father's;[15] bushy locks, dark as the raven's wing, yet not without a golden glow, the eyes soft as "the eyes of doves," the "countenance as Lebanon, excellent as the cedars," "the chiefest among ten thousand, the altogether lovely."[16] Add to this, all gifts of a noble, far-reaching intellect, large and ready sympathies, a playful and genial humor, the lips "full of grace," the soul "anointed" as "with the oil of gladness,"[17] and we may form some notion of what the king was like in this dawn of his golden prime. He used these gifts not only for the government of his people, but for the acquisition and the embodiment in writing of all the learning of the age.[18] He gave equal attention to the lessons of practical morals and to the facts of natural science. "He spake 3000 proverbs, and his songs were a thousand and five." "And he spake of trees, from the cedar-tree that is in Lebanon, even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall: he spake also of beasts, and of fowl, and of creeping things, and of fishes;" in short, of the whole cycle of natural history.[19] We must, however, avoid misconceptions, both as to the matter of Solomon's knowledge, and as to the form of its utterance. It does not appear that he possessed what would now be considered great proficiency in natural science, nor even such knowledge as Aristotle's, whose works on natural history the Rabbis pretend to have been derived from a copy of the writings of Solomon sent to him from the East by Alexander! Solomon's natural science, like that of Oriental philosophers in general, consisted rather in the observation of the more

[15] Cant. v. 10; 1 Sam. xvii. 42.

[16] Cant. v. 9–16.

[17] Ps. xlv.

[18] The four sons of Mahol, Etham, Heman, Chalcol, and Darda, whose proverbial wisdom was surpassed by that of Solomon, were the sons of Zerah, son of Judah (1 K. iv. 31; comp. 1 Chron. ii. 6). The word Mahol is supposed to be an appellative denoting them as "sons of song," in reference to their skill in music and poetry, the organs of wisdom in early times. Heman's name is prefixed to the 88th Psalm.

[19] 1 K. iv. 32, 33.

obvious facts in the common life and habits of God's creatures, with an especial view to use them for the poetical illustration of moral lessons: and in this way we find such knowledge used, not only in the Proverbs ascribed to him, but in many of the Psalms, and throughout the Book of Job. The discourses in the latter part of that book about Behemoth and Leviathan are probably a type of the manner in which "Solomon spake of beasts." It clearly follows that we ought not to suppose that Solomon wrote elaborate treatises on these subjects which are now lost. Such forms of communicating knowledge do not belong to his age or country. His 3000 proverbs and 1005 songs probably contained nearly all that he wrote upon such matters in the form of poetical illustration. For the rest, it should be remembered that instruction, in his time and long after, was chiefly oral. The tents of the patriarchs and the abodes of their descendants witnessed many an hour when the ancient father would discourse to his descendants on the lessons of his experience and the traditions handed down by his fathers; and such we conceive to have been the converse held by Solomon in the midst of his splendid court, only on a much grander scale, and covering a much wider field. Thus, amid the public life of an Eastern monarch, not in the seclusion of the retired student, he poured out the knowledge which attracted the subjects of other kings from all nations of the earth, to hear for themselves that wisdom the fame of which had reached them in their distant countries.[20] In one celebrated instance the attraction proved sufficient to bring one of those sovereigns themselves from the remotest regions: but this visit of the Queen of Sheba belongs to a later period of Solomon's reign.

§ 4. The king was meanwhile occupied with three great works—the building of the house of God, of his own house, and of the wall of Jerusalem. We have seen the vast preparations that David had made for the erection of the Temple, the designs for which he had given into the hands of Solomon, and how he had been aided by Hiram, king of Tyre. That faithful ally sent an embassy of congratulation on his son's accession,[21] and Solomon sent back an answer informing Hiram of his prosperity, declaring his intention of building a house for God, and requesting his assistance, which Hiram gladly promised in a letter.[22]

[20] 1 K. iv. 34. On the writings of Solomon, see *Notes and Illustrations* (B.).

[21] 1 K. v.; 2 Chron. ii.

[22] 2 Chron. ii. 11. The second recorded instance of epistolary correspondence, the first being David's letter to Joab by Uriah.

An arrangement was made by which Hiram gave cedars and fir-trees out of Lebanon, which his servants felled, while those of Solomon squared and fitted them for their places in the building. The provisions for both parties were supplied by Solomon; for then as in the time of Herod Agrippa,[23] the maritime region of Phœnicia derived its supplies of food from Palestine. The prepared timber was brought down to the sea, and floated round to Joppa, under the care of the Tyrian sailors, whence Solomon undertook the thirty miles' transport to Jerusalem. He raised the laborers required for this great work by a levy of the strangers who lived in various parts of the land. All the remnant of these had been finally subdued by David, who, instead of exterminating them, retained them in a condition similar to that to which Joshua had reduced the Gibeonites. Solomon found their number to be 153,600; he appointed 70,000 for the work of transport, 80,000 as hewers in Lebanon, and the remaining 3600 as overseers.[24] In addition to these, he raised a levy of 30,000 men out of all Israel, whom he sent to work in Lebanon by relays of 10,000, each relay serving for one month and returning home for two.[25] Besides the timber, they hewed the great stones which were to form the foundation of the house; stones which by the time they reached Jerusalem, must have well earned the name of "costly stones," which is applied to them in the narrative.[26] Some of these great stones are still, in all probability, those visible among the old substructions of the Temple.

Besides these contributions of materials and labor, Hiram supplied Solomon with a chief architect, a namesake of his own, for whom the King of Tyre expressed the reverence of a disciple for an artist by calling him "Hiram, my father."[27] This Hiram was the son of a widow of Naphtali (or Dan), and his father had been a Tyrian artist. He devoted his hereditary skill to the service of the God whom his mother had doubtless taught him to reverence, in the spirit of Bezaleel, whom he resembled in the great variety of his accomplishments. Besides his principal profession as a worker in brass, he wrought in gold, silver, and iron, in stone and timber, in purple, blue, fine linen, and crimson; in short, his great gift seems to have been that of *design* in all its branches. The

[23] Comp. Acts xii. 20.

[24] 1 K. v. 15, 16; 2 Chron. ii. 17, 18.

[25] 1 K. v. 13, 14.

[26] 1 K. v. 17.

[27] 2 Chron. ii. 13, iv. 16. "Huram" is only another form of "Hiram," and is applied to the king as well as to the artist in the original text (1 Chron. xiv. 1; 2 Chron. ii. 3, 11, 12, viii. 2, 18, ix. 10, 21).

måster-pieces of his art were the two pillars of cast brass, called Jachin and Boaz, which stood on each side of the porch in front of the Holy Place.[28] The workmen under him had already been provided by David, who, as we have seen, secured the services of all the foreign artists residing in the land.

§ 5. The actual building of the Temple was commenced in the fourth year of Solomon's reign, and the four hundred and eightieth year from the Exodus, on the second day of the month Zif (afterward Jyar=April and May), the second of the ecclesiastical year, B.C. 1012.[29] So complete were the preparations that no sound of axe or hammer was heard about the building during its whole erection—

"Like some tall palm, the noiseless fabric grew:"

and it was completed in seven and a half years, in the eighth month (Bul, afterward Marcheshvan=Oct. and Nov.) of the eleventh year of Solomon, B.C. 1005. It occupied the site prepared for it by David, which had formerly been the threshing-floor of the Jebusite Ornan or Araunah, on MOUNT MORIAH. The whole area enclosed by the outer walls formed a square of about 600 feet; but the sanctuary itself was comparatively small, inasmuch as it was intended only for the ministrations of the priests, the congregation of the people assembling in the courts. In this, and all other essential points, the Temple followed the model of the Tabernacle, from which it differed chiefly by having chambers built about the sanctuary for the abode of the priests and attendants, and the keeping of treasures and stores. In all its dimensions, length, breadth, and height, the sanctuary itself was exactly double of the Tabernacle, the ground-plan measuring 80 cubits by 40, while that of the Tabernacle was 40 by 20, and the height of the Temple being 30 cubits, while that of the Tabernacle was 15.[30]

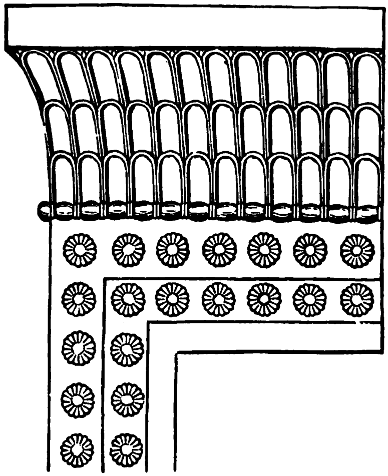
As in the Tabernacle, the Temple consisted of three parts, the Porch, the Holy Place, and the Holy of Holies. The Porch of the Temple was 10 cubits deep (in the Tabernacle, 5 cubits), the width in both instances being the width of the house. The front of the porch was supported, after the manner of some Egyptian temples, by the two great brazen pillars Jachin and Boaz, 18 cubits high, with capitals of 5 cubits

[28] 1 K. vii. 13, foll.; 2 Chr. ii. 13, 14.

[29] 1 K. vi. 1; 2 Chron. iii. 2. See p 336, in *Notes and Illustrations* "On the Chronology of the Judges."

[30] These are the *extreme* outer dimensions in both cases: for a fuller explanation, see *Dict. of Bible*, vol. iii p. 1455 seq.

more, adorned with lily-work and pomegranates.[31] The *Holy Place*, or outer hall, was 40 cubits long by 20 wide, being in



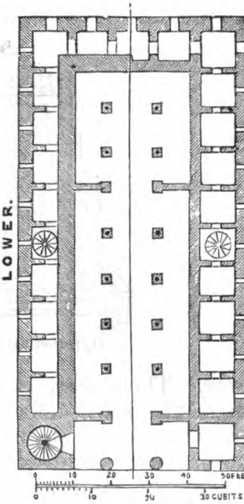
Cornice of Lily-work at Persepolis.

the Tabernacle 20 by 10. The *Holy of Holies* was a cube of 20 cubits, being in the Tabernacle 10. The places of the two "veils" of the Tabernacle were occupied by partitions, in which were folding-doors. The whole interior was lined with wood-work richly carved and overlaid with gold. Indeed, both within and without, the building was conspicuous chiefly by the lavish use of the gold of Ophir and Parvaim. It glittered in the morning sun (it has been well said) like the sanctuary of an El Dorado.[32] Above the sacred ark, which was placed, as of old, in the Most Holy Place, were made new cherubim, one pair of whose wings met above the ark, and another pair reached to the walls behind them. In the Holy Place, besides the Altar of Incense, which was made of cedar, overlaid with gold, there were seven golden candle-

[31] 1 Kv. ii. 15-22. Some have supposed that Jachin and Boaz were not pillars in the ordinary sense of the term, but obelisks. But for this there is no authority; and as the porch was fifteen cubits (thirty feet) in width, a roof of that extent, even if composed of a wooden beam, would not only look painfully weak without some support, but, in fact, almost impossible to construct with the imperfect science of those days. "The chapiter of lily-work" on these columns may have borne some resemblance to the cornice of lily-work figured above.

[32] Milman, *Hist. of Jews*, i 259.

sticks instead of one, and the table of show-bread was replaced by ten golden tables bearing, besides the show-bread, the innumerable golden vessels for the service of the sanctuary.[33] The *Outer Court* was no doubt double the size of that of the Tabernacle; and we may therefore safely assume that it was 10 cubits in height, 100 cubits north and south, and 200 east and west. It contained an inner court called the "court of the priests;" but the arrangement of the courts and of the porticoes and gateways of the enclosure, though described by Josephus, belong apparently to the Temple of Herod. There was an eastern porch to Herod's temple, which was called Solomon's Porch, and Josephus tells us that it was built by that monarch; but of this there is absolutely no proof, and as neither in the account of Solomon's building nor in any subsequent repairs or incidents is any mention made of such buildings, we may safely conclude that they did not exist before the time of the great rebuilding immediately preceding the Christian era.



Plan of Solomon's Temple, showing the disposition of the chambers in two stories.

In the outer court there was a new altar of burnt-offering much larger than the old one. Like the latter, it was square; but the length and breadth were now twenty cubits and the height ten.[34] It differed, too, in the material of which it was made, being entirely of brass.[35] It had no grating: and instead of a single gradual slope, the ascent to it was probably made by three successive platforms, to each of which it has been supposed that steps led, as in the figure, page 486. Instead of the brazen laver, there was "a molten sea" of brass, a master-piece of Hiram's skill, for the ablution of the priests. It was called a "sea" from its great size, being five cubits in height, ten in diameter, and thirty in circumference, and containing 2000 baths.[36] It stood on twelve oxen, three toward

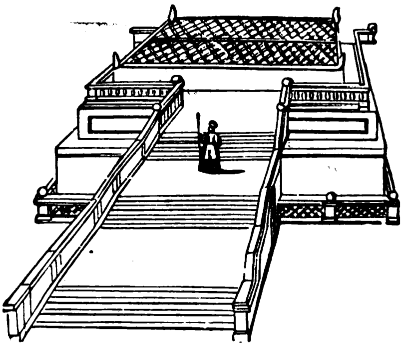
[33] This is probably to be explained by the statement of Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 3, § 7), that the king made a number of tables, and one great golden one, on which they placed the loaves of God.

[34] 2 Chron. iv. 1.

[35] 1 Kings viii. 64; 2 Chron. vii. 7.

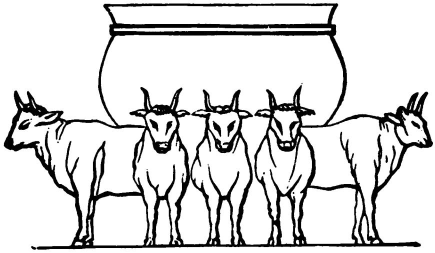
[36] The bath, according to Josephus, was equal to 72 attic *xestæ*, or 1 *metretes* = 8 gallons 5·12 pints.

each quarter of the heavens, and all looking outward. The brim itself or lip was wrought "like the brim of a cup, with flowers of lilies," *i. e.*, carved outward like a lily or lotus



Hypothetical Restoration of the Brazen Altar.

flower. There were besides ten smaller lavers for the ablution of the burnt-offerings. The chambers for the priests were arranged in successive stories against the sides of the sanctuary; not, however, reaching to the top, so as to leave space for the windows to light the Holy and Most Holy Places. We are told by Josephus and the Talmud that there was a superstructure on the Temple equal in height to the lower part; and this is confirmed by the statement in the Books of



Hypothetical Restoration of the Molten Sea.

Chronicles that Solomon "overlaid the *upper chambers* with gold."[37] Moreover, "the altars on the top of the upper chamber," mentioned in the Books of the Kings,[38] were apparently

[37] 2 Chron. iii. 9. [38] 2 K. xxiii. 12.

upon the Temple. It is probable that these upper chambers bore some analogy to the platform or Talar that existed on the roofs of the Palace-temples at Persepolis, as shown in the woodcut at the beginning of this chapter, which represents the Tomb of Darius. It is true this was erected five centuries after the building of Solomon's Temple; but it is avowedly a copy in stone of older Assyrian forms, and as such may represent, with more or less exactness, contemporary buildings. Nothing, in fact, could represent more correctly "the altars on the top of the upper chamber," which Josiah beat down, than this, nor could any thing more fully meet all the architectural or devotional exigencies of the case. Such were the chief features of this sacred edifice.

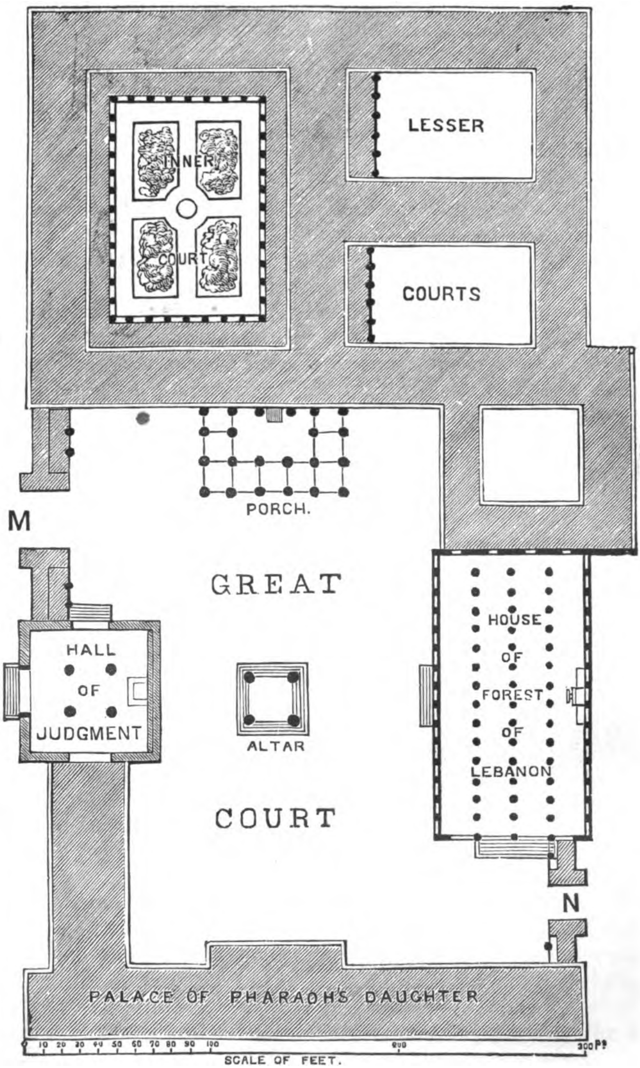
§ 6. The dedication of Solomon's Temple was the grandest ceremony ever performed under the Mosaic dispensation; for the giving of the law from Sinai was too solemn to be called a ceremony. Solomon appeared in that priestly character, which we have seen borne by his father, to perform this great act on behalf of the people, leaving to the priests and Levites the care of the ark and the details of the service, especially the psalmody. The time chosen was the most joyous festival of the Jews, the Feast of Tabernacles, in the seventh month (Tisri or Ethanim=September and October) of the sacred year. Having done the labors of the field, and gathered in the vintage, the people assembled at Jerusalem from all parts of Solomon's wide territories. The full body of the priests attended, the usual courses being suspended, and they brought the ark in a grand and joyous procession from the city of David to the rest prepared for it in the Holy of Holies. There they placed it beneath the spreading wings of the cherubim, and drew out the ends of the staves, that they might be seen as in the Tabernacle, behind the veil. Amid all the new splendors of its dwelling, the ark of the covenant was the same as of old; it contained nothing but the two tables of the law, which Moses had placed in it at Sinai. As the priests retired from within the veil, the Levites and their sons, arranged in their three courses of psalmody, with all instruments of music, and clad in white linen robes, burst forth with the sacred chorus praising Jehovah, "For He is good; for His mercy endureth forever." It was at this very moment, "just as the trumpeters and singers were as one, to make one sound to be heard in praising and thanking Jehovah," that He gave the sign of His coming to take possession of His house: "The house was filled with a cloud, even the house of Jehovah, so that the priests could not stand

to minister because of the cloud; for the GLORY OF JEHOVAH had filled the HOUSE OF JEHOVAH."[39] As that sacred cloud spread through the open doors over the sanctuary, the voice of Solomon was heard recognizing the presence of the God who had said that he would dwell in the thick darkness, and for whom he had now built a habitation forever. Then turning to the people from the great platform of brass, which he had erected in the midst of the court, in front of the brazen altar, the king blessed Jehovah the God of Israel, who had chosen Jerusalem as the place sacred to His name, and had performed His promises to David and fulfilled his desire to build him a house. And now, kneeling down before the whole congregation, with his face toward the sanctuary, Solomon poured forth a prayer, unequaled for sublimity and comprehensiveness, in which the leading thought, repeated with beautiful variety and minuteness, is this: that the abode which Jehovah had now deigned to sanctify with His presence, might prove the centre of blessing and forgiveness to His people; that whatever prayer for help, whatever penitent confession in the time of suffering and exile they might offer toward that house, God would hear it from His true dwelling-place in heaven, and forgive His people who had sinned against Him. The prayer is, indeed, a prophecy of the history of Israel, and of God's chastisements of their sins, even to the Captivity. We see it still answered when Daniel opened his window at Babylon, and prayed toward the site of the ruined Temple; and at this hour its repetition by the outcasts of Israel awaits a better restoration. He concluded with a blessing and exhortation to the people.[40]

The prayer of Solomon was followed by another sign of God's presence. The fire came down from heaven, as on the first altar of burnt-offering, and consumed the sacrifices, while the Shekinah again filled the house, preventing the entrance of the priests, as if, for that one day, God claimed the sanctuary as His very own, to the exclusion of all mere creatures. Then Solomon and all the people offered their sacrifices on the altar, 22,000 oxen and 120,000 sheep, the priests executing their office, while the Levites played and sang in the order and to the words of David. A great feast followed for twice seven days, seven for the Feast of Tabernacles, and seven for the dedication, and on the twenty-third day of the month Solomon dismissed the people. They returned to their homes, "glad and merry in heart for all the good

[39] 1 K. viii. 1-11; 2 Chron. v.

[40] 1 K. viii.; 2 Chron. vi.



Plan of Solomon's Palace.

ness that Jehovah had shewed unto David, and to Solomon, and to Israel His people."[41]

§ 7. Four years more were occupied in the completion of the king's "own house," and of his other great works at Jerusalem. His palace consisted of a number of magnificent buildings, the general arrangement of which has been restored by Mr. Fergusson, with considerable probability, from the analogy of the Assyrian palaces.

The principal building situated within the palace was, as in all Eastern palaces, the great hall of state and audience, called "The House of the Forest of Lebanon," apparently from the four rows of cedar pillars by which it was supported. It was 100 cubits long, 50 wide, and 30 high. Next in importance was the Hall or "Porch of Judgment," a quadrangular building supported by columns,[42] which apparently stood on the other side of the great court, opposite the House of the Forest of Lebanon. The third edifice is merely called a "Porch of Pillars." Its dimensions were 50 by 30 cubits. Its use can not be considered as doubtful, as it was an indispensable adjunct to an Eastern palace. It was the ordinary place of business of the palace, and the reception-room when the king received ordinary visitors, and sat, except on great state occasions, to transact the business of the kingdom. Behind this, we are told, was the inner court, adorned with gardens and fountains, and surrounded by cloisters for shade; and there were other courts for the residence of the attendants and guards, and for the women of his harem; all of which are shown in the plan with more clearness than can be conveyed by a verbal description.

Apart from this palace, but attached, as Josephus tells us, to the Hall of Judgment, was the palace of Pharaoh's daughter: too proud and important a personage to be grouped with the ladies of the harem, and requiring a residence of her own. On the completion of this palace, he conducted her to it in state from the city of David.[43] The palace of Solomon was below the platform of the Temple, and he constructed an ascent from his own house "to the house of Jehovah,"[44] which was a subterranean passage 250 feet long by 42 feet wide, of which the remains may still be traced. Among his other buildings may be mentioned a summer-palace in Lebanon,[45] stately gardens at Etham, *paradises* like those of the great Eastern kings,[46] the foundation of something like a

[41] 1 K. viii. 62-66; 2 Chron. vii.
[42] See Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 5, § 2.
[43] 1 K. vii. 1-12.
[44] 1 K. x. 5.
[45] 1 K. ix. 19; Cant. vii. 4.
[46] Eccl. ii. 5, 6.

stately school or college, costly aqueducts bringing water, it may be, from the well of Bethlehem, dear to David's heart, to supply his palace in Jerusalem. It was about the same time that Solomon undertook the repair of the walls of the fortress of Zion, which David had "built round about from Millo and inward,"[47] as well as of Millo itself. These works were under the superintendence of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, of whom more will be heard presently.[48]

After the completion of these works, God appeared a second time to Solomon, as at Gibeon, by night, and assured him that the prayers he had offered at the dedication of the Temple were accepted, while the renewal of the covenant with David and his house was accompanied with the most impressive warnings of the ruin which disobedience would bring upon king, people, and the sanctuary itself, which would be made, as it has indeed become, "a proverb and a by-word among all nations."[49] Solomon arranged the Temple service according to the courses appointed by David; and he set the example of sacrifice to the people by his own stated offerings on the brazen altar daily, and on the Sabbaths and new moons, and at the three great festivals.[50]

These great works, all connected with the establishment of God's house, and of his own royal state at Jerusalem, to which city they added an entirely new quarter, occupied the first half of Solomon's reign, a period of twenty years, 1015–996 B.C. The services of the King of Tyre were acknowledged by the cession of twenty cities along the sea-coast of Galilee, a gift at which Hiram expressed his discontent by a play upon the name of one them, *Cabul*, a word signifying *dirt* in the Phœnician dialect.[51] Notwithstanding his displeasure, Hiram returned the present, according to the custom of the East, by the gift of 120 talents of gold, and the alliance of the two kings remained unimpaired. The cities seem to have been restored by Hiram, and fortified by Solomon.[52]

§ 8. The second half of Solomon's reign was inaugurated by magnificent works in other parts of his dominions, and by enterprises of foreign commerce. In the south-west, he

[47] 2 Sam. v. 9. This Millo appears to have been a fort in or near the Tyropœon and identical with the "house of Millo," where Joash was murdered (2 K. xii. 20).

[48] 1 K. ix. 15, 24, xi. 27.

[49] 1 K. ix. 1–9, 24; 2 Chron. vii. 12–22.

[50] 1 K. ix. 23; 2 Chron. viii. 12–16.

[51] 1 K. ix. 11–14. The city of Cabul is mentioned as a landmark on the boundary of Asher (Josh. xix. 27), and its name is preserved at *Kabûl*, eight or nine miles E. of Akka (Robinson, iii. 87, 88).

[52] 2 Chron. viii. 2.

rebuilt Gezer,[53] which the King of Egypt had taken from the Canaanites and destroyed, but which he gave to Solomon as his wife's dowry. He also fortified Baalath, Beth-horon (the upper and the lower), as well as all the cities where he kept his stores and chariots.[54] On the north he made a new conquest, the only one recorded in his reign, of Hamath-Zobah. It is not clear whether this was the same or distinct from the capital of Hamath, the kingdom of Toi, who was an ally, and probably afterward a subject of David; but, at all events, this Hamath, which appears to include the valley of the Orontes as far as the defile above Antioch, belonged to the kingdom of Solomon, who built in it several of his store-cities,"[55] which formed dépôts for commerce. In the midst of the great Syrian Desert, half-way between Damascus and Thapsacus (Tiphsah), where his kingdom reached the Euphrates, and where was the great passage of that river, afterward called the "fatal ford," here, in a beautiful oasis, he built the city of TADMOR, which became long after, under the name of PALMYRA,[56] the seat of Zenobia's brief empire, and whose ruins are among the most striking in the world: but travellers have sought in vain, among the stately relics of the Roman period, for any vestiges of the architecture of Solomon. While thus linking his dominions with the great highways of commerce to the north and north-east, he opened the path of maritime enterprise, both in the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, in conjunction with the Tyrian fleets of Hiram. On the one side, it seems to be implied in *Kings*, and is expressly stated in *Chronicles*,[57] that the king sent a navy every three years, probably by way of Joppa, to trade with the distant regions of the west, which were vaguely described by the name of Tharshish.[58] The phrase

[53] The exact site of Gezer has not been discovered; but it must have been between the lower Beth-horon and the sea (Josh. xvi. 3; 1 K. ix. 17); therefore on the great maritime plain, and as commanding the communication between Egypt and the new capital, Jerusalem, it was an important point for Solomon to fortify.

[54] 1 K. ix. 15–19; 2 Chron. viii. 5, 6. Some suppose the Baalath of this passage to be the celebrated Baalbek (Heliopolis) in Cœle-Syria; while others identify it with the Philistine city in the territory of Dan (Josh. xix. 44). On the importance of the position of Beth-horon, see pp. 304, 305.

[55] 2 Chron. viii. 3, 4.

[56] The word Tadmor has nearly the same meaning as Palmyra, signifying probably the "City of Palms," from *tamar*, a palm.

[57] 1 K. x. 22; 2 Chron. ix. 21.

[58] Tharshish, or Tarshish, represents Tartessus, a city and emporium of the Phœnicians in the south of Spain. The articles which Tarshish is stated by the prophet Ezekiel (xxvii. 12) to have supplied to Tyre—silver, iron, lead, and tin—are precisely such as we know through classical writers to have been productions of the Spanish Peninsula.

"ships of Tharshish" is however not confined to ships that actually went to those regions: but like our "East-India-men," it rather describes a class of vessels fit for the most distant and difficult voyages: and the products which that navy brought seem rather to have come from Solomon's Oriental traffic. This was conducted from the two ports of Elath (Ælana, *Akabah*), and Ezion-geber, at the head of the eastern gulf of the Red Sea (Sinus Ælaniticus, *Gulf of Akabah*), which the conquest of Edom had added to the kingdom, and which were visited by Solomon in person. From these ports the fleet built by Solomon, and navigated by the skilled sailors of Hiram, sailed to OPHIR, a place in the Indian Ocean, probably on the eastern coast of Arabia, and returned after a three years' voyage, bringing gold, silver, ivory, and precious stones for wealth and ornament, almug (or algum) trees, the rare wood of which was used for terraces (or verandas) to the Temple, and lastly (for Solomon added to his magnificence the whims of luxury), apes, and peacocks.[59]

The amount of gold brought to Solomon by this navy is variously stated at 420, 450, and in one year as much as 666 talents, besides what was brought by merchants, and the tribute of gold and silver from the chieftains of Arabia. Silver was so abundant as scarcely to be esteemed a precious metal, and all the king's drinking-vessels were of gold. The "House of the Forest of Lebanon" too had all its vessels of pure gold; and in it were hung 200 targets of beaten gold, each weighing 600 shekels, and 300 shields of three pounds each. But the most magnificent work made from these precious things was Solomon's throne of ivory and gold. It was a chair of state, such as we still see in the Assyrian thrones, with a round back and two lions supporting the arms, and was elevated on six steps, each flanked by a pair of lions, the symbols of the tribe of Judah. The chair seems to have been made of ivory inlaid with gold, the steps of plates of ivory, and the lions of beaten gold.[60]

§ 9. Seated "high on this throne of royal state," which shone with "the wealth of Ormuz and of Ind," and "exceeding all the kings of the earth for riches and for wisdom," Solomon dispensed justice, and received the visitors from all parts of the world, who came to hear his wisdom, bringing their presents of vessels of gold and silver, garments, armor, spices, horses and mules.[61] Among them came one, whose visit has

[59] On Ophir, see *Notes and Illustrations* (A.); 1 K. ix. 26–28, x. 22; 2 Chron. viii. 17, 18.

[60] 1 K. ix. 26–28, x. 11–27; 2 Chron. viii. 17, 18, ix. 10, 13–22.

[61] 1 K. x. 23–25.

been rendered doubly memorable by the allusion made to it by Christ. Far to the south, on the shores of the Arabian Gulf, the country of SHEBA (probably the modern *El-Yemen*) was ruled by a queen, who seems to have enjoyed among the tribes of Arabia a reputation like Solomon's for wisdom. His fame reached her ears, and she determined to judge for herself. With an immense caravan of camels, bearing gold and precious stones and spices, she came to Jerusalem, to try Solomon with those "hard questions," which have always formed the favorite exercise of Oriental ingenuity. "She communed with him of all that was in her heart." The perfect wisdom of the king's replies in this conflict of wit and learning, the magnificence of his buildings, the splendor of his royal state, the order of his court, completely overwhelmed the queen: "there was no more spirit in her." She confessed that all was true which she had heard, and refused to believe, in her own country; nay, the half had not been told her: and she blessed Jehovah, and the people to whom He had given such a king. Having given and received magnificent presents, she departed to her own country; and the odor of her visit was long preserved by such an abundance of spices as was never known at Jerusalem before or since.[62] Whether she went back a convert to the true faith, as her praises of Jehovah seem partly to imply, and how far her visit tended to the planting of the numerous proselytes whom we afterward find in Arabia, can only be matter of conjecture; and the traditions, by which the simple narrative of her visit is overlaid, scarcely deserve notice. But the zeal with which she journeyed from the ends of the earth, to prove for herself the wisdom of which she had heard so much, stands recorded by "One greater than Solomon" for the eternal shame of those who neglect to hear HIM, when he stands in their very midst; Him who is the incarnate WISDOM that formed the noblest subject of Solomon's discourse.[63] The visit of the Queen of Sheba marks the culminating point of Solomon's glory. It remains for us to relate the lesson which his later years give of the vanity of all human splendor and the inherent defects of despotism, even when based on the recognition of the true religion.

§ 10. The faults of Solomon were both personal and political. The fruit of the latter scarcely appeared till the reign of his son; but that reign commenced with a protest against "the heavy yoke" of Solomon, and the whips with which he

[62] 1 K. x. 1–13; 2 Chron. ix. 1–12.
[63] Prov. viii.; Matt. xii. 42; Luke xi. 31.

chastised the people;[64] and, as we shall presently see, the discontent had begun to show itself before his death. His personal faults were the natural result of unbounded wealth and luxury. That his fall was not more abject and irreparable, proves that "large heart" which Milton gives him, and still more God's faithfulness to His covenant with David.[65] He began, as we have seen, by taking a foreign and heathen wife, the daughter of Pharaoh: to her he added wives from the Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, Zidonians, and Hittites, in short, from all the nations with whom God had expressly forbidden intermarriages; and in defiance of the charge of Moses to the king, he had 700 wives and 300 concubines, with the result which Moses had foretold. In his old age, his wives turned away his heart from Jehovah to their gods, and induced him to provide places for their worship. He served Ashtoreth, the moon-goddess of the Zidonians,

> "Astarte, queen of heaven, with crescent horns,"

and Moloch (or Milcolm), the "horrid king" whom the Ammonites worshiped with human sacrifices. The Mount of Offense, forming the south summit of the Mount of Olives, which rises directly opposite to Mount Moriah on the east, was made the sanctuary of this deity:—

> "The wisest heart
> Of Solomon he led by fraud to build
> His temple right against the temple of God
> On that opprobrious hill; and made his grove
> The pleasant valley of Hinnon—Tophet thence
> And black Gehenna called—the type of Hell."

> "Next Chemos, the obscene dread of Moab's sons,"

had likewise his temple built

> "Even on that hill of Scandal, by the grove
> Of Moloch homicide—Lust hard by Hate—
> Till good Josiah drove them thence to Hell;"

and similar fanes were erected for other gods, at which his wives burned incense and offered sacrifice.[66]

§ 11. These outrages, the more flagrant in the king who had himself built the Temple, and to whom Jehovah had twice given solemn warnings mingled with His promises, called down the wrath of God, whose covenant with David

[64] 1 K. xii. 4, 9, 10, 11, 14.

[65] See especially the words in 2 Sam. vii. 14, 15.

[66] 1 K. xi. 1–8; Milton's *Par. Lost*, bk. i. vs. 392–436. These matters, like David's sins, are not recorded in the *Chronicles*. The purification by Josiah will be related in its place.

alone saved Solomon from the fate of Saul.[67] The judgment was denounced upon him, that his kingdom should be "rent" from him and given to his servant; and his last years were troubled with the beginnings of the revolution. He had already some formidable enemies. One of these was HADAD, prince of Edom, who had escaped to Egypt from the massacre of Joab, and had married the sister-in-law of Pharaoh, who at last gave a reluctant consent to Hadad's return to his own country, where he began a harassing war against Solomon.[68] A still more formidable adversary was raised up in the person of REZON, who had been a servant of Hadadezer, the Syrian king of Zobah, upon whose defeat by David, Rezon gathered a band of outlaws, maintained himself against the whole power of Solomon, and finally succeeded in founding the Syrian kingdom of Damascus, the relations of which to Israel were afterward so important.[69]

But the great danger denounced on Solomon for his sin arose from one of his own servants, JEROBOAM, the son of Nebat, an Ephraimite[70] of Zereda, whose mother, Zeruah, was early left a widow. He grew up to be "a mighty man of valor;" and was employed, as a young man, upon the fortifications of Millo. His energy attracted the notice of Solomon, who made him overseer of the works imposed upon the tribe of Joseph (Ephraim). According to the LXX., Jeroboam had the whole honor of completing the fortifications of the city of David; having done which, he aspired to the kingdom, and courted popularity by the same means which Absalom had used. There is nothing of this in the Hebrew text; and his designation by the prophet Ahijah seems as great a surprise to himself as that of Saul to Samuel. Jeroboam had gone out of Jerusalem, when he was met on the road by Ahijah the Shilonite, who snatched the new garment off his own back, and, tearing it in twelve pieces, gave ten of them to Jeroboam, telling him the word of God, that He would rend the kingdom out of the hand of Solomon except one tribe, which should remain for the sake of David, and to preserve God's worship at Jerusalem; while the other ten should be given to Jeroboam, but only after the death of Solomon. The matter reached the ears of Solomon, who sought the life of Jeroboam; but the latter fled to Egypt, and remained

[67] 1 K. xi. 9–13; comp. 2 Sam. vii. 14, 15.

[68] 1 K. xi. 14–22.

[69] 1 K. xi. 23–25.

[70] "Ephrathite," by a not uncommon corruption, in 1 K. xi. 26. Besides the Received Text, we have a remarkable account of the life of Jeroboam inserted in the Septuagint at 1 K. xi. 43, and xii. 24.

there with Shishak (whose name is now mentioned for the first time) till the death of Solomon.[71] According to the LXX., Shishak gave him the sister of his wife and of Hadad's wife, as an inducement to his remaining in Egypt.

§ 12. Amid such beginnings of impending trouble, Solomon approached the end of his course. The history says nothing of his repentance, nor indeed of any result produced by God's warnings and chastisements. His whole character had probably become too worldly for the heartfelt penitence of his father.[72] But yet we have in the Book of *Ecclesiastes* a review of the whole experience of his life, based on the recognition of the fear of God; the review of a religious philosopher, rather than of a spiritual believer. It gives the experience of a man who has tasted every form of pleasure, and pronounces all to end in disappointment; and from this restless search after excitement—in which every supposed novelty is found to be the same thing over and over again, generation after generation, the Royal Preacher comes back to this simple result—that true life consists in the discharge of duty from religious motives: "Fear God, and keep his commandments; for this is the whole [life] of man."[73]

Solomon died at Jerusalem in the 40th year of his reign, and was buried in the royal sepulchre in the city of David. The history of his reign was written by the prophets Nathan and Ahijah, by Iddo the seer, in his "Visions against Jeroboam," and in the "Book of the Acts of Solomon."[74] The first three works probably formed the basis of the narrative in the *First Book of Kings;* while the substance of the last is preserved in epitome in the *Second Book of Chronicles.* Notwithstanding his immense harem, we only read of his having one son, his successor REHOBOAM, the son of Naamah, a princess of Ammon.

[71] 1 K. xi. 26–40.

[72] It is noticeable and characteristic that Chrysostom and the theologians of the Greek Church are, for the most part, favorable, Augustine and those of the Latin, for the most part, adverse to his chances of salvation.

[73] Eccles. xii. 13. See further *Notes and Illustrations* (B.).

[74] B.C. 975. 1 K. xi. 41–43; 2 Chron. ix. 29–31.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

(A.) OPHIR.

OPHIR is a sea-port or region from which the Hebrews in the time of Solomon obtained gold in vessels which went thither in conjunction with Tyrian ships from Ezion-geber, near Elath, on that branch of the Red Sea which is now called the Gulf of Akabah. The gold was proverbial for its fineness, so that "gold of Ophir" is several times used as an expression for fine gold (Ps. xlv. 10; Job xxviii. 16; Is. xiii. 12; 1 Chron. xxix. 4); and in one passage (Job xxii. 24) the word "Ophir" by itself is used for gold of Ophir, and for gold generally. In addition to gold, the vessels brought from Ophir almug-wood and precious stones.

The precise geographical situation of Ophir has long been a subject of doubt and discussion. The two countries which have divided the opinions of the learned have been Arabia and India, while some have placed it in Africa. There are only five passages in the historical books which mention Ophir by name: three in the Books of Kings (1 K. ix. 26–29, x. 11, xxii. 48), and two in the Books of Chronicles (2 Chron. viii. 18, ix. 10). The latter were probably copied from the former. In addition to these passages, the following verse in the Book of Kings has very frequently been referred to Ophir: "For the king (*i. e.*, Solomon) had at sea a navy of Tharshish with the navy of Hiram: once in three years came the navy of Tharshish bringing gold and silver, ivory, and apes, and peacocks" (1 K. x. 22). But there is not sufficient evidence to show that the fleet mentioned in this verse was identical with the fleet mentioned in 1 K. ix. 26–29, and 1 K. x. 11, as bringing gold, almug-trees, and precious stones from Ophir. If the three passages of the Book of Kings are carefully examined, it will be seen that all the information given respecting Ophir is, that it was a place or region accessible by sea from Ezion-geber on the Red Sea, from which imports of gold, almug-trees, and precious stones were brought back by the Tyrian and Hebrew sailors. Now the author of the 10th chapter of Genesis certainly regarded Ophir as the name of some city, region, or tribe in Arabia. And it is almost equally certain that the Ophir of Genesis is the Ophir of the Book of Kings. There is no mention either in the Bible or elsewhere, of any other Ophir; and the idea of there having been *two* Ophirs evidently arose from a perception of the obvious meaning of the 10th chapter of Genesis, on the one hand, coupled with the erroneous opinion on the other, that the Ophir of the Book of Kings *could not* have been in Arabia. Hence the *burden of proof* lies on any one who denies Ophir to have been in Arabia. There do not, however, appear to be sufficient data for determining in favor of any one emporium or of any one locality rather than another in Arabia, as having been the Ophir of Solomon. The Book of

Kings certainly suggests the inference that there was some *connection* between the visit of the Queen of Sheba and the voyage to Ophir, but this would be consistent with Ophir being either contiguous to Sabæa, or situated on any point of the southern or eastern coasts of Arabia; as in either of these cases it would have been politic in Solomon to conciliate the good-will of the Sabæans, who occupied a long tract of the eastern coast of the Red Sea, and who might possibly have commanded the Straits of Bab-el-mandeb. In answer to objections against the obvious meaning of the tenth chapter of Genesis, the alternatives may be stated as follows. Either Ophir, although in Arabia, produced gold and precious stones; or, if it shall be hereafter proved in the progress of geological investigation that this could not have been the case, Ophir furnished gold and precious stones *as an emporium.*

It has been already remarked that there is no evidence that the navy of Tharshish, which brought "gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks" (1 K. x. 22), went to Ophir. It is more reasonable to conclude that it went to India. The gold might possibly have been obtained from Africa, or from Ophir, in Arabia, and the ivory and the apes might likewise have been imported from Africa; but the *peacocks* point conclusively, not to Africa, but to India. The inference to be drawn from the importation of peacocks is confirmed by the Hebrew name for the ape and the peacock. Neither of these names is of Hebrew, or even Semitic, origin; and each points to India. Thus the Hebrew word for ape is *Kôph*, while the Sanscrit word is *kapi*. Again, the Hebrew word for peacock is *tukki*, which can not be explained in Hebrew, but is akin to *tôka* in the Tamil language. There are not, however, sufficient data for determining what were the ports in India or the Indian Islands which were reached by the fleet of Hiram and Solomon, though the suggestion of Sir Emerson Tennant is very probable, that they went to *Point du Galle*, in Celyon, on the ground that, from three centuries before the Christian era, there is one unbroken chain of evidence down to the present time, to prove that it was the grand emporium for the commerce of all nations east of the Red Sea.

(B.) THE WRITINGS OF SOLOMON.

Three Books in the Old Testament bear the name of Solomon. They, no doubt, form a portion of the 3000 Proverbs and the 1005 Songs ascribed to Solomon in the Book of Kings (1 Kings iv. 32), to which reference has been already made (see p. 480). The Jews ascribed the composition of the Song of Solomon to the youth of the monarch; the Proverbs to his mature manhood; and the Ecclesiastes to his old age; but this is only conjecture.

I. THE SONG OF SOLOMON.

In the Hebrew this Book is called the *Song of Songs;* that is, the most beautiful of Songs; in the Vulgate it is entitled *Canticum Canticorum;* whence it is frequently termed *Canticles* in English; while in the English version it has the name of the *Song of Solomon.* The Book forms a poem, and of the many opinions that have been held respecting its meaning the most probable is, that the Song is intended to display *the victory of humble and constant love over the temptations of wealth and royalty.* The tempter is Solomon: the object of his seductive endeavors is a Shulamite shepherdess, who, surrounded by the glories of the court, and the fascinations of unwonted splendor, pines for the shepherd-lover, from

whom she has been involuntarily separated.

The drama is divided into five sections, indicated by the thrice repeated formula of adjuration (ii. 7, iii. 5, viii. 4), and the use of another closing sentence (v. 1).

Section 1 (ch. i.–ii. 7): scene — a country-seat of Solomon. The shepherdess is committed to the charge of the court-ladies ("daughters of Jerusalem"); who had been instructed to prepare the way for the royal approach. Solomon makes an unsuccessful attempt to win her affections.

Sect. 2 (ii. 8–iii. 5): the shepherdess explains to the court-ladies the cruelty of her brothers, which had led to the separation between herself and her beloved.

Sect. 3 (iii. 6–v. 1): entry of the royal train into Jerusalem. The shepherd follows his betrothed into the city, and proposes to rescue her. Some of her court companions are favorably impressed by her constancy.

Sect. 4 (v. 2 – viii. 4): the shepherdess tells her dream, and still further engages the sympathies of her companions. The king's flatteries and promises are unavailing.

Sect. 5 (viii. 5–14): the conflict is over; virtue and truth have won the victory; and the shepherdess and her beloved return to their happy home; visiting on the way the tree beneath whose shade they first plighted their troth (viii. 5). Her brothers repeat the promises which they had once made conditionally upon her virtuous and irreproachable conduct.

Many eminent writers, however, have maintained that the Book is an allegory, intended to set forth the love of Christ for the Church.

II. THE BOOK OF PROVERBS.

The superscriptions which are affixed to several portions of the Book, in i. 1, x. 1, xxv. 1, attribute the authorship of those portions to Solomon, the son of David, king of Israel. With the exception of the last two chapters, which are distinctly assigned to other authors, it is probable that the statement of the superscriptions is in the main correct, and that the majority of the Proverbs contained in the Book were uttered or collected by Solomon.

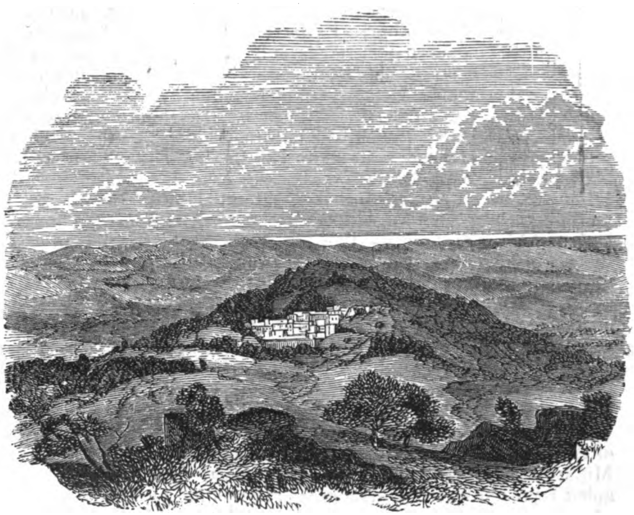
Speaking roughly, the Book consists of three main divisions, with two appendices. 1. Chapters i.–ix. form a connected didactic poem, in which Wisdom is praised, and the youth exhorted to devote himself to her. This portion is preceded by an introduction and title describing the character and general aim of the Book. 2. Chaps. x.–xxiv., with the title, "the Proverbs of Solomon," consists of three parts: —x. 1–xxii. 16, a collection of single proverbs, and detached sentences out of the region of moral teaching and worldly prudence; xxii. 17–xxiv. 21, a more connected didactic poem, with an introduction, xxii. 17–22, which contains precepts of righteousness and prudence; xxiv. 23–34, with the inscription, "these also belong to the wise," a collection of unconnected maxims, which serve as an appendix to the preceding. Then follows the third division, xxv.–xxix., which, according to the superscription, professes to be a collection of Solomon's proverbs, consisting of single sentences, which the men of the court of Hezekiah copied out. The first appendix, ch. xxx., "the words of Agur, the son of Jakeh," is a collection of partly proverbial and partly enigmatical sayings; the second, ch. xxxi., is divided into two parts, "the words of king Lemuel" (1–6) and an alphabetical acrostic in praise of a virtuous woman, which occupies the rest of the chapter. Who was Agur, and who was Jakeh, are questions which have been often asked, and never satisfactorily answered. All that can be said

of him is that he is an unknown Hebrew sage, the son of an equally unknown Jakeh, and that he lived after the time of Hezekiah. Lemuel, like Agur, is unknown. It is even uncertain whether he is to be regarded as a real personage, or whether the name is merely symbolical. If the present text be retained it is difficult to see what other conclusion can be arrived at. If Lemuel were a real personage he must have been a foreign neighbor-king or the chief of a nomad tribe, and in this case the proverbs attributed to him must have come to the Hebrews from a foreign source, which is highly improbable and contrary to all we know of the people. The proverbs are frequently quoted or alluded to in the New Testament, and the canonicity of the Book thereby confirmed. The following is a list of the principal passages:—

Prov. i. 16	compare	Rom. iii. 10, 15.
iii. 7	"	Rom. xii. 16.
iii. 11, 12	"	Heb. xii. 5, 6; see also Rev. iii. 19.
iii. 34	"	Jam. iv. 6.
x. 12	"	1 Pet. iv. 8.
xi. 32	"	1 Pet. iv. 18.
xvii. 13	"	Rom. xii. 17; 1 Thess. v. 15; 1 Pet. iii. 9.
xvii. 27	"	Jam. i. 19.
xx. 9	"	1 John i. 8.
xx. 20	"	Matt. xv. 4; Mark vii. 10.
xxii. 8 (LXX.)		2 Cor. ix. 7.
xxv. 21, 22	"	Rom. xii. 20.
xxvi. 11	"	2 Pet. ii. 22.
xxvii. 1	"	Jam. iv. 13, 14.

III. BOOK OF ECCLESIASTES.

This Book is called in Hebrew *Koheleth*, or the *Preacher*. Commentators differ most widely as to the plan and purpose of the whole Book. The variety of the opinions held respecting it indicates sufficiently that it is as far removed as possible from the character of a formal treatise. It is that which it professes to be—the confession of a man of wide experience looking back upon his past life and looking out upon the disorders and calamities which surround him. The writer is a man who has sinned in giving way to selfishness and sensuality, who has paid the penalty of that sin in satiety and weariness of life, but who has through all this been under the discipline of a divine education, and has learned from it the lesson which God meant to teach him. It is tolerably clear that the recurring burden of "Vanity of vanities" and the teaching which recommends a life of calm enjoyment, mark, whenever they occur, a kind of halting-place in the succession of thoughts. The writer concludes by pointing out that the secret of a true life is that a man should consecrate the vigor of his youth to God (xii. 1). It is well to do that before the night comes, before the slow decay of age benumbs all the faculties of sense (xii. 2, 6), before the spirit returns to God who gave it. The thought of that end rings out once more the knell of the nothingness of all things earthly (xii. 8); but it leads also to "the conclusion of the whole matter," to that to which all trains of thought and all the experiences of life had been leading the seeker after wisdom, that "to fear God, and keep his commandments" was the highest good attainable.



Sebustiyeh, the ancient Samaria, from the E.N.E.
Behind the city are the mountains of Ephraim, verging on the Plain of Sharon. The Mediterranean Sea is in the farthest distance.

BOOK VI.

THE DIVIDED MONARCHY. THE CAPTIVITY AND THE RETURN. B.C. 975-400.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE KINGDOMS OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL. FROM THE DIVISION OF THE MONARCHY TO THE DESTRUCTION OF THE HOUSE OF AHAB. B.C. 975–884.

§ 1. Kingdoms of Judah and Israel—Their respective characters—Superiority of Judah. § 2. Accession of REHOBOAM—Assembly of Shechem —Revolt of the Ten Tribes under Jeroboam—Judah and Benjamin adhere to Rehoboam—War forbidden by the prophet Shemaiah—Government of Rehoboam—Religious declension—Jerusalem taken by Shishak—Death of Rehoboam. § 3. Reign of ABIJAH, second king of Judah—Defeat of Jeroboam—Prosperity of Judah. § 4. JEROBOAM I. king of Israel—Extent of the kingdom—Idolatry of the golden calves —The prophet at Bethel—Abijah, son of Jeroboam—The prophet Ahijah. § 5. NADAB, second king of Israel—His murder, and extinction of the house of Jeroboam. § 6. BAASHA, third king of Israel—

The prophet JEHU—War with Judah and Syria—ELAH, fourth king of Israel—Murdered by Zimri—Extinction of the house of Baasha. § 7. ZIMRI, fifth king of Israel, reigns only seven days—Deaths of Zimri and Tibni, his competitor—OMRI, sixth king of Israel—Building of the new capital Samaria—Dependence of Israel on Syria—Wickedness and death of Omri. § 8. ASA, third king of Judah—Reformation of religion—Asa's great army—Defeat of Zerah the Ethiopian—the prophet AZARIAH—Second reformation—War with Baasha, and alliance with Benhadad I.—The prophet HANANI reproves Asa—Religious persecution—Death of Asa. § 9. JEHOSHAPHAT, seventh king of Judah—His piety and prosperity—Alliance with Ahab. § 10. AHAB, seventh king of Israel, and his wife Jezebel—Worship of Baal, and persecution of Jehovah's worshipers—ELIJAH THE TISHBITE denounces a three years' drought—Elijah nourished at Cherith by ravens, at Zarephath by a starving widow—His appearance to Ahab, and contest with the prophets of Baal at Mount Carmel—Victory of Elijah—The people confess Jehovah—The prophets of Baal slain—Elijah's prayer for rain—Fury of Jezebel—Flight of Elijah to the Wilderness—His vision of Jehovah's glory—His mission to anoint Hazael, Jehu, and Elisha—The murder of Naboth, and the judgment pronounced by Elijah. § 11. Wars of Ahab with Syria—Benhadad II. defeated at Samaria and Aphek—Expedition of Ahab and Jehoshaphat to recover Ramoth, in Gilead—The prophet MICAIAH—Defeat of the two kings, and death of Ahab. § 12. Jehoshaphat reproved by Jehu—His great reformation of Justice—War with Moab and Ammon—The prophet Jahaziel—Great victory of Berachah—Alliances with Ahaziah and Jehoram—Maritime enterprise of Jehoshaphat, denounced by the prophet ELIEZER—Death of Jehoshaphat. § 13. AHAZIAH, eighth king of Israel—Last appearance of Elijah—His Translation—Ministry of ELISHA. § 14. JEHORAM, ninth king of Israel—Allies with Jehoshaphat against the revolt of the Moabites—Miracle of Elisha, and defeat of Moab—Siege of Kir-haraseth and human sacrifice by the King of Moab—Elisha and the widow—The Shunammite woman—The healing of Naaman's leprosy—War with Syria—Elisha and the Syrians—The siege of Samaria miraculously raised. § 15. JEHORAM, fifth king of Judah—Marriage with Athaliah, daughter of Ahab—Idolatry and wickedness—Revolts of Edom, Libnah, the Philistines, and Arabians. § 16. AHAZIAH, sixth king of Judah—Elisha anoints Hazael, who murders Benhadad II.—Anointing and revolt of Jehu—Slaughter of Jehoram, Jezebel, Ahab's seventy sons, the princess of Judah, the worshipers of Baal, and Ahaziah. § 17. Usurpation of ATHALIAH, and murder of the royal family of Judah, except Joash, who is saved by Jehoiada—Restoration of Joash, and death of Athaliah—Extinction of the house of Ahab in both its branches of Israel and Judah.

§ 1. VERY shortly after the death of Solomon, the prophecy of Ahijah was fulfilled; his kingdom was rent in twain, and the parts, both greatly weakened by the disruption, formed the separate kingdoms of JUDAH and of ISRAEL. It may be well to take a preliminary view of the somewhat intricate annals of those kingdoms, and of the very different character which marked each. To a superficial observer, the northern kingdom, including ten tribes, about two-thirds of the popu-

lation, and, with the region east of Jordan, more than the same proportion of the land, and that much the best in quality, would seem to have had all the elements of greater strength.[1] But, on the other hand, Judah retained the capital, the centre of the organized system of government and of the material interests of the nation, together with the accumulated treasures of Solomon. And, to say nothing of the energy of the tribe of Judah, which was perhaps equaled by Ephraim, Zebulun, and Naphtali, all the moral and religious elements of greatness were on the sides of the southern kingdom.

From the very first, the blot of rebellion clung to the cause of Israel; the divine selection of Jeroboam to punish the sins of Solomon was not held to justify his rebellion. He was indeed assured that obedience to God's law would be rewarded by the establishment of his kingdom and his dynasty;[2] but his very first acts severed every religious bond to Jehovah and his worship, and his course was followed by his successors, of whom, with scarcely an exception, we read the emphatic sentence, "he did evil in the sight of Jehovah, and walked in the way of Jeroboam, who made Israel to sin."

On the other hand, the kingdom of Judah was preserved from the defection of the other tribes, expressly for the sake of God's covenant with David, and to maintain His worship at its chosen seat; and the immediate consequence of Jeroboam's *religious* revolt was to drive all the priests and Levites to Jerusalem.[3] With the line of David remained God's promise of a permanent kingdom, made doubly sure by its ultimate reference to the Messiah; in that family the crown was handed on, generally from father to son; while, in Israel, the dynasty of Jeroboam ended with his son; and there followed a series of murders and usurpations, amid which the longest dynasties, those of Omri and Jehu, only numbered four and five kings each. From the disruption to the epoch at which Ahaziah, king of Judah, and Jehoram, king of Israel, were killed at the same time by Jehu, a period of ninety years (B.C 975–884), Judah had only six kings (though Ahaziah reigned but one year), while Israel had nine; and, in the whole period of 255 years, from the disruption to the cap-

[1] The areas of the two kingdoms were respectively, Israel about 9375 square miles, Judah about 3435. The former was a little less than Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Cumberland the latter a little less than Northumberland, Durham, and Westmoreland. The whole of Palestine was nearly equal in area to Holland.

[2] 1 K. xi. 38.

[3] 2 Chron. xi. 13. 14.

tivity of Israel,[4] twelve kings of Judah occupy the same space as nineteen kings of Israel; a striking indication of the greater stability of the former dynasty.[5] The moral superiority is equally striking, not only in the preservation of the worship of Jehovah at Jerusalem, while Israel was sunk in idolatry, but even on the comparatively weak ground of the personal character of the kings. It is true that the house of David was deeply corrupted, chiefly by its connection with the wicked house of Ahab; but it boasts the names of Asa, Jehoshaphat, Uzziah, Jotham, the godly Hezekiah, the penitent Manasseh, the pure Josiah; while not one of the kings of Israel is free from the blot of foul wickedness; for even the fierce zeal of Jehu had no purity of motive. The two kingdoms were equally distinguished in their final fate. The sentence of captivity was executed upon Israel about 130 years sooner than on Judah; and while the ten tribes never returned to their land, and only a scattered remnant of them shared the restoration of Judah, the latter became once more a small but powerful nation, not free from the faults of their fathers, but worshiping God with a purity and serving Him with a heroic zeal unequaled since the days of Joshua, and preparing for the restoration of the true spiritual kingdom under the last great son of David.

The part of the history thus reviewed, down to the Captivity at Babylon, may be marked out into three great periods:—I. From the disruption to the simultaneous deaths of the kings of Judah and Israel by the hand of Jehu, in B.C. 884:—II. To the captivity of Israel by Shalmaneser (or Sargon), in B.C. 721:—III. The remaining history of Judah, down to the Captivity at Babylon, in B.C. 586. We return to the thread of the history from the death of Solomon.

§ 2. REHOBOAM[6] or Roboam (LXX.) was the son of Solomon by Naamah, an Ammonite princess. As he was forty-one at his accession, he must have been born about the time of his father's association with David in the kingdom. The luxury in which he was trained seems to have given him a light and headstrong character, on which his father's precepts were thrown away; he was quite unequal to the difficulties bequeathed to him by Solomon; and he was scarcely seated on the throne, before the old jealousy between Judah and the

[4] B.C. 975–721.

[5] See the Chronological Tables at the end of the volume.

[6] The name signifies *enlarger of the people* (Ex. xxxiv. 24), and is nearly synonymous with JEROBOAM, *whose people is many*. Both names seem to have originated in the time of Solomon, as signs of the great increase of the nation.

other tribes broke out anew. It was probably to conciliate such feelings, as well as to comply with the form of popular recognition which had been observed in the case of Solomon, that, not content with his accession to the throne at Jerusalem, he held an assembly of all Israel at the ancient sanctuary of Shechem; unless indeed that assemblage were rather the act of the Israelites themselves, and of Ephraim in particular, with a view to resist his claims.[7] At all events, such an opposition seems to have been prepared from the first convocation of the assembly; and JEROBOAM was sent for out of Egypt by the malcontents.[8] His appearance at the head of the congregation may be taken as a proof that their demand for the redress of the grievances they had suffered under Solomon was a pretext for revolt. Rehoboam took three days for deliberation. He was advised by his father's old counselors to take away the pretext by a conciliatory answer. This step, they thought, would have satisfied the majority of the people, with whom the names of David and Solomon had not yet lost their prestige. But the king would not yield a jot; and he took counsel with the younger men, who had grown up with him at the court. Urged on by them, he refused the petition with reckless insolence. "You complain of my father's heavy yoke; I will add to its weight! my little finger shall be thicker than his loins! He chastised you with whips; I will chastise you with scorpions!" Then Ephraim and all Israel raised again the old cry of Sheba,[9] disclaiming all part in the house of David, and calling Israel to their tents. Adoram, the chief officer of the tribute, being sent to appease the tumult, was stoned to death, and Rehoboam only escaped by fleeing in his chariot to Jerusalem.[10]

The rebellion was complete, and Jeroboam was proclaimed king over all Israel at Shechem. The cities of Judah, however, adhered to Rehoboam, and the tribe of Benjamin soon espoused his cause. Ever since the great blow inflicted on that tribe, it seems to have been more or less subordinate

[7] 1 K. xii. 1; 2 Chron. x. 1: the case would be clearer if we might read "to make *a* king," instead of "to make *him* king."

[8] 1 K. xii. 2: but in ver. 20 he seems to have already returned from Egypt to his home, and to be summoned thence to the crown after the rebellion had broken out; and this is in agreement with the LXX. He may have come from Egypt to his home at the invitation of his own party, and only have appeared at the assembly when all was ripe for the revolt. Ver. 3, however, is not found in the LXX., which also omits the name of Jeroboam in ver. 12. The narrative of the LXX. also requires at least a year to have elapsed before the meeting at Shechem.

[9] Comp. 2 Sam. xx. 1.

[10] 1 K. xii. 1-15; 2 Chron. x.

to Judah. The appearances to the contrary are rather proofs of the impatience with which the yoke was borne. The capture of Jerusalem, which lay within the bounds of Benjamin, from the Jebusites, by the great king of Judah, gave his house a powerful hold upon the feelings of the tribe; and it is not improbable, from the similar course afterward taken by Rehoboam,[11] that David may have established his sons in the fortified cities of Benjamin. Perhaps too Jeroboam's profanation of their sacred city of Bethel may have offended the tribe. At all events, we find them answering the summons of Rehoboam to a war for the subjugation of the rebels, with all their military force. The united army of Judah and Benjamin amounted to 180,000 warriors; but the enterprise was forbidden by the prophet Shemaiah, as God had willed the separation of the kingdoms.[12] A desultory warfare was however kept up between the two kingdoms, under Rehoboam and his two successors, for a period of sixty years, and its cessation was followed by a most disastrous alliance with the house of Ahab. Meanwhile Rehoboam made every effort to strengthen his diminished kingdom; fortifying several of the most important cities of Judah and Benjamin, and furnishing them with arms and provisions.[13] When the boundaries of the kingdom of Judah became settled, they embraced the territories of Dan and Simeon, which were originally included in the lot of Judah, and ultimately even a part of Ephraim.[14] On the south, Edom was still retained till the reign of Jehoram, the fifth king; but we are not told whether Hadad was defeated or made tributary. The cause of Rehoboam was strengthened by the resort to him of the great body of priests and Levites from all parts of Israel, whom Jeroboam had deposed from their functions; and the first three years of his reign were exceedingly prosperous. But he was corrupted, like his father, by his numerous harem, which was composed of 18 wives and 60 concubines; he had 20 sons and 60 daughters. His three chief wives were all of his own family; Mahalath, the grand-daughter, and Abihail, the niece of David, and Maachah, the daughter of Absalom.[15] The last was his favorite wife, and the mother of Abijah, his successor. He provided for his other sons, and guarded Abijah from their rivalry, by giving them splendid establishments in the fortified cities of Judah and Benjamin.[16] Meanwhile both king

[11] 2 Chron. xi. 23.
[12] 1 K. xi. 21–24; 2 Chron. xi. 1–4.
[13] 2 Chron. xi. 1–12.
[14] 2 Chron. xiii. 19. xv. 8, xvii. 2.
[15] Or perhaps grand-daughter; for she is called the daughter of Uriel of Gibeah in 2 Chron. xiii. 2.
[16] 2 Chron. xi.

and people declined into idolatry, and practiced the most abominable vices of the nations around,[17] and their punishment was speedy.

In the fifth year of Rehoboam,[18] Shishak (Sheshonk I.), king of Egypt, whom we have already seen as the protector of Hadad and Jeroboam, made an expedition against Jerusalem with all the forces of his empire. He took the strong cities of Judah, and had reached Jerusalem, when the king and people, reproved by the prophet Shemaiah, humbled themselves before Jehovah, who saved them from captivity. Shishak, however, spoiled the Temple and the king's palace of their treasures, and carried off the celebrated golden shields of Solomon, which Rehoboam replaced by shields of brass, to keep up the old display when they were carried before him in processions.[19] The kingdom of Judah became for a time tributary to Shishak, that the people might learn the difference between the service of God and the service of heathen kings.[20] The expedition of Shishak is one of the chief points of contact between sacred history and the records of the Egyptian monuments. On the wall of the great temple of Karnak are the sculptured figures of captains with features clearly Jewish, and the appended inscription contains, among a long list of conquests, the name of "Yuda Melchi" (*the kingdom of Judah*).[21]

The lesson seems not to have been lost on Rehoboam and his people. "There were yet good things in Judah;" but the sum of the king's character is this: "He did evil, because he fixed not his heart to seek Jehovah."[22] He died after a reign of seventeen years,[23] and was buried in the city of David. His acts were recorded by the prophet Shemaiah, by the seer Iddo, in his book of genealogies, and in the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah.[24]

§ 3. Abijah, the son of Rehoboam, was the second king of Judah. He succeeded his father in the eighteenth year of Jeroboam's reign, and reigned three years at Jerusalem.[25] He continued the war with Jeroboam, and gathered the

[17] 1 K. xiv. 21–24; 2 Chron. xii. 1.

[18] B.C. 972. Sheshonk I. was the first king of the twenty-second dynasty of Bubastites. The change of dynasty explains the rupture of the old alliance with Solomon. Shishak was probably incited by Jeroboam.

[19] 1 K. xiv. 25–28; 2 Chron. xii. 2–11.

[20] 2 Chron. xii. 8.

[21] Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, ii. 376.

[22] 2 Chron. xii. 12, 14.

[23] B.C. 958.

[24] 1 K. xiv. 29–31; 2 Chron. xii. 13–16.

[25] B.C. 958–955: 2 Chron. xiii. 1, 2; 1 K. xv. 1, 2: the name in the latter passage is Abijam, probably an erroneous form. Abijah signifies *will of Jehovah*, or *he whose father is Jehovah*.

whole force of Judah and Benjamin for the subjugation of the ten tribes. According to our present text, he brought into the field 400,000 chosen warriors, and Jeroboam met him with 800,000, of whom 500,000 fell in the rout at Zemaraim, in Mount Ephraim, where the favor of God prevailed against the skillful tactics which Jeroboam imitated from Joshua. The loss of the men of Judah is not stated. In consequence of this victory, Abijah took Bethel, Jeshanah, and Ephrain, with their dependent towns; and Jeroboam never again made head against him.[26] This success, granted to the arms of Judah "because they relied upon Jehovah, the God of their fathers," proved His forbearance with the sins of Abijah for David's sake.[27] The fact that Abijah upbraids the men of Israel with their rebellion and idolatry, and relies on the goodness of the cause of Judah, who had Jehovah for their God and the priests keeping His charge,[28] is no proof that his personal vices are exaggerated in the *Book of Kings.* Abijah followed the example of his predecessors in his numerous harem. He had fourteen wives, and was the father of twenty-two sons and fifteen daughters. His history was written by the prophet Iddo, and in the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah. He died, and was buried in the city of David, leaving the kingdom to his son Asa in such a state of strength and prosperity, that Jeroboam did not venture to resume the war; and the confusion which soon ensued in the royal family of Israel insured Judah a ten years' peace.[29] Abijah's death was followed in less than two years by that of Jeroboam, to whose history we now return.

§ 4. JEROBOAM I., the first king of the separate kingdom of Israel, was inaugurated (like Abimelech) at Shechem, by the choice of the men of Israel. He fortified that city[30] and Penuel for his two capitals, west and east of Jordan, but fixed his own residence at the beautiful town of Tirzah.[31] The ten

[26] 2 Chron. xiii. 3–20; 1 K. xv. 6. For the various conjectures about the site of Ephrain, see Robinson, i. 447, and Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 214. As to the incredible numbers given in the text, Kennicott has shown that our MSS. are frequently incorrect as to numbers, and has given reasons for reducing these to 40,000, 80,000 and 50,000, as we actually find in the Vulgate printed at Venice in 1486, and in the old Latin version of Josephus, while there is some reason to think that the smaller numbers were in his original Greek text also.

[27] 2 Chron. xiii. 18; 1 K. xv. 3–5.

[28] 2 Chron. xiii. 4–12.

[29] 1 K. xv. 8; 2 Chron. xiv. 1.

[30] Shechem had been destroyed by Abimelech after its revolt.

[31] 1 K. xiv. 17; comp. *Cant.* vi. 4. Its site is uncertain. It has been conjectured to occupy the position of *Tel-lûzah*, a plain in the mountains north of Nablûs. Tirzah continued to be the royal residence till the destruction of the palace in the siege by Omri,

tribes which adhered to him are probably to be reckoned by taking Joseph (Ephraim and Manasseh) as *one*, and excluding Levi and Judah. The secession of Benjamin still left the number *ten*, by counting Ephraim and Manasseh separately. Dan remained in the number, in virtue of its possessions in the north. Simeon was actually included in the kingdom of Judah; but the tribe seems to have sunk into such insignificance as to be numbered among the ten only by a sort of negative computation. Beyond the old limits of Palestine, Moab was attached to Israel;[32] and Ammon would naturally preserve its family alliance with Rehoboam, to whom, as we have seen, Edom was also subject; but a common interest soon prompted these tribes to union, against both the kingdoms.[33] As for the allies and tributaries of Solomon in Phœnicia and Syria, though now cut off from Judah, they are not at all likely to have submitted to the King of Israel. We hear of no further connection with Phœnicia, Cœle-Syria, and the Lebanon; and we soon find the Syrian kingdom of Damascus, whose rise we have already noticed, a most formidable enemy of Israel.

After all these deductions, Jeroboam was at the head of a fine kingdom, populous, powerful, and fertile, and abounding in the resources which Solomon had developed. The prophet Ahijah had promised the establishment of his kingdom on the condition of obedience to Jehovah. But Jeroboam had no faith in his political security so long as his subjects continued to resort to the capital of his rival as their religious home. There were ancient sanctuaries within his dominions, and the erection of one of these into a new centre of worship, though illegal, might not perhaps have been altogether inexcusable. Or he might have allowed the priests to continue their domestic ministrations, and the people would only have been too ready to break off their visits to Jerusalem. But his fear prompted a more violent and fatal course, which added a religious schism to the political disruption, and brought down the divine wrath on his house and kingdom. Resorting to the idolatry which he had witnessed in Egypt, and following the example of Aaron, whose very words he used,[34]

> "The rebel king
> Doubled that sin in Bethel and in Dan,
> Likening his Maker to the grazed ox."

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who transferred the capital to Samaria.

[32] 2 K. iii. 4. [33] 2 Chron. xx. 1.
[34] 1 K. xii. 28; comp. Exod. xxxii.

He set up two golden calves, the symbols of the Heliopolitan deity Mnevis, in the two extremities of his kingdom. Dan was probably chosen as having been the sanctuary of the northern tribes, ever since the Danites had sat up there the images of Micah; Bethel as the "house of God" for all Israel since its consecration by Jacob. The latter was the chief seat of the new worship, which the king himself inaugurated on the 15th day of the 8th month, in imitation of the dedication of the Temple at the Feast of Tabernacles, but a month later, "in the month which he had *devised of his own heart*."[35] Having appointed priests "from the lowest of the people," in place of the Levites, whom he deposed and drove from their cities to Jerusalem, he erected an altar at Bethel, upon which he burned incense in the feast he had appointed. In the very midst of the ceremony, a man of God, sent by the word of Jehovah out of Judah, confronted Jeroboam at his altar, on which he prophesied that a son of David, named Josiah, should one day offer the bones of the idolatrous priests who sacrificed upon it; and he added a sign, that the altar should be rent and the ashes on it poured out upon the ground.[36] The enraged king called on his guards to seize the prophet, and put out his own hand to lay hold of him; but the hand was withered and fell helpless, and an earthquake rent the altar. On the prophet's prayer, entreated by the king, his hand was restored, and he begged the man of God to accept his hospitality and a reward, which he refused, and departed by another way, as he had been commanded. How he yielded to an aged brother prophet the consent he had refused the king, how he was slain by a lion for his disobedience and buried by the old prophet, who entreated that his bones might be laid beside him, to preserve them from the fate denounced on the idol priests, is one of those beautiful episodes of Scripture familiar to our earliest recollections.[37] But the warning had no permanent effect on Jeroboam, who persisted in his idolatrous worship, and consecrated any one as a priest who could afford to

4, 8:—"Behold thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt."

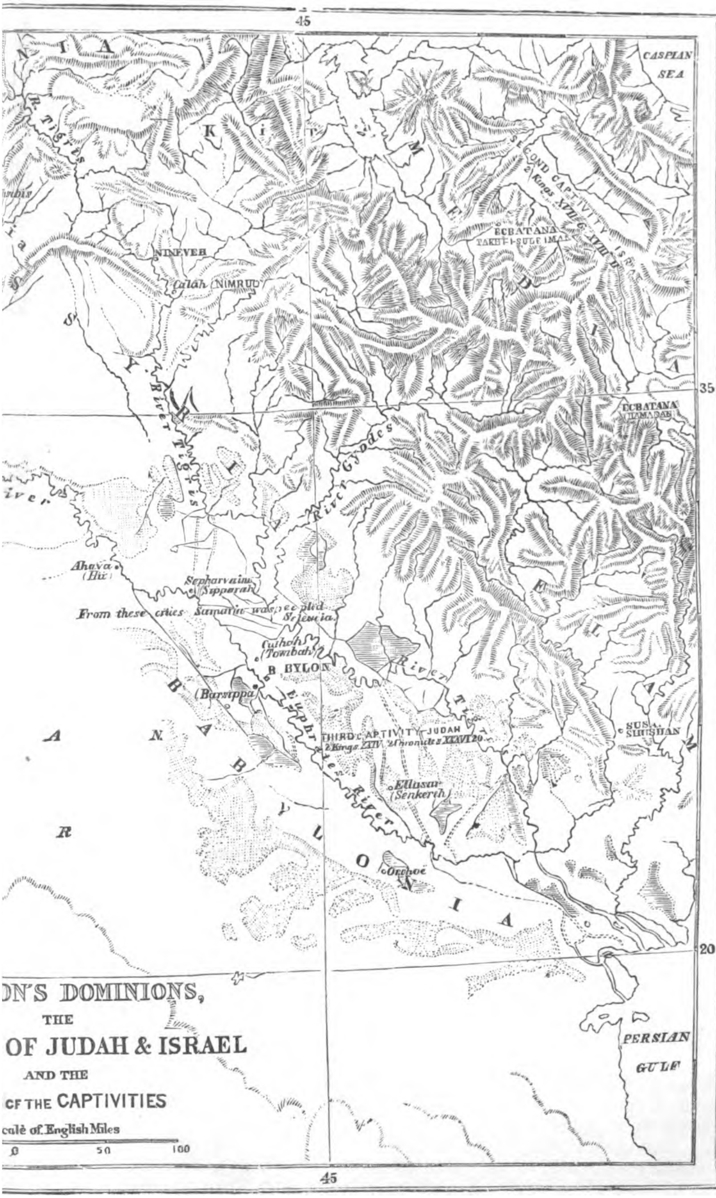
[35] 1 K. xii. 26–33, xiii. 33; 2 Chron. xiii. 9. The difference of a month may have been to allow for the later vintage of the northern districts; but we can not doubt Jeroboam's wish to make a marked distinction from the worship at Jerusalem.

[36] 1 K. xiii. 1–6. Jewish tradition identified him with the prophet Iddo, or Iadon as he is called by Josephus, *Ant.* viii. 8, § 5. For the fulfillment of the prophecy, see 2 K. xxiii 15, 16.

[37] 1 K. xiii. 7–32; comp. 2 K. xxiii. 17–18.



THE GREAT SEA
PHŒNICIA
SYRIA
ISRAEL
JUDAH
Bashan
Antioch
Carchemish
Tiphsah
Rezeph
Hamath (Hamah)
Riblah
Zobah
(Tadmor, Palmyra)
Cœle Syria
Lebanon
Zidon
Zarephath
Tyre
Ijon
Abel Beth Maacah
Dan
Accho
Mt. Carmel
Gath Hepher
Aphek
Shunem
2ND CAPTIVITY
1ST CAPTIVITY
Mahanaim
Dothan
TIRZAH
SAMARIA
SHECHEM
Penuel
Joppa
Gezer
Bethel
Ramoth Gilead
Bethhoron
Gibeon
JERUSALEM
Jericho
Ashdod
Ashkelon
Beth Shemesh
Timnah
Azzah (Gaza)
Hebron
Philistines
Beer Sheba
DEAD SEA
Kir Haraseth
Ammonites
Moab
Gilead
Edom
THIRD CAPTIVITY
Selah Petra
Ezion Geber
Elath (Elana, Akabah)
RED SEA Gulf of Akabah
Limits of Solomons Dominions
SYRIAN DESERT
ARMENIA
MYGDONIA
Halah (Gla)
Hara (Harran)
FIRST CAPTIVITY-ISRAEL 1 Chronicles V. 26. 2 Kings XV. 29.
SECOND CAPTIVITY-ISRAEL 2 Kings XVII. 6. XVIII.
Bilikh R.
Habor (Khabour) R.
Euphrates
Orontes
Jordan
SOLOM
KINGDOMS
LAN
35
40
30



45
CASPIAN SEA
R. Tigris
NINEVEH
Calah (NIMRUD)
SECOND CAPTIVITY ISRAEL
2 Kings XVII. 6. XVIII. 11
ECBATANA
TAKHT-I-SULEIMAN
35
ECBATANA
(HAMADAN)
River Tigris
River Gyndes
Ahava
(Hit)
Sepharvaim
(Sippara)
From these cities Samaria was peopled
Seleucia
Cuthah
(Towibah)
BABYLON
(Borsippa)
River Tigris
Euphrates River
THIRD CAPTIVITY JUDAH
2 Kings XXIV. 2 Chronicles XXXVI. 20.
SUSA
SHUSHAN
Ellasar
(Senkereh)
Orchoe
BABYLONIA
ELAM
MEDIA
ARABIA
20
PERSIAN GULF
ON'S DOMINIONS,
THE
OF JUDAH & ISRAEL
AND THE
OF THE CAPTIVITIES
Scale of English Miles
0 50 100
45

bring the prescribed offering of a young bullock and seven rams.[38]

So another chastisement befell him in his own family. His son Abijah, the only one of his house "in whom there was found some good thing toward Jehovah the God of Israel," was mercifully removed by death from the wickedness around him. On his falling ill, Jeroboam sought help secretly from the God whom he had openly forsaken. It is an interesting point in the history of the kingdom of Israel, and one which most impressively teaches God's long-suffering, that in spite of the apostasy under Jeroboam, there were never wanting prophets to testify for Jehovah; and, while the chief prophetic writers of a later age belong to Judah; those most distinguished for their actions, as Elijah and Elisha, prophesied in Israel. Thus Ahijah, the Shilonite, who had designated Jeroboam to the kingdom, was still at Shiloh; and to him the king's wife resorted in disguise, with a present of bread and honey. The prophet was blind, but God had warned him of her coming, and given him a terrible answer for her. At the sound of her feet upon the threshold, Ahijah addressed her by name, and recounting all the sins of Jeroboam, foretold the speedy extinction of his race and the coming captivity of Israel. The child was to die, but, as the reward of his piety, he alone of all his house should be buried in peace; the rest should be the food of dogs and vultures. The queen returned to Tirzah, and the child expired as she crossed the threshold. He was buried and lamented by all Israel, as their last hope amid the vices of the royal house and the calamitous defeat in the great battle with Judah. Not long after Jeroboam died, and was buried in the sepulchre of his fathers, after a reign of twenty-two years. He was succeeded by his son Nadab.[39]

§ 5. NADAB,[40] the second and last king of the dynasty of Jeroboam, succeeded his father in the second year of Asa, king of Judah, and reigned for parts of two years (B.C. 954–953), imitating the sins of Jeroboam. The only recorded action of his reign is the siege of Gibbethon, a city in the territory of Dan, which, having been abandoned by the Levites, to whom it belonged, when they were driven out by

[38] 1 K. xiii. 33; comp. 2 Chron. xiii. 9; Ex. xxix. 1, 35; Lev. viii. 2.

[39] 1 K. xiv. 1–20. The version of the LXX., placing the sickness and death of Abijah before Jeroboam's accession, is entirely opposed to the order of events in the Hebrew text.

[40] The name is identical with that of Aaron's eldest son. *Nebat*, the name of Jeroboam's father, is perhaps only another form of the same word.

Jeroboam, had been occupied by the Philistines. Its possession was eagerly contested by the kings of Israel, who besieged it again and again.[41] Nadab here fell the victim to a military conspiracy under Baasha, his captain of the host, who killed the king and all the house of Jeroboam, and so fulfilled the prophecy of Ahijah.[42]

§ 6. With the extinction of the first dynasty, the crown of Israel passed from the tribe of Ephraim to that of Issachar; but the second dynasty also lasted for only two generations. BAASHA, the son of Ahijah, became the third king of Israel in the third year of Asa, king of Judah, and reigned at Tirzah four-and-twenty years.[43] His entire addiction to the sins of Jeroboam brought upon his house the same fate as theirs, which was denounced upon him by the prophet Jehu, son of Hanani.[44] His whole efforts seem to have been devoted to the war with Judah. In the thirteenth year of his reign (the fifteenth of Asa),[45] alarmed by the defection of the worshipers of Jehovah to the pious king of Judah, he attempted to blockade the frontier by fortifying Ramah; but Asa called in the help of Benhadad I.,[46] the Syrian king of Damascus, who invaded the north of Israel, and took Ijon, Dan, Abel-maim, and the store-cities of Naphtali. This diversion recalled Baasha from Judah, against which he seems to have made no more serious attempts. He died and was buried at Tirzah, in the twenty-sixth year of Asa, leaving the kingdom to his son ELAH, the fourth king of Israel, who reigned for only parts of two years (B.C. 930–929), and was then killed at Tirzah, in a state of intoxication, by Zimri, the commander of half his force of chariots. With him perished all the house of Baasha, who were massacred by Zimri, as Jehu had foretold.[47]

§ 7. At this point the annals of Israel bear a curious resemblance to the events which led to the accession of the Flavian dynasty at Rome.

ZIMRI, the fifth king, enjoyed his usurpation at Tirzah only seven days. The whole military array of Israel were now engaged in the siege of Gibbethon; and having elected Omri, the captain of the host, as king, they marched to besiege

[41] See 1 K. xvi. 15–17.

[42] 1 K. xv. 25–30.

[43] B.C. 953–930; 1 K. xv. 33, 34. The etymology of the name is uncertain. From 1 K. xvi. 2, it may be inferred that Baasha was of low extraction.

[44] 1 K. xvi. 1–7.

[45] 2 Chron. xvi. 1. The thirty-six years of this passage are evidently dated from the disruption of the kingdoms:—"In the thirty-sixth year (Asa being king)."

[46] The Syrian dynasty at Damascus will be noticed in another place. Benhadad was in alliance with Baasha when he was bribed by Asa (1 K. xv. 19; 2 Chron. xvi. 3).

[47] 1 K. xvi. 8–14.

Tirzah. The walls were soon taken, and Zimri shut himself up in the palace, which, like Sardanapalus, he burned over his head. Another competitor for the crown appeared in the person of TIBNI, son of Ginath, who was followed by half the people. He was defeated and killed, after a civil war of four years, from the twenty-seventh to the thirty-first of Asa.[48]

OMRI was the sixth king of Israel, and the founder of the third dynasty, which lasted for three generations and four kings. His father's name and tribe are unknown. The twelve years of his reign are probably to be dated from the death of Elah,[49] as his full recognition is placed in the thirty-first year of Asa,[50] and the accession of his son Ahab in the thirty-eighth of Asa;[51] so that his six years' reign at Tirzah would include the civil war.[52] He abandoned that residence, which, besides that the palace was burned, had proved indefensible in a siege, and built the new and long-famous capital of SAMARIA,[53] which remained the seat of government to the end of the kingdom. The dynasty which he founded surpassed all that had gone before in wickedness, so that "the statutes of Omri" became a by-word for a course opposed to the law of Jehovah.[54] Of the particular events of Omri's reign, we are only able to infer from a subsequent allusion, that the Syrian king of Damascus, Benhadad I., continued the war with Israel, and forced his own terms on Omri, who consented to receive a resident envoy in his new capital of Samaria.[55] Israel was fast losing the power of an independent state; but the kingdom was still adorned with much wealth and luxury, when Omri left it to his son AHAB, in the thirty-eighth year of Asa, king of Judah, to whose long reign we must now return.[56]

§ 8. ASA, the third king of Judah, succeeded his father Abijah, in the twentieth year of Jeroboam I., king of Israel, and

[48] B.C. 929-925: 1 K. xvi. 15-22. According to the LXX., his brother Joram fought and died with him.

[49] B.C. 929-918. [50] B.C. 925.

[51] B.C. 918. [52] 1 K. xvi. 23, 29.

[53] The Hebrew name is *Shomerôn* (afterward corrupted into the Greek *Samaria*), so called from *Shĕmer*, from whom Omri bought the hill on which he built the city. It stands in the centre of a wide basin-shaped valley, about six miles to the north-west of Shechem, encircled with high hills, and almost on the edge of the great plain which borders upon the Mediterranean.

[54] Micah vi. 16: the phrase is a parallel to "the works of the house of Ahab," and the more immediate reference is, no doubt, to the latter.

[55] 1 K. xx. 34. The "making streets in Samaria" hast his meaning. The cities referred to by Benhadad II as taken by his father from Ahab's father, may be those taken from Baasha, or later conquests. Benhadad treats Ahab quite as a vassal (1 K. xx. 2). [56] B.C. 918: 1 K. xvi. 23-29.

reigned for the long period of forty-one years.[57] His name, which signifies *curing* or *physician*, was significant of his work. Himself a worthy son of David, and having "his heart perfect with Jehovah all his days," he reformed the religious and moral abuses of the three preceding reigns. He put down the unnatural vices which had grown up under Rehoboam, and destroyed the idols. Even his mother Maachah was deposed from the rank of "queen-mother"—which was reckoned a great dignity in the East[58]—because she had set up an *Asherah* (or idol), probably for the impure orgies of Ashtoreth;[59] and Asa cut down and burned her *Asherah*, and strewed its ashes on the brook Kidron, just as Moses had treated the golden calf. Still, however, the old hill-sanctuaries were retained as places of worship. They were suppressed by Jehoshaphat but partially; and again long after by the zeal of Josiah.[60] Asa repaired Shishak's plunder of the temple by rich offerings of gold and silver, in addition to those dedicated by his father, probably in the early part of his reign, but since transferred to the heathen shrines. It is indeed curious to observe how soon the treasures, of which the Temple was repeatedly stripped—by Shishak, by Asa himself at a later time, and by other kings—were again supplied. The commerce established by Solomon with Arabia and the East, and with the silver-producing regions of Western Europe, must have continued to flourish. The great victory of Abijah over Jeroboam secured peace to Judah for the first ten years of Asa's reign; and he used it in building new fortifications to his cities.[61] He raised an army of 580,000 men (if we might trust the numbers of our common text), of whom 300,000 were men of Judah, armed with spear and shield, and 280,000 Benjamite archers.[62] This military preparation was probably connected with an attempt to throw off the tributary yoke which Shishak had imposed upon Rehoboam; and it brought upon Asa the whole force of the Egyptian monarchy. At least it is probable that "Zerah, the Cushite" (or Ethiopian), was a king of Egypt.[63] He invaded Judah at the head of a million of men; but Asa encountered him

[57] B.C. 955–914: 1 K. xv. 9–24; 2 Chron. xiv., xv.

[58] Comp. 1 K. ii. 19; 2 K. xxiv. 12; Jer. xxix. 2; Dan. v. 10.

[59] 1 K. xv. 13. See the Vulgate.

[60] 1 K. xvii. 6; 2 K. xxii. 8, 13.

[61] At the beginning, however, of his reign, Asa seems to have taken from Jeroboam some cities of Mount Ephraim. See 2 Chron. xv. 8, xvii 2.

[62] 2 Chron. xiv. 1–8.

[63] 2 Chron. xiv. 9. Ewald and others identify Zerah with Osorkon I., the second king of the twenty-second dynasty, and son of Shishak, whose soldiers were in a great measure Ethiopians (2 Chron. xii. 3).

at Mareshah (near the later Eleutheropolis) in the S.W. of Judah; and, after a fervent prayer to God, he routed the Ethiopian host and pursued them to Gerar. He returned to Jerusalem with the spoil of the cities round Gerar, and with innumerable sheep and cattle.[64] A solemn appeal was made by God to king and people, while their hearts were still warm with the victory. The prophet AZARIAH, son of Oded,[65] met Asa on his return, and exhorted him and his subjects to be strong, heart and hand, in seeking God. He gave an affecting description of the former state of Israel:—"For a long season Israel hath been (or was) without the true God, and without a teaching priest, and without law." His words roused the hearers to a new and more thorough reformation. The idols were removed from all the cities of Judah and Benjamin, and those which had been won from Ephraim. The altar of burnt-offering, which had probably been polluted, was renewed, and Asa called a great convocation at Jerusalem in the third month of the fifteenth year of his reign (B.C. 940). It was attended not only by all Judah and Benjamin, but by many of Ephraim, Manasseh, and other tribes; and a covenant was made, with solemn oaths and joyful shouts and music, to serve God with all their hearts, and to punish all idolatry with death.[66] This general defection to Asa of the worshipers of Jehovah throughout the kingdom of Israel must have added great strength, especially moral strength, to Judah. It alarmed Baasha, the king of Israel, who renewed the war with all his forces, and as we have seen, fortified Ramah, as a sort of blockading station[67] on the frontier of Judah, to prevent his subjects from going over to Asa. It was then that the good king of Judah committed the one great error of his life. He not only resorted to the heathen king of Damascus, Benhadad I., but he took the treasures of the house of God to purchase his alliance. Benhadad's invasion of Northern Israel recalled Baasha from Ramah, and the stones and timber which he had collected were carried away by Asa to build the frontier forts of Geba (the *hill*) and Mizpeh (the *watch-tower*) in Benjamin. The great well of Mizpeh was still remembered as Asa's work in the time of Jeremiah.[68]

Asa's want of faith was reproved by the seer HANANI, the

[64] 2 Chron. xiv. 9–15.

[65] 2 Chron. xv. 1. That this is the true reading also in ver. 8 is clear from the Alexandrian MS. of the LXX., the Vulgate, and the Peshito-Syriac.

[66] 2 Chron. xv.

[67] What the Greeks call ἐπιτείχισμα.

[68] 2 Chr. xvi. 1–6; 1 K. xv. 16–22; Jer. xli. 9.

father of that Jehu who prophesied both to Baasha and Jehoshaphat. He told Asa that he had lost the honor of conquering Benhadad by seeking his alliance, and denounced against him constant war for the rest of his days. It is a sign of the growing loss of reverence for the supreme authority of Jehovah, that even in Judah the discharge of a prophet's office had now come to involve danger to his person. Hanani was imprisoned by Asa in his rage, and others of the people were oppressed for the same cause. The king's conduct is to be ascribed partly to unbroken prosperity, and partly to the irritation of disease, for in his last years he suffered from the gout. The censure cast on him for "seeking not to Jehovah, but to the physicians," is no doubt founded on the principle, on which the whole retributive system of the Mosaic law is based, that every form of temporal suffering was to be viewed as a chastisement from God, and to be met first by humiliation and prayer to Him, who would then permit the physician or any other secondary agent to do his office with such success as it might be His will to grant. Asa sank under the disease in the forty-first year of his reign, having been contemporary with all the first seven kings of Israel. His body was laid in a bed of spices[69] in a sepulchre he had prepared for himself in the city of David, and precious odors were burned for him in great abundance, as was the custom at the funerals of worthy kings.[70]

§ 9. JEHOSHAPHAT, the fourth king of Judah, was the son of Asa and Azubah. At the age of thirty-five he succeeded his father in the fourth year of Ahab, king of Israel, and reigned at Jerusalem twenty-five years.[71] He followed his father's piety, and possessed an energy which makes him the most like David of all the other kings of Judah. He raised the kingdom to the highest point that it had reached since the disruption; but his unhappy alliance with Ahab went far to neutralize all his excellences, and brought ruin upon his successors. He was contemporary with Ahab and his two sons, Ahaziah and Jehoram.

Jehoshaphat began his reign by fortifying the cities of Judah and Benjamin, as well as those taken by his father in Mount Ephraim, while he became rich by the presents which attested the confidence of his subjects; and Jehovah was with him.[72] He carried on his father's reformation by re-

[69] Comp. John xix. 39, 40.

[70] 1 K. xv. 23, 24; 2 Chr. xvi. 7–14; comp. 2 Chr. xxi. 19; Jer. xxxiv. 5.

[71] B.C. 914–889: 1 K. xv. 24, xxii 41, 42; 2 Chron. xvii. 1–xx. 31.

[72] 2 Chron. xvii. 1–6.

moving the groves and high places; but this was only imperfectly accomplished, "for as yet the people had not prepared their hearts unto the God of their fathers."[73] In the third year of his reign, he gave a commission to his chief princes, in conjunction with certain Levites and priests, to teach the people and to read the book of the Law in all the cities of Judah. His piety was rewarded with prosperity. He had peace with all the surrounding nations. Even the Philistines paid him tribute, and the Arabians brought the immense flocks of rams and goats which David had described in the 72d Psalm. He continued to fortify and garrison the cities; at Jerusalem he had a band of captains, like those of David; and under their command was a greater army than had yet been raised, though the numbers in our text are very much too large.[74] His power had become too great for the King of Israel to hope for success in a new war; and the growing strength of the Syrian kingdom of Damascus may have prompted the alliance which was now formed between Jehoshaphat and Ahab, and which requires us to look back to the history of Israel.[75]

§ 10. Ahab (properly *Achab*), the seventh king of Israel, and the second of the dynasty of Omri, succeeded his father in the thirty-eighth year of Asa, and reigned twenty-two years at Samaria.[76] His name has attained an evil eminence in the world's history. Like Antiochus Epiphanes and Nero, he had a love of art, and he was not destitute of generous impulses; but he stands forth an example of the lengths of wickedness to which a weak selfishness may be driven by the influence of a stronger will. His fate was decided by his marriage with Jezebel, a name even more infamous than his own, the daughter of Ethbaal, king of the Zidonians. The very name of this prince (the *Man of Baal*) suggests the consequences of the alliance. In place of the worship of Jeroboam's calves, which, monstrous idols as they were, yet professed to be symbols of Jehovah, the service of Baal was established throughout Israel. Ahab built him a temple and an altar at Samaria, and made him a grove for the impure orgies of Ashtoreth. There was a great college of his priests, or prophets, who numbered 450, besides 400 prophets of the groves; and all these were maintained at Jezebel's table. By her orders, the prophets of Jehovah were put to death, except a hundred, who were hid and fed in a cave by Oba

[73] 1 K. xxii. 43; 2 Chron. xix. 3, xx. 33.
[74] 2 Chron. xvii. 13-19.
[75] 2 Chron. xviii. 1.
[76] B.C. 918-897; 1 K. xvi. 29.

diah, the governor of Ahab's house: for even at his court there was at least one servant of Jehovah, as there were Christians in Nero's household. The influence of the court and the force of persecution completed the apostasy of the people, so that it was an unexpected consolation for the great prophet of the age to be assured that Jehovah had 7000 left in Israel, whose knees had not bowed to Baal, and their lips not kissed him.[77]

This darkest night of Israel's spiritual declension was broken by the appearance of the greatest of all the prophets since Moses, and the type of that great preacher of repentance who was the forerunner of the Christ.

ELIJAH THE TISHBITE has been well called "the grandest and the most romantic character that Israel ever produced."[78] He meets us with a suddenness as startling as the first appearance of John the Baptist preaching repentance in the wilderness of Judæa. There is not a word of his parentage; and of his birthplace we only know that it was in the land of Gilead east of Jordan.[79] But this one fact accounts for the prophet's outward peculiarities. Like Jephthah among the judges, he came of a wild, uncultured, pastoral race, whose mode of life had become more and more assimilated to that of the Bedouins of the neighboring desert, and who retained great force of character and power of physical endurance. His only clothing was a girdle of skin round his loins, and the "mantle," or cape, of sheepskin, the descent of which upon Elisha has passed into a proverb. Sheltered from Jezebel's persecution in the solitudes of Mount Gilead, he had been prepared by Jehovah for his mission to the apostate king and people.

It was probably about the tenth year of Ahab's reign,[80] that Elijah suddenly appeared before the king to declare, as the word of Jehovah, confirmed by an awful oath, that there should be no rain in the land for three years but at his word.[81] From the New Testament we learn that the prophet was more than a mere messenger of the judgment. "He *prayed*

[77] 2 K. xvi. 28–33, xviii. 3, 4, 13, 19, xix. 18.

[78] Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 327.

[79] 1 K. xvii. 1. There has been no probable conjecture even as to the site of his city, which was certainly not the Thisbe of Tobit i. 2, for that was in Naphtali. His name is one of those which signify a complete proposition, the truth which he brought Israel to confess, "Jehovah is my God," just as St. John was called Θεολογός, as the great advocate of the doctrine θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος. The Hebrew form is generally *Elijahu;* the Greek is *Elias.*

[80] This is according to the received chronology; but perhaps the true date should be earlier.

[81] 1 K. xvii. 1.

earnestly that it might not rain: and it rained not on the land by the space of three years and six months. And *he prayed again*, and the heaven gave rain, and the earth brought forth her fruit."[82] This passage, introduced to show the power with God exerted by "men affected like ourselves," may help to guard us against too mechanical a view of the prophet's functions. In his agonizing prayer upon Mount Carmel, at the close of the drought, we see how his own desire went forth to meet the will of God; and, though the history is silent as to all that preceded his message to Ahab, the words of James justify the supposition of a like scene; when the prophet, brooding over the state of Israel, as we see him at a later period, and preparing to stand forth as the champion for God, like Luther in his cell, put up fervent prayers for the sign that might attest his mission. Like Luther again, who of all men beyond the records of Scripture, had most of Elijah's spirit, he was saved from the immediate risk, at which he discharged his mission, by the command of God to hide himself in the wady of the Cherith, whose position is uncertain. The history leaves the court, to follow the prophet; but it has been supposed that Jezebel's slaughter of the prophets was in revenge for the denunciation of Elijah. He remained in his hiding-place, fed by the ravens morning and evening with bread and meat, till the brook dried up, and he had to seek another refuge.[83] The word of Jehovah sent him, as our Lord emphatically declares, not to any of the secret worshipers of God in Israel, nor to any city of Judah, perhaps lest he should appear to be a partisan of the rival kingdom; but the honor of nourishing God's prophet was granted to a woman, a poor widow of the heathen city of Zarephath, in the territory of Zidon.[84] Elijah went thither, and found at the city gate a poor woman gathering a few sticks, to bake a cake made of her last handful of meal and her last drop of oil, that she and her only son might share it and then die. We need not repeat the familiar story of the faith with which she consented to sustain Elijah, the miraculous replenishing of the barrel of meal and the cruse of oil, as long as the famine lasted, and the restoration of the widow's son to life at the prophet's prayer.[85]

In the third year, Elijah was bidden to leave his concealment and show himself to Ahab. The drought had now be-

[82] James v. 17, 18.

[83] 1 K. xvii. 1–7.

[84] 1 K. xvii. 8, 9; Obad. 20; Luke iv. 26; this passage and the history both favor the supposition that she was a Hebrew widow, like the mother of Hiram the artist.

[85] 1 K. xvii. 8–24.

come so disastrous, that the greatest exertions were needed to find grass enough to save the lives of the king's horses and cattle. Ahab undertook the search in person, taking one way himself, and sending his chief officer, Obadiah, by another. The latter, who has been mentioned as a zealous worshiper of Jehovah, was encountered by Elijah, and reluctantly undertook the risk of announcing to Ahab the prophet's reappearance. The king met Elijah with the threatening question, "Art thou he that troubleth Israel?"—and the prophet retorted the charge upon himself for his apostasy and idolatry. He then challenged the king to a decisive trial between Baal and Jehovah, and a scene ensued upon Mount Carmel which has no parallel in the history of the world. On the one side were Baal's prophets, to the number of 450, supported by the court and followed by the people; for neither the few secret worshipers of Jehovah, nor the many whom His judgments had rendered dissatisfied with their idolatry, dared to show sympathy with the prophet. Elijah stood alone: but God was with him. His challenge is all the bolder, considering the juggling tricks with which the heathen priests were familiar, and which the king would be ready to abet. But it is on the side of Elijah that we find precautions taken against such tricks, and taken by his own desire. He proposed a test of the simplest kind; that each party should prepare a bullock and wood, and pray to their respective gods to send down fire upon the sacrifice, "And the god that answereth by fire, let him be God." All the people assented to so fair a trial. Elijah gave Baal's prophets the choice between the victims, and the first trial. At early morn they prepared the sacrifice, and the air resounded till high noon with their wild chorus, growing more and more excited, "O Baal, hear us! Baal, hear us! Hear us!" The stillness of the summer noon was unbroken by an answer, and they leaped on their altar with frantic gesticulations. As the sun bent over the meridian, Elijah assailed both priests and god with that irony which the prophets often levelled at idolatry:—"Cry aloud! for he is a god! He is only abstracted in his own thoughts! Or he has gone hunting, or upon a journey. Or perhaps he is asleep and must be awaked!" The priests renewed their cries, as if they half believed the last taunt, and cut their flesh with knives according to their custom, till their blood streamed down. But there was not a sign that their god so much as noticed them. And now the declining sun had reached the sacred hour of the evening sacrifice; and the exhausted priests ceased their "vain repe-

titions." With the utmost deliberation Elijah repaired the broken altar of Jehovah, and replaced the twelve unhewn stones that had formed it; for Carmel was a spot sure to have been a sanctuary, though the fact is not previously recorded. Having made a trench round the altar, and laid the bullock in pieces upon the wood, he for the first time commands the assistance of the people, to exclude all possibility of fraud. Thrice they poured water over the victim, the wood, and the altar, till the trench was full; so that no fire could possibly be concealed. At the very moment of the evening sacrifice, Elijah invoked the God of the fathers to show His divinity, and to turn back the people's hearts; and the fire came down from heaven in sight of all the people; consuming not only the sacrifice and the wood, but the very stones and dust of the altar, and licking up the water in the trench. All the people fell upon their faces crying out, "JEHOVAH, HE IS THE GOD! JEHOVAH, HE IS THE GOD!" Their new-awakened zeal was at once turned by Elijah against the idolaters. "Take the prophets of Baal!" he exclaimed—"let not one of them escape!" He was obeyed; and they were slain to a man on the bank of the river Kishon, a sacrifice to Baal in place of their vain offering.[86] Ahab, who seems to have been a passive spectator of the scene, now yields himself to the direction of the prophet, who assures him that he hears the sound of abundant rain, and retires to his tent to eat and drink, while Kishon runs red with the blood of his priests. As he is thus engaged, Elijah withdraws to the summit of Carmel, and sits with his head bowed down between his knees, while his servant looks out over the sea for the first sign of rain in the west. Six times the lad reports that the sky is clear, and the prophet bids him look again; but at the seventh he brought back the message, which has ever since passed into a proverb:—"Behold there ariseth a little cloud out of the sea, like a man's hand." At this sign the prophet sent the king word to prepare his chariot. The heaven grew black with clouds; and amid the cataracts of a rain-storm in that climate, Elijah ran before the king's chariot to the gates of Jezreel, a distance of sixteen miles.[87]

The fierce spirit of Jezebel remained unsubdued, and her threats drove Elijah again to fly for his life. He traversed all Israel and Judah to Beersheba; and there he left his servant, while he himself went forward under the impulse of the

[86] It must not be forgotten that these priests of Baal were, for the most part at least, apostate Israelites, who had brought themselves under the penalties of the law against idolatry.

[87] 1 K. xviii.

same Spirit which long after drove Christ into the wilderness. After one day's journey, he was overcome by fatigue and despair; and he sat down under a juniper-tree, and prayed for death. His words betray that deep consciousness of individual weakness, to which the chosen servants of God have often yielded:—"I am not better than my fathers." But an angel touched him, and bade him arise and eat: he looked up, and saw a fire, with a cake of bread baked upon it, and a cruse of water by his head; and in the strength of that food he passed 40 days and nights in the wilderness of Sinai. There, like Moses, he was favored with a vision of the glory of Jehovah. From that well-known scene of terrible convulsion, followed by an awful stillness, he learned the great lesson, that God's presence is to be felt, not so much in the grand displays of power which strike our senses, as in the "still small voice" that speaks directly to the heart. He had seen the fire come down from heaven, heard the people confess their God, and slain Baal's prophets; and yet the work seemed all to be done again; but now he learned that the quiet power of God's spirit was working in the people's hearts, and there were 7000 men who had not done homage to Baal. Thus reanimated for his remaining work, he was sent to prepare for three great changes affecting the state of Israel; to anoint Hazael as the future king of Syria, in place of Benhadad; Jehu, the son of Nimshi, as king of Israel, in place of Ahab's house; and Elisha, the son of Shaphat, to be prophet in succession to himself. These three were to follow each other in the destruction of the worshipers of Baal. Elijah only performed in person the last of the three acts, the designation of Elisha, leaving to him the other two, which he himself found no opportunity to execute.[88]

ELISHA's native place was at Abel-meholah (the *meadow of the dance*), a place in the valley of the Jordan, near its junction with the plain of Jezreel.[89] He was plowing with twelve yoke of oxen, himself guiding the twelfth, a proof of the wealth he abandoned to "put his hand to the plow" of Jehovah, when Elijah arrived on his way up the valley toward Damascus, and, without saying a word, cast his prophet's mantle upon Elisha, as if claiming him for a son.[90] Elisha, with a heart prepared by God, only begged to give his father and mother a parting embrace, and Elijah consented, in words implying a keen feeling of Elisha's separation

[88] Unless we may infer from 1 K. xix. 15, 16, that the acts are to be taken for granted, and that they were repeated by Elisha.

[89] Judg. vii. 22; 1 K. iv. 12.

[90] Comp. Ruth iii. 4–14.

from the ties of affection. Elisha celebrated the sacrifice of himself by offering the yoke of oxen with which he had been plowing, the flesh of which he boiled with the wood of the yoke and the plow, and made a parting feast for the people of the village. He then followed Elijah and became "his servant," for such was the relation between a prophet and his nearest comrade, as afterward in the case of Elisha and Gehazi. It was, indeed, an honor which the first minister of the greatest king might have coveted, to be known as "Elisha, the son of Shaphat, who poured water on the hands of Elijah." These events comprise the first period of Elijah's course. He disappears from the scene for a considerable time, occupied possibly with the journey to Damascus to anoint Hazael.[91] The King of Israel, who no doubt supposed that he had got rid of his great "troubler," seized the opportunity to perpetrate a deed of enormous wickedness.

Ahab's capital was at Samaria; but he had a favorite residence at the beautiful city of Jezreel (now Zerin),[92] "the Versailles of Israel," where we have already seen him. His regal lust of improving his fair domain was checked by a vineyard, the property of a man of Jezreel, named Naboth, who clung like a true Israelite to his patrimony, though the king offered him its price in money, or a better vineyard.[93] With the petulance of a despot crossed in his will, Ahab took to his bed, and refused to eat; but he was roused by Jezebel from despondency so unworthy of a king who had power to make law for himself. So abject was the degradation of the people, so shameless the tyranny of the crown, that the elders of Israel at once obeyed the written orders of Jezebel to proclaim a fast, and in the name of religion and loyalty, to put their fellow-citizen to death on the evidence of witnesses of their own suborning. Naboth was dragged out of the city, and stoned as a blasphemer against God and the king, and, at the call of Jezebel, Ahab arose to take possession of the vineyard. But God sent Elijah to meet him

[91] 1 K. xix. We follow the order of the LXX. and Josephus, in placing the twentieth chapter after the twenty-first.

[92] The modern village of *Zerin* stands on one of the gentle swells which rise out of the fertile plain of Esdraelon; but with two peculiarities which mark it out from the rest. One is its strength. On the north-east the hill presents a steep rocky descent of at least 100 feet. The other is its central locality. It stands at the opening of the middle branch of the three eastern forks of the plain, and looks straight toward the wide western level; thus commanding the view toward the Jordan on the east (2 K. ix. 17), and visible from Carmel on the west (1 K. xviii. 46).

[93] 1 K. xxi. 1-3; comp. Lev. xxv. 23; Numb. xxxvi. 7; Ezek. xlvi. 18.

there; and the king's conscience betrayed itself in the cry, "Hast thou found me, oh mine enemy?" "I have found thee," answered the prophet, and went on to mark the scene of this last crime as that of God's judgment for all his sins; "in the place where the dogs licked the blood of Naboth, shall dogs lick thy blood, even thine." Jezebel's fate was to be still more terrible; the dogs would eat her under the walls of Jezreel; and the whole house of Ahab should be exterminated, and their flesh given to the dogs and vultures.[94] This was Elijah's last mission to Ahab, and he does not appear again till the next reign. For once Ahab repented and humbled himself with fasting and sackcloth, and God postponed the full execution of the sentence till after his death.

§ 11. The last years of Ahab's reign were chiefly occupied by two great wars with Syria. His signal victories in the first of these wars may be viewed as a token of the acceptance of his penitence for Naboth's murder.[96] Benhadad II. had treated him as a vassal, and the King of Israel had complied with his demands; but when Ahab was required to give up his wives and children, he saw that it was but a pretext for a final quarrel. He refused with spirit; and it is to the mouth of this infamous king that we owe the noble proverb, "Let not him that girdeth on boast himself as he that putteth off."[97] The King of Damascus received the message as he was carousing with the thirty-two confederate kings, who had followed him to the siege of Samaria; and he bade them set their immense forces in array against the city, and returned to his cups secure of an easy victory. At this juncture a prophet came to tell Ahab that God had delivered these hosts into his hand. His little army of 7000 men went out of the city, preceded by the 232 young princes of the tribes; and Benhadad, who was drinking in his tent at the noontide banquet, with a contemptuous indifference as to whether they came out for a sally or a surrender, ordered them to be taken alive. But each of the princes killed the man who laid hands upon him; their followers rushed to the attack; the panic-stricken Syrians were pursued with great slaughter, Benhadad hardly escaping on his horse. The same prophet warned Ahab to expect a new attack the following year. Benhadad's servants persuaded him to fight in the low

[94] 1 Kings xxi.; comp. 2 Kings ix. 7, 26, 36, 37. It is well worthy of notice that Jehu, the anointed avenger, was in the train of Ahab when he went to take possession of Naboth's vineyard.

[95] 1 K. xxi. 27–29; 2 K. ix. 25.

[96] 1 K. xx.

[97] 1 K. xx. 11. No doubt it was then a current proverb. Its terseness is somewhat injured by the insertion of the words "his harness."

country, as the gods of Israel were gods of the hills; but they added the good advice to replace the confederate kings by chosen captains. So the Syrians offered battle at Aphek, a walled city which they had taken from Israel in the low country east of the Jordan.[98] Ahab divided the whole force of Israel into two bodies, which looked like two flocks of kids in presence of the vast armies of Syria; but a prophet announced to him that Jehovah would prove himself the God of the valleys as well as of the hills. After watching each other for seven days the armies joined battle; the Syrians were routed with a slaughter of 100,000 men, and 27,000 more were crushed by the fall (perhaps in an earthquake) of the wall of Aphek, in which they had taken refuge. Benhadad now resolved to throw himself on the mercy of Ahab, whose impulsive nature was shown in a generosity which proved fatal to himself. Instead of seizing the opportunity to regain the frontier of Solomon on the north-east, and to restore the kingdom of Israel in the fear of God, he was content with Benhadad's promise to give back the towns taken from Omri by Benhadad I. and to receive a resident envoy in Damascus.[99] For the fourth time in this war, a prophet was sent to Ahab; and, after obtaining the king's judgment against himself by the ingenious preparation of a supposed case, he told the king that God would take his life in place of the life of Benhadad. So Ahab returned to Samaria in displeasure.[100]

The peace with Syria lasted for three years,[101] but it does not appear that Benhadad restored the cities as he had promised. At length Ahab seized the opportunity of a visit from his ally, Jehoshaphat, whom he entertained sumptuously,[102] to propose a joint expedition for the recovery of Ramoth-gilead. The pious King of Judah proposed to consult the word of Jehovah; and Ahab tried to satisfy him by summoning his own 400 prophets, men who seem to have been trained as prophets of Jehovah and to have spoken in His name, while prostituting their office to the king's pleasure.[103] With one voice they promised Ahab the victory in the name of Jehovah. Still Jehoshaphat asked if there were no more prophets of Jehovah; and Ahab remembered a certain MICAIAH, the son of Imlah, whom, however, he hated, as he was

[98] Now *Fik*, six miles east of the Lake of Galilee, on the great road from Damascus to Samaria and Jerusalem. Other battles were fought there with Syria (2 K. xiii. 17).

[99] 1 K. xx. 22–34.

[100] 1 K. xx. 35–43. [101] 1 K. xxii. 1.

[102] 2 Chron. xviii. 2.

[103] They can hardly be viewed as prophets of Baal, whose worship does not seem to have been publicly restored after its overthrow by Elijah.

always a prophet of evil. He sent for him, apparently out of prison, and Micaiah went, declaring that he must speak the word which Jehovah should put into his mouth. He found the two kings upon their thrones in their robes of state, and all the prophets before them, one of whom, Zedekiah, the son of Chenaanah, had placed horns of iron on his head, to show how Ahab should push the Syrians to destruction. Whether through fear or in irony, Micaiah at first chimed in with them; but, adjured by Ahab to tell the truth, he foretold the king's death by likening Israel to a flock without a shepherd; and, in the form of a vision like that at the opening of the Book of Job, he denounced the other prophets as possessed by a lying spirit sent by God to deceive Ahab. Upon this Zedekiah struck and taunted him, and the king sent him back to the dungeon, while Micaiah warned both of their coming fate, and called the people to witness his words.[104] The words of Micaiah induced Ahab to disguise himself in the ensuing battle at Ramoth-gilead, while Jehoshaphat wore his royal robes. Benhadad had commanded his chariots to direct all their force against the king, and Jehoshaphat was so hard pressed that he only escaped by crying out that he was not Ahab. In spite of his precautions, Ahab was mortally wounded by a chance shot from a bow. He was supported in his chariot, while the battle raged, till sunset, and then he died. At his fall the cry went through the host, "Every man to his city and to his country." His body was brought to Samaria, and there buried, but not till the words spoken by Elijah at Naboth's vineyard were fulfilled; for as his chariot was washed out at the pool of Samaria, the dogs licked up his blood. He was succeeded by his son Ahaziah.[105]

§ 12. Jehoshaphat returned to Jerusalem unmolested. The severe lesson of Ramoth-gilead was enforced by the prophet Jehu, who met him on the way, upbraiding him for his alliance with those who hated God, but praising him for his piety. The king addressed himself with renewed zeal to the work of reformation. He went in person through his kingdom from Beersheba to Mount Ephraim, reclaiming the

[104] 1 K. xxii. 1-28; 2 Chron. xviii. 1-27.

[105] About B.C. 897: 1 K. xxii. 29-40; 2 Chron. xix. 28-34. Among the events of Ahab's reign, the sacred historian specially records the rebuilding of Jericho by Hiel the Bethelite in such a manner as to show that the curse foretold by Joshua was fulfilled:—"He laid the foundation thereof in Abiram his first-born, and set up the gates thereof in his youngest son Segub" (1 K. xvi. 34; comp. Josh vi. 26).

people to the God of their fathers. He appointed judges in all the fortified cities, and in Jerusalem he established a court of priests and Levites and heads of houses, for the final decision of all cases relating to the law of Jehovah. At the head of the latter he set the high-priest Amariah for all religious causes, and Zebadiah, son of Ishmael, the prince of Judah, for matters relating to the king. To both he gave a charge worthy of his name.[106] The judges throughout the land were reminded that they judged not for man but for God, and in the fear of Jehovah, with whom "there is no *iniquity*, nor *respect of persons*, nor *taking of gifts;*" and the supreme court was admonished to "deal courageously, and Jehovah shall be with the good."[107]

Meanwhile the disaster of Ramoth-gilead encouraged the old enemies on the eastern frontier. The Moabites, the Ammonites, with the people of Mount Seir, and the tribes of the neighboring desert, threw off the yoke which they had borne since the time of David. We read of two campaigns, the first against Jehoshaphat by a league of all these tribes, and the second against Jehoram, king of Israel, and Jehoshaphat as his ally, by the King of Moab, who was the vassal of Israel, as Ammon and Edom were of Judah.[108]

When word was brought that the hordes of the enemy were at En-gedi, on the west side of the Dead Sea, Jehoshaphat proclaimed a fast through all the land, and in a congregation of all Judah, with their wives and children, before the Temple, he offered a prayer which is the echo of Solomon's, appealing to God not to let the heathen, whom he had driven out before His people, cast them out of His possession; for so, in the true spirit of the covenant, he calls their land. The answer was at once given in a most striking and unusual form. In the midst of the congregation, the Spirit of Jehovah fell upon JAHAZIEL, the son of Zechariah, a Levite of the family of Asaph, and he cried out to the king, with all Judah and Jerusalem, to go forth on the morrow to a victory without a battle; their part would be only to "stand, and see the salvation of Jehovah." The king bowed his face to the ground, while the Levites raised a lofty song of thanksgiving.[109] With renewed songs of praise, they marched forth in the morning toward the wilderness of Tekoa, where, at that very time, a strange scene of slaughter was enacting,

[106] Jehoshaphat=Jehovah-shaphat, "Jehovah is judge," or "the judgment of Jehovah."

[107] 2 Chron. xix.

[108] 2 Chron. xx.; 2 K. iii.; comp. 1 K. xxii. 47.

[109] Some refer Ps. xlviii. and xcii. to this occasion.

Confused by the ambuscades they had set for the men of Judah, the different nations fell one upon the other. The people of Moab and Ammon, having first cut to pieces the inhabitants of Mount Seir, turned to mutual slaughter; and, when the men of Judah approached, and their scouts looked out from the watch-tower over the wilderness, the whole face of the ground was covered with dead bodies. No less than three days were occupied in gathering the spoil, which was more than they could carry away, and on the fourth they assembled to renew their songs of praise in the valley which was thence called Berachah (*blessing*); and they continued them as they marched back to Jerusalem, and up to the house of God, with Jehoshaphat in their van.[110] This great deliverance struck terror into all the nations, and secured peace to Judah for the rest of his reign. The campaign in which he aided Jehoram against Moab had a very similar issue.[111] He also joined Ahaziah in an attempt to renew the maritime enterprises of Solomon by way of the Red Sea; but the fleet was wrecked at Ezion-geber, as a punishment for his alliance with Ahaziah, according to the word of the prophet ELIEZER, son of Dodavah, of Mareshah, and Jehoshaphat refused Ahaziah's proposal to renew the attempt. He died, and was buried with his fathers in the city of David,[112] leaving his kingdom to his unworthy son Jehoram, who had already been associated in the government during the last years of his father's life (see 2 Kings i. 17, viii. 16). His name is preserved in the "valley of Jehoshaphat," the deep ravine between Jerusalem and the Mount of Olives. But it seems more than doubtful whether the name is derived from him, and is not rather an appellative, signifying the great judgment of which the scene is laid by the prophet Joel in the "Valley of the Judgment of Jehovah."[113]

§ 13. AHAZIAH, the eighth king of Israel, began to reign in the 17th year of Jehoshaphat, and reigned two years in Samaria.[114] He was the son of Ahab and Jezebel; and his character is emphatically described by the words, "he walked in the way of his father and of his mother," as well as in the way of Jeroboam. Besides worshiping Baal, he sent to consult Baal-zebub, the god of Ekron, when he was dangerously ill from a fall through a lattice of his palace.[115] This brings Elijah again upon the scene. He was sent by God to meet

[110] 2 Chron. xx. 1-28.

[111] See p. 534.

[112] About B.C. 889: 1 K. xxii. 41-50; 2 Chron. xx. 31-xxi. 1.

[113] Joel iii. 2; see *Bib. Dict.* art. *Jehoshaphat, Valley of.*

[114] B.C. 897-896: 1 K. xxii. 51.

[115] 2 Kings i.

the king's messengers, and to denounce their master's death, because he had inquired of an idol, as if there were not a god in Israel. The prophet was not personally known to the messengers; but from their description of him as "a hairy man, girt with a girdle of leather about the loins," Ahaziah at once recognized Elijah the Tishbite, whose wild form and sharp words had been the terror of his father's court. He sent a captain of fifty with his band to seize the prophet. They found him sitting on "the top of the mount"[116] (probably Carmel), and the captain, seemingly in a mocking tone, called to him, "Thou man of God, the king hath said, Come down." "If I be a man of God," said Elijah, "let fire come down from heaven, and consume thee and thy fifty:" and it was done. A second captain of fifty went and repeated the order in a more peremptory form, "Come down *quickly*," and he had the same fate. The third implored the mercy of Elijah, who at God's command went with him, and repeated to the king himself what he had already said to his messengers. This was Elijah's last appearance to the house of Ahab. As he had predicted, Ahaziah never rose again from his bed, but died, leaving his kingdom to his brother Jehoram.[117] His commercial league with Jehoshaphat has already been mentioned.

It is at this point that the sacred narrative introduces one of the greatest events of the old dispensation, the ascent of Elijah. The chronology is intricate, but the event seems to have taken place about the time of Ahaziah's death. The chief difficulty arises from the letter which Elijah sent to Jehoram, king of Judah, prophesying his destruction because he followed the sins of the house of Ahab. This, by the way, is the only point of connection between Elijah and the house of David, and the only mention of his name in the *Chronicles.*[118] Now Jehoshaphat, the father of Jehoram, took part in the campaign which is related after Elijah's ascension, and in which too Elisha appears as the prophet. That Elisha ever left his attendance upon Elijah to act in public, before he received the prophet's mantle, is a supposition quite unwarranted by the history. That the letter of Elijah to Jehoram was written before but delivered after his ascension, is a violent assumption.[119] The true and simple explanation is, that Jehoram began to reign over Judah some years before his

[116] In our version, erroneously, "an hill." [117] 2 K. i. 17.

[118] 2 Chron. xxi. 12-15. This, "writing," is quite in Elijah's tone, and its style is materially different from that of the context.

[119] See the marginal note to 2 Chron. xxi. 12, in our version.

father's death, as we have already seen. There is therefore no reason to depart from the order of the narrative in *Kings.*

When the time had come that God had appointed, to "take up Elijah into heaven by a whirlwind," the prophet was with Elisha at Gilgal.[120] . We know not what intimation he had received of the manner of his departure; but thus much is clear, that he desired to end his life, as he had passed its greater portion, in solitude with God.[121] But his devoted servant had also been forewarned of his loss, and persisted in following him to Bethel.[122] There the sons of the prophets meet Elisha with the words, "Knowest thou that Jehovah will take away thy master from thy head to-day?" and he answers, "*I do know it:* hold ye your peace." The same scene is repeated at Jericho, where Elijah again fruitlessly asks Elisha to stay behind. They went on to Jordan, while fifty of the sons of the prophets came out to gaze after them across the plain. Arrived at the river's edge, Elijah rolled up his sheepskin mantle, and smote the water, which parted, as long ago before the ark, and they walked through on dry ground. At the moment of passing the river, they exchanged their last words. Elisha, desired to name a parting gift, asks that a double portion of Elijah's spirit may rest upon him; that is, that he may not only succeed to the prophetic office, but be made the true heir of the power to work miracles, and turn the hearts of Israel to their forsaken God.[123] "Thou hast asked a hard (or bold) thing," said Elijah; "if thou see me taken from thee, it shall be so unto thee; but if not, it shall not be so." They were still talking as they walked forward, when Elisha found himself separated from his master by a chariot and horses of fire; and Elijah was borne up on the wings of the storm to the vault of heaven.[124] Elisha saw

[120] Apparently not the celebrated place near Jordan, but one of the same name on the western edge of Mount Ephraim, fifteen miles north of Diospolis (Lydda), the ruins of which still bear the name of *Jiljilieh.*

[121] "Why should we faint, and fear to live alone,
Since all alone, so Heaven has willed, we die?
Not even the tenderest heart, and next our own,
Knows half the reasons why we smile and sigh."

Keble, *Christian Year*, Twenty-fourth Sunday after Trinity.

[122] 2 K. ii. 2, 3.

[123] This seems to be the true meaning, according to the analogy of the ancient law of inheritance) Deut.xxi.). Taking it more literally, S. Peter Damianus and others have endeavored to show that all that Elijah did was doubled by Elisha; that the former wrought twelve miracles, the latter twenty-four, and so forth.

[124] Some readers may need to be reminded that "heaven," in this passage and in the accounts of Christ's Ascension, means the visible sky. Into that alone were they *seen* to enter; all beyond is the province of *faith.*

him before he vanished in the sky, and rending his clothes uttered the bitter outcry of a bereaved son, "My father! my father! The chariot of Israel, and the horsemen thereof!" He saw the meaning of the chariot sent to convey him who had been the true strength of Israel against her own kings, who trusted in forbidden chariots and horses. He saw too that his last prayer to his master was granted: he took up the mantle which Elijah had let fall, and at once put his power to the proof by again dividing the waters of Jordan on his return to Jericho, where the prophets, who had remained watching, welcomed him as the successor of Elijah. The prophets sent fifty active men in search of Elijah, thinking that God might have carried him away to some lonely mountain, though Elisha warned them that it would be in vain; and his word was confirmed by the return of the messengers after three days. Elisha's stay at Jericho was marked by a miracle, which the local tradition commemorates to the present day, the cure of the bitter water of one of the two springs that rise at the foot of the hill behind the town by casting into it a new cruse of salt. Thence he returned by the way he had followed with Elijah to Bethel; and at this seat of the calf-worship of Jeroboam, he received an insult which is thus related by one familiar with the spot. The road to the town winds up the defile of the *Wady Suweinit* under the hill which still bears what in all probability are the ruins of Ai, and which, even now retaining some trees, was at that date shaded by a thick forest, the haunt of savage animals. Here the boys of the town were clustered, waiting, as they still wait at the entrance of the villages of Palestine, for the chance passer-by. In the short-trimmed locks of Elisha, how were they to recognize the successor of the prophet, with whose shaggy hair, streaming over his shoulders, they were all familiar? So, with the license of the Eastern children, they scoff at the new-comer as he walks by, "Go up, roundhead![125] go up, roundhead!" For once Elisha assumed the sternness of his master. "He turned back, and looked on them, and cursed them in the name of Jehovah, and there came forth two she-bears out of the wood, and tore forty-and-two children of them."[126] There is nothing to show that these "children" were too young to be responsible for their wantonness, which was probably meant to try whether the new prophet might be more safely insulted than his predecessor. From Bethel Elisha returned to Carmel, and thence he went

[125] This is the true translation, not "baldhead," as in our version.
[126] 2 K. ii. 23–24.

to dwell at Samaria,[127] being fully recognized as the new prophet.

§ 14. JEHORAM (abbreviated JORAM), the ninth king of Israel, was the son of Ahab and Jezebel, and the successor of his brother Ahaziah. His accession is marked by a twofold date—in the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, and the second year of Jehoram, the son of Jehoshaphat, that is, the second year of Jehoram's association with his father in the kingdom. He reigned twelve years at Samaria.[128] He maintained a close alliance with Judah, and it was perhaps by the influence of Jehoshaphat that he was a shade better than his father and his brother. He removed Ahab's image of Baal, but he still maintained the idolatries of Jeroboam.[129]

The defeat of Ahab at Ramoth, and the consequent dominion of the Syrians in the country east of Jordan, had encouraged Mesha, the king of Moab, to revolt from Israel, and to refuse his annual tribute of 100,000 lambs and 100,000 rams. Ahaziah's illness had prevented him from taking the field, but Jehoram applied for help to Jehoshaphat, through whose territory it was now necessary to march to reach Moab on the east, by way of the wilderness of Edom. The King of Edom, the vassal of Judah, joined the expedition. After a seven days' march through the desert, the armies were without water. The pious Jehoshaphat longed to consult a prophet of Jehovah, and it was found that Elisha, the son of Shaphat, "which poured water on the hands of Elijah," was in the camp of Israel. It was only after sternly bidding Jehoram to resort to the prophets of his father and mother that Elisha consented, for the sake of Jehoshaphat, to give an answer. He called for a minstrel, and as he played, the Spirit of Jehovah came upon the prophet. Bidding them dig trenches all over the plain, he promised that God would give them not only water, but a complete victory over Moab. In the night the trenches were dug, and at the time of the morning sacrifice water flowed into them from the hills of Edom, so that the whole plain looked like a lake. As the Moabites advanced to meet the enemy, the red rays of the rising sun, reflected from the water, threw a hue of blood on the whole

[127] 2 K. ii. 25.

[128] B.C. 896–884; 2 K. i. 17, iii. 1. The occurrence of the same names (as again *Ahaziah*) marks the connection of the two families; and the influence of Jehoshaphat is probably to be traced in the choice of such a name as Jehoram (*Exalted by Jehovah*, or *Jehovah is exalted*). May it not be that the birth of Jehoram, and the alliance of Ahab with Jehoshaphat, took place about the time of Elijah's victory over the prophets of Baal?

[129] 2 K. iii. 2, 3.

plain. They remembered the recent slaughter which they had shared with the Ammonites and Edomites, and thought that the allied armies had been destroyed by a like panic, and raised the cry, "Now, therefore, Moab, to the spoil!" Rushing in disorder upon the camp, they were met by the whole army, and were pursued into their own country with immense slaughter. The victory was followed up by an exterminating war. The cities of Moab were razed, and their stones thrown into the corn-fields; the wells were filled, and the fruit-trees were cut down. The only refuge left was the city of Kir-haraseth; and even this was on the point of being taken by storm, when the King of Moab, with 700 chosen warriors, tried to cut his way through to reach the King of Edom, but he was driven back into the city. He resorted to the forlorn hope of his horrid superstition. Mounting the wall, in sight of the besiegers, he offered his eldest son and heir as a burnt-offering to Moloch. It would seem that this act of despair roused the sympathy of the Edomites, as well as the horror of Jehoshaphat: "There was great indignation against Israel; and they departed from him, and returned to their own land:" and the next we hear of the relations between the allies is the revolt of Edom from the King of Judah.[130]

To Elisha's aid in this war may probably be ascribed those friendly relations between Jehoram and the prophet which belong to the history of the latter. Indeed the deeds of Elisha filled the greater part of the annals of Israel under Jehoram. We need not repeat here the simple and familiar narrative of his multiplying the oil of a prophet's widow, to save her and her two sons from the hard creditor; the hospitality he received from a great lady of Shunem, to whom a son was first granted at the prophet's prayer, and by the same prayer her dead son was brought to life again; his healing of the poisoned pottage for the sons of the prophets at Gilgal; his multiplication of the twenty barley-loaves and ears of corn for the famished people of that place;[131] and his causing the iron axe-head that had fallen into the Jordan to swim to the surface.[132] The exquisite narrative of the healing of Naaman's leprosy, and the punishment of Gehazi's covetousness, brings us back to the affairs of the state, and shows Israel harassed by predatory incursions from Damascus, and the King of

[130] 2 K. iii.; comp. viii. 20.

[131] 2 K. iv. Three of Elisha's miracles foreshadowed those of Christ; raising the dead to life, multiplying food, and healing the leper. Two of these had been performed also by Elijah, but the last by Elisha only.

[132] 2 K. vi. 1–7.

Syria issuing his mandates in a tone which the King of Israel bitterly resents.[133] During these incursions Jehoram was saved more than once by the warning of Elisha from being taken prisoner by the Syrian bands. Enraged at being thus baffled by the prophet, who, as a courtier told the King of Syria, could "tell the King of Israel the words that thou speakest in thy bed-chamber," Benhadad sent a great force to seize him at Dothan. During the night the Syrian chariots encompassed the base of the hill, on which the ruins of the city still stand, and in the morning Elisha's terrified servant came to tell him that they were surrounded. The young man's eyes were opened at the prophet's prayer, and he saw the whole mountain full of chariots of fire and horses of fire, guarding his master; the oft-quoted emblem of those bands wherewith "the angel of Jehovah encampeth round about them that fear Him and delivereth them."[134] As the Syrians drew near, they were struck blind, and Elisha led them to Samaria, where he restored their sight. By his command the King of Israel fed them and sent them home again, and the result was a cessation of the predatory attacks from Syria.[135]

Thus far we see Jehoram, who had put down the worship of Baal, upheld against all his enemies by the power of Jehovah through the friendship of Elisha. But now comes a great change, which we can not well be wrong in ascribing to his relapse into the idolatry which we find restored at the close of his reign. Not yet however is he forsaken by God. His great enemy presses him harder than ever: Samaria suffers a siege, unequaled in horror till the final catastrophe of Jerusalem: the king vents his rage upon Elisha, who had probably foretold the visitation; but the cruel purpose of "this son of a murderer," as the prophet terms him, is rebuked by Elisha's prophecy of the plenty that is to visit the famished city on the morrow—a prophecy fulfilled by the panic flight of the Syrian host during the night. No incident in Scripture history is more picturesque than the despairing visit of the four lepers to the deserted camp. "If we sit still here, we die! If they save us alive, we shall live; and if they kill us, we shall but die!"[136] The date of these events may be fixed, with great probability, to the fifth year of Jehoram's reign; on the assumption that his last seven years coincided with the seven years' famine foretold by Eli-

[133] 2 K. v. Neither king is named, but they were clearly Benhadad II. and Jehoram.

[134] Ps. xxxiv. 7, lxviii. 17; Gen. xxxii. 1, 2; Zech. vi. 1–7, ix. 8.

[135] 1 K. vi. 8–23.

[136] 1 K. vi. vii.

sha, probably as another visitation for the king's apostasy.[137] And now the time was come for the judgments, long since revealed by God to Elijah, to fall upon all the chief actors in the horrid drama of which the family of Ahab is the centre, and Jezebel their evil genius; on that house itself, on its enemy Benhadad, and its allies of the apostate family of David, to whom we must now turn, to understand their share in the catastrophe.

§ 15. JEHORAM, the fifth king of Judah, seems to have reigned in conjunction with his father for about three years. We have seen how the necessity of this supposition is involved in the date assigned to his namesake of Israel; and it is expressly stated that Jehoshaphat was still King of Judah when his son Joram began to reign, at the age of thirty-two, in the fifth year of Joram, king of Israel. He reigned eight years at Jerusalem.[138] Through his ill-fated marriage with ATHALIAH, the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel, he thoroughly imbibed the spirit of that evil house. He set up the worship of Baal in the high places, and prostituted the daughters of Judah to the infamous rites of Ashtoreth. His reign would have been the last of the Jewish monarchy, had not God remembered his covenant with David, and forborne to cut off his house. But he was visited with judgments only short of such a catastrophe.[139] Elijah's last public act was to send him the letter we have already mentioned, predicting his death by a loathsome disease, and the destruction of his whole house. The latter was a fit retribution for his own atrocity to his father's house. Jehoshaphat had placed his six younger sons in fortified cities of Judah, besides giving them large presents in gold, silver, and jewels, while he gave the kingdom to Jehoram.[140] But as soon as Jehoshaphat was dead, Jehoram murdered all his brothers—the first example of that abominable mode of avoiding a disputed succession. The first calamity of his reign was the revolt of Edom. Marching with his whole force, he got hemmed in by the Edomites; and, though he extricated himself by a successful night attack, the province was lost. Edom became again an independent state under its own king, as Isaac had predicted; and though, fifty years later, Amaziah overran the country, took Petra, and massacred many of the people, they were never again subjugated to Judah. Next came the revolt of Libnah, a forti-

[137] 1 K. viii. 1-6.

[138] B.C. 892-885: 2 K. viii. 17; 2 Chron. xxi. 5. He began to reign alone in B.C. 889.

[139] 1 K. viii. 18, 19; 2 Chr. xxi. 6, 7.

[140] 2 Chron. xxi. 2. The terms used seem to imply a division made during the lifetime of Jehoshaphat.

fied city of Judah, perhaps one of those that had belonged to the princes, rising to avenge their murder. Then the kingdom was nearly overthrown by a great invasion of the Philistines and Arabians, who had been tributary to Jehoshaphat,[141] and who now stormed and plundered the king's palace, and massacred or carried off all his wives and children except his youngest son Ahaziah. The last infliction was a loathsome and incurable disease of the bowels, of which he died, "and departed without being regretted." He was buried in the city of David, but not in the sepulchre of the kings, and no odors were burned at his funeral. He died in the twelfth year of Joram, king of Israel, and was succeeded by his son Ahaziah.[142]

§ 16. Ahaziah (properly Achaziah), the sixth king of Judah, was twenty-two years old at his accession, and reigned only one year.[143] Being the son of Athaliah, daughter of Ahab, he was nephew to Jehoram, king of Israel, a conjunction which threatened the establishment of idolatry in both kingdoms; for Ahaziah was addicted to all the evil practices of the house of Ahab. But, as if the presence of Ahab's grandson on the throne of David had filled up the measure of God's forbearance, both kings were cut off by one stroke. Toward the end of the seven years' famine already mentioned, Elisha was sent to Damascus to designate Hazael, a high officer at the court of Benhadad II., as the future king of Syria.[144] There is something strange in this appointment of a heathen king, the murderer of his master, and the cruel enemy of Israel, by the prophet of Jehovah. Nor was Elijah himself insensible of this, for he shed tears of grief and shame as he thought of the work to which Hazael was ordained. He was appointed by God the minister of his providence to execute His wrath on the house of Ahab; and so Cyrus, as the destroyer of Babylon and the restorer of Judah, is called "the anointed of Jehovah," though he knew him not. Ben-

[141] Comp. 2 Chron. xvii. 11.

[142] B.C. 885: 2 K. viii. 16-19; 2 Chron. xxi.

[143] B.C. 885-4. He had already reigned one year, during his father's illness (2 K. ix. 29; 2 Chron. xxii. 1-4). His age, forty-two, in the latter passage, is a manifest error of a copyist. It makes him older than his father. The name Azariah, in 2 Chron. xxii. 6, is a similar error. In 2 Chron. xxi. 17 he is called Jehoahaz; but the LXX. has 'Οχοζίας=Achaziah, and the Peshito, Chaldee, and Arabic have similar forms.

[144] Probably B.C. 886 or 885: 2 K. viii. 7-15. The question whether this was the long-deferred execution of the command to Elijah (1 K. xix. 15), or a second anointing, both in the case of Hazael and Jehu, can hardly be determined. An argument for the latter view is absence of any mention of *anointing* in this part of the narrative

hadad was lying ill, when he heard of Elisha's coming; and he sent Hazael, with presents that loaded forty camels, to inquire of the man of God about his recovery. The reply was an enigma, suited not to suggest, but to unveil the treacherous thoughts of Hazael. "Tell him he *may* recover"—his illness is not mortal—"but Jehovah hath showed me that he *shall* die," said the prophet, with a look that made Hazael blush for shame. Then, with a burst of grief, the prophet foretold the cruelties that would be inflicted on God's people by Hazael, who exclaimed, "What, is thy servant a dog, that he should do these monstrous deeds?" "And yet he did them," says one of our old divines, pointing the moral lesson for all ages. Elisha replied by plainly announcing that Hazael should be king of Syria. Then followed the catastrophe, of which history gives many other examples, and which our great poet has idealized in the tragedy of Macbeth, when ambition plunges men into crime under the specious pretext of destiny. Hazael gave Benhadad the assurance that he should recover, and the next day he suffocated him with a cloth dipped in water, and usurped the kingdom.

It was probably amid the confusion of this change of dynasty that Jehoram, king of Israel, with Ahaziah as his ally, took possession of Ramoth-gilead, the scene of Ahab's death. Jehoram was wounded in a battle with the Syrians, and returned to Jezreel to be healed, and Ahaziah soon afterward went to visit him. Their absence from the army gave the opportunity for their destruction. Elisha sent one of the sons of the prophets to Ramoth-gilead to anoint Jehu, son of Jehoshaphat son of Nimshi, one of the captains of the army, to be king of Israel, according to the word of God to Elijah. Calling Jehu out of the court where the captains were assembled into an inner room, the prophet discharged his office and then fled. Jehu returned to his comrades, and, after trying to pass off the visit as a madman's freak, he told them what had happened. This was the signal for revolt. The captains spread their cloaks as a carpet of state on the top of the stairs which mount from the inner court of an Eastern house to the roof; there they placed Jehu in sight of the army, blew the trumpets, and shouted "Jehu is king." After taking precautions to prevent any one leaving Ramoth-gilead to carry the news, Jehu mounted his chariot and drove headlong to Jezreel. The approach of his party was announced by the watchman, and Joram sent out a horseman to meet them. To the question, "Is it peace?" Jehu answered, "What hast thou to do with peace? turn thee behind me!" A sec-

ond messenger was seen to follow Jehu in the same fashion. By this time they were near enough for the watchman to recognize Jehu by his furious driving, the sign of his impetuous character. Joram ordered his chariot in haste, and went forth with Ahaziah. They met Jehu at a fatal spot, the field of Naboth the Jezreelite. Jehoram, who perhaps still thought that Jehu had come with tidings from the army, again asked, "Is it peace?" "What peace," retorted Jehu, "so long as the whoredoms of thy mother Jezebel and her witchcrafts are so many?" Crying to Ahaziah, "there is treachery," Joram fled; but an arrow from Jehu's bow entered his back and came out through his heart, and he fell dead in his chariot. Then Jehu reminded Bidkar, his charioteer, how they had ridden together behind Ahab when Elijah laid upon him the burden of judgment at that spot, and bade him cast Joram's body into the plot which his father had seized by Naboth's murder, to be devoured by the dogs, while he himself rode on to Jezreel to execute vengeance upon Jezebel. Even then the spirit of the aged queen, who had defied Elijah in the hour of his triumph, did not quail. In her royal head-dress, and with painted eyebrows, she looked down from the latticed window of her palace on the city wall, and saluted Jehu with the taunt, "Had Zimri peace, who slew his lord?"[145] But she too had traitors in her palace; and, at the call of Jehu, two or three of her eunuchs dashed her down from the lattice. Her blood bespattered the city wall, and Jehu drove his chariot over her mangled corpse, which was left in the space before the city into which offal is thrown from the walls to be devoured by the dogs. It was not till Jehu had sat down to feast with his comrades that he bade some of his soldiers to "go and see after the cursed woman and bury her, for she was a king's daughter." They went, and found that the dogs had left nothing but her skull and feet, and the palms of her hands. Her fate recalled to Jehu's memory the words of Elijah concerning her, which he repeats with even greater minuteness than the original historian, so strong an impression had they made upon him.[146] Thus perished this remarkable woman, distinguished above all the other monsters of her sex for never having betrayed a feeling of remorse. Her name is used by St. John as a type of the worst form of spiritual wickedness, and after-ages have made it a proverb. There were still seventy sons of Ahab left at Samaria; and Jehu sent letters to their governors and to the

[145] Or, "Is it peace, O Zimri, slayer of his lord?" (LXX.)
[146] 2 K. ix. 30-37; comp. 1 K. xxi. 23.

elders of Samaria, ironically challenging them to set up one of the seventy for king. On their promising submission, a second letter ordered them to bring him the heads of all the seventy to Jezreel on the morrow. They were brought and piled in two heaps on each side of the gate, and when the people assembled in the morning, Jehu appealed to them, "I conspired against my master and slew him, but who slew all these?"—thus committing them to a full share in the massacre. All that remained of the family of Ahab in Jezreel were hunted down and slain, with the officers of the court and the priests. Jehu then went to reside at Samaria. At the shearing-house beside the road he met forty-two of the kinsmen of Ahaziah coming on a visit to Jezreel, in evident ignorance of these events. All were seized by his order and slain at the well of the shearing-house. Proceeding on his way, Jehu met Jehonadab, the son of Rechab, who was afterward famous as the founder of the ascetic sect of the Rechabites. After mutual assurances that their hearts were "right," Jehu invited the zealot to mount the chariot and witness *his* zeal for Jehovah. Arrived at Samaria, he finished the slaughter of the house of Ahab, and then planned with Jehonadab one crowning act of zeal to destroy the worship of Baal at a stroke. He declared that "Ahab served Baal little, but Jehu shall serve him much," and proclaimed throughout Israel a solemn assembly for Baal in the temple which Ahab had built at Samaria. The worshipers of Baal took the bait, and assembled to a man. As if to give more dignity to the festival, but in reality to mark the votaries of Baal, he had them clothed in the sacred vestments, and himself went into the temple with Jehonadab, to charge the Baalites to see that no servant of Jehovah remained to pollute the ceremony. Eighty men were stationed at the gates to prevent escape at the peril of their own lives. The sacrifices were offered, and the orgies of the feast had begun, when Jehu gave the signal to the guards, who rushed in and slew the Baalites, and cast out their bodies to the dogs and vultures. They then stormed the fortified sanctuary; they broke to pieces the great stone statue of Baal, and burned the other images, razed the temple to the ground, and assigned its site to the vilest uses. Amid all the sins of the later kings of Israel, the worship of Baal was never openly restored.

§ 17. The fate of the King of Judah is variously related. According to the account in the *Chronicles*, he fled to Samaria when Joram was killed, was found hidden there, and was brought to Jehu, who put him to death, but granted him an

honorable burial from respect to the memory of Jehoshaphat. The narrative in *Kings* certainly conveys the impression at first sight that Jehu, after mortally wounding Joram, turned to pursue the King of Judah (a step improbable in itself, and inconsistent with the rest of the same narrative), and that Ahaziah was mortally wounded at the pass of Gur, near Ibleam, and died when he reached Megiddo. This pursuit may have taken place in consequence of his being pointed out to Jehu while attempting to escape from Samaria, but we can not expect to clear up every difficulty in such brief and ancient histories. This much is clear, that his body was carried to Jerusalem and buried in the sepulchre of the kings.

One member of the house of Ahab was still left, his daughter Athaliah, the queen-mother of Judah, and the heir to her mother's fierce and dauntless spirit. By her means it seemed as if the Baal-worship, destroyed in Israel, was to be restored in Judah. On hearing of her son's death, she slew all the royal seed of Judah except Joash, the youngest son of Ahaziah, a new-born infant, who was hidden by his aunt Jehoshabeath, the daughter of Jehoram,[147] and wife of the high-priest Jehoiada. Athaliah usurped the crown for six years,[148] which may be passed over, for they are barren of events, to finish the story of the house of Ahab. She does not seem to have brought over the people to idolatry; for it was the regular order of the Temple-service that enabled the high-priest to effect the revolution by which Joash was restored.

In the seventh year Jehoiada took counsel with five "captains of hundreds," by whose means the Levites and heads of houses were assembled from all the cities of Jerusalem to swear allegiance, in the Temple, to the sole remaining scion of the house of David, a child seven years old. It was the custom on the Sabbath for the guard of priests and Levites to divide themselves into three bodies, of whom one kept the doors of the Temple, another the gate called "Sur" (or "the gate of the foundation"), while the third were on duty at the royal palace. To avoid suspicion, the last occupied their usual post, but the other two-thirds formed a close line across the court of the altar round the person of Joash, armed with spears and David's sacred shields, with orders to cut down any who should attempt to enter, while the rest of the people were in the outer court. When all was prepared, Joash was brought forward and crowned with full ceremony.

The acclamations of the people reached the ears of Athaliah,

[147] Probably by another wife than Athaliah. [148] B.C. 884-878.

who hastened to the Temple, and found the king standing by the entrance amid the princes, the trumpets blowing and the singers praising God. She rent her clothes and cried out "Treason!" But Jehoiada commanded the five captains to carry her out of the Temple, and to cut down any who tried to follow her; and they slew her at the entrance of "the horse-gate" by the royal palace. Jehoiada then renewed the covenant, as in the time of David, of the people and the king with each other and Jehovah. The Temple of Baal was razed, the idols destroyed, and his priest Mattan slain before his own altar. The service of the Temple was arranged according to the order prescribed by David. The king was brought in solemn procession from the Temple through the great gate to the royal palace, and set upon the throne of Solomon. By the death of Athaliah the last member of Ahab's house had perished: "all the people of the land rejoiced, and the city was quiet."



Israelites bringing Tribute to Shalmaneser. (Nimroud.)

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE KINGDOMS OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL—*Continued*

FROM THE DESTRUCTION OF THE HOUSE OF AHAB TO THE CAPTIVITY OF THE TEN TRIBES. B.C. 884–721.

§ 1. State of the two kingdoms—ISRAEL: Fourth Dynasty; Tenth king, *Jehu*—Mentioned on an Assyrian monument—Eleventh king, *Jehoahaz.* § 2. JUDAH: Eighth king, *Joash*—The high-priest Jehoiada—Restoration of the Temple—Apostasy—The PROPHETS—Martyrdom of Zechariah—Syrian invasion of Judah. § 3. ISRAEL: Twelfth king, *Jehoash*—Death of ELISHA. § 4. JUDAH: Ninth king, *Amaziah*—Victory over Edom—Jerusalem taken by Jehoash. § 5. ISRAEL: Thirteenth king, *Jeroboam II.*—Political revival of the kingdom—The prophet JONAH—Fourteenth king, *Zachariah*—Supposed Interregnum—The prophet HOSEA—End of Jehu's dynasty—Fifteenth king, *Shallum*—Civil War. § 6. Fifth Dynasty—Sixteenth and seventeenth kings, *Menahem* and *Pekahiah*—First invasion of Israel by Assyria under Pul—Sixth Dynasty—Eighteenth king, *Pekah*—State of Israel as described by the prophets AMOS and HOSEA. § 7. JUDAH: Tenth king, *Uzziah*—His good reign and successful wars—Profanes the Temple and dies a leper—Eleventh king, *Jotham*—His piety and prosperity. § 8. Twelfth king, *Ahaz*—War with Syria and Israel—Elath taken by Syria—Jewish captives restored by Israel—Ahaz calls in Tiglath-pileser—Destruction of the kingdom of Damascus—Captivity of the Trans-jordanic and northern tribes—Ahaz goes to Damascus—His shameless idolatries. § 9. Thirteenth king, *Hezekiah*—Reform of Religion—His great Passover—He destroys the Brazen Serpent—Defeats the Philistines—Revolts from Assyria. § 10. ISRAEL: Nineteenth and last king, *Hoshea;* the best of the kings of Israel—Symptoms of a revival—Revolts from Shalmaneser—First Assyrian invasion—Hoshea's secret league with Egypt, and imprisonment—Siege and capture of Samaria—END OF THE KINGDOM OF ISRAEL AND CAPTIVITY OF THE TEN TRIBES—Geographical extent of the Captivity—Subsequent history of the captives—New colonization of Samaria.

§ 1. THE fair promise of a new reign of religion in both kingdoms was soon overcast. The zeal of which Jehu so loudly boasted, and which led him through such seas of blood, was too hot to last, and the character of Joash was yet to be formed. Turning first to Israel, JEHU, the tenth king, reigned twenty-eight years,[1] and founded the fourth dynasty, which consisted of five kings, but lasted a much longer time than Omri's, namely, 111 years.[2] This prolongation of his dynasty was expressly granted as the reward of his zeal against the house of Ahab. Nor was this all. Under the house of Jehu, Israel became almost as great as she had been immediately after the disruption. Jehoash, the grandson of Jehu, entered Jerusalem as a conqueror. He also drove back the Syrians, and his son Jeroboam II. recovered the eastern frontier from Hamath to the Dead Sea. Jehu, however, became heedless of God's law, and declined into the sins and idolatry of Jeroboam. From his reign began the loss of those territories which had been first occupied in the conquest of the land. "Jehovah began to cut Israel short." Hazael overran the whole land of the two and a half tribes, in Gilead and Bashan, east of the Jordan, as far south as the Arnon. Such are the few brief records of Jehu's long reign. He died and was buried at Samaria, and was succeeded by his son Jehoahaz.[3]

In Jehu's reign we are brought into contact for the first time, at least since the mention of Chedorlaomer and his allies, with the great monarchies of Western Asia. We possess in the British Museum an obelisk of black basalt, brought by Mr. Layard from Nimroud, which was set up by SHALMANESER I., king of Assyria, to commemorate his victories. It appears that, while Benhadad II. and Hazael were warring against Israel, they had to sustain a conflict with Assyria; and among the tributaries to Shalmaneser appears the name of "Jehu (or Yahua), the son of Khumri" (Omri). The erroneous patronymic is accounted for by Omri's being regarded as the founder of the kingdom of Samaria, the name of the city itself appearing on the obelisk in the form "Beth-khumri" (*house of Omri.*)[4]

JEHOAHAZ,[5] the eleventh king of Israel, and the second of the house of Jehu, succeeded his father in the twenty-third

[1] B.C. 884–856: 1 K. x. 36.

[2] B.C. 884–773. Omri's dynasty of four kings lasted forty-two years.

[3] 2 K. x. 29-36.

[4] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 643; Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 465; Dr. Hinck's *Translation of the Inscriptions*, in the "Dublin University Magazine," Oct. 1853.

[5] Properly *Jehoachaz*, "Possession of Jehovah," or "Jehovah is the owner."

year of Joash, king of Judah, and reigned seventeen years in Samaria.[6] He followed the sins of Jeroboam, and suffered from constant and unsuccessful wars with the kings of Syria, Hazael and his son Benhadad III. So low was Israel reduced that Jehoahaz was only suffered to maintain a force of fifty horsemen, ten chariots, and 10,000 foot. "The King of Syria had destroyed them, and had made them like the dust by threshing."[7] Still God did not withdraw all his compassion from them, for the sake of his covenant with Abraham; and in answer to the prayers of Jehoahaz, He raised up deliverers for them in this king's son and grandson, Jehoash and Jeroboam II.[8] Jehoash seems to have reigned two years in conjunction with his father.[9] The death of Jehoahaz was simultaneous with that of Joash, king of Judah, and very little before that of Hazael, king of Damascus.

§ 2. JOASH (abbreviated from JEHOASH),[10] the eighth king of Judah, was the youngest son of Ahaziah, the sixth king, and of Zibiah, of Beersheba. In the year B.C. 884 he was left apparently the sole survivor of the stem of David, lopped as it had been by repeated massacres. Jehoshaphat's sons were all slain by their eldest brother Jehoram. All Jehoram's sons were killed by the invading Philistines and Arabians except Ahaziah. Ahaziah's collateral kindred were put to death by Jehu, and his sons were all massacred by their grandmother Athaliah except Joash, whose escape and elevation to the kingdom we have already related.[11] He was proclaimed in the seventh year of Jehu, being himself seven years old, and he reigned forty years at Jerusalem.[12] For the first twenty-three years and more he kept his piety, and enjoyed high prosperity, under the guidance of his early guardian, the high-priest Jehoiada. His reign began, as we have seen, with the destruction of the idols, and the renewal of the covenant of Jehovah, but the people still worshiped in the high places.[13] In conjunction with Jehoiada, Joash undertook the reparation of the Temple, which had not only been plundered of its vessels for the service of Baal, but injured in its fabric, during the reign of Athaliah. The king's zeal was not satisfied with the progress made by Jehoiada and the priests in using the free contributions of the people,

[6] B.C. 856–839.

[7] 2 K. xiii. 1–7, 22; comp. Amos i. 3.

[8] 2 K. xiii. 5, 22–24, xiv. 25, 27.

[9] B.C. 841–839.

[10] "Fire, or sacrifice, of Jehovah." The abbreviated form is used in *Chronicles;* and we keep it as a convenient distinction from Jehoash, king of Israel.

[11] Chap. xxiii. § 15.

[12] B.C. 878–839; 2 K. xii. 1; 2 Chron. xxiv. 1.

[13] 2 K. xii. 2, 3.

and there seems even to be a charge of peculation against the Levites. So the king constructed the first "money-box" in the well-known form of a chest with a hole in the lid, which was placed at the gate of the Temple for offerings, and each day its contents were counted by the king's officers and handed over at once to the artificers. This was done in the twenty-third year of Joash: the repairs of the Temple were soon finished, and there was enough money left to provide vessels for the service of the sanctuary. The money brought for trespass and sin offerings belonged to the priests.[14]

The order of the Temple-service was maintained during the life of Jehoiada, the high-priest, who died at the age of 130, and was buried among the kings, for his services to the house of God.[15] A most unhappy change ensued. The princes of Judah, who had doubtless been jealous of the high-priest's unbounded influence, seem to have persuaded the king that it was time to be his own master; and the first use that he and they made of this new liberty was to neglect the house of Jehovah, and to serve groves and idols.[16] But not without warning and remonstrance. At this point of the history occurs that remarkable passage which introduces the line of prophets whose writings remain to us, and who began to appear about this time, Elisha being still alive:—"Yet He sent prophets unto them, to bring them again unto Jehovah; and they testified against them: but they would not give ear."[17] Nay more, by adding to their sins the blood of the martyr whom Christ names with "righteous Abel"—both victims to the passion that knows the truth and hates it—they made themselves a type of the generation that slew the

[14] 2 K. xii. 4–16; 2 Chron. xxiv. 4–14.

[15] 2 Chron. xxiv. 15, 16. The common chronology places his death at B.C. 850, and, as the subsequent events show, it must have been some time before 841 or 840, when Hazael died. This would make him about ninety-five at the time of the insurrection against Athaliah. Those who consider this incredible have suggested emendations which reduce the number to 103 or even eighty-three (Lord Arthur Hervey, *Genealogies of our Lord*, p, 304; and *Dict. of Bible*, art. *Jehoiada*).

[16] 2 Chron. xxiv. 17, 18.

[17] 2 Chron. xxiv. 19. JONAH was probably the earliest of the extant prophets; but there is great uncertainty as to the King of Nineveh to whom he was sent. Some suppose it was Adrammelech II. (about B.C. 840), others Pul, as late as B.C. 750. But he certainly prophesied under or before Jeroboam II., B.C. 825-784 (1 Kings xiv. 25). JOEL, who prophesied in Judah, has been placed as early as the reign of Joash; but the majority of critics place him under Uzziah.

Lord. The Spirit of Jehovah came upon Zechariah the son of Jehoiada, and probably high-priest, who told them that they could not prosper, because they had forsaken God; and even in the court of the sanctuary, which they were perhaps attempting to profane by a sacrifice to Baal, they stoned him to death, by the king's order, between the Temple and the altar. This was the very space within which Joash had been guarded by Jehoiada and his line of Levites; and the narrative lays stress on the king's ingratitude to the son of the man who had saved his life. The dying cry of Zechariah, "Jehovah look upon it, and require it," never ceases to echo through the annals of the Jews, till they "filled up the measure of their fathers" by invoking the guilt of Christ's blood upon their heads. Meanwhile it found an immediate response in the calamities of the last years of Joash.[18]

Hazael, the king of Syria, had overrun the trans-jordanic provinces of Israel during the disastrous reign of Jehoahaz, which began about the time that Joash finished the restoration of the Temple, and was now drawing to a close. After a campaign against the Philistines, Hazael marched toward Jerusalem. His small force defeated the whole host of Judah; and the princes, who had seduced Joash into idolatry, were either killed in the battle or given up to Hazael and put to death, as the ransom of the people from massacre. Jerusalem itself was only saved from the horrors of a sack by the surrender of all the consecrated vessels and treasures both of the Temple and the king's palace. Thus, within a year of the murder of Zechariah, "they executed judgment upon Joash."[19] Scarcely had the Syrians retired, leaving Joash grievously ill in the fortress of Millo, whether from a wound or from vexation (for the cause is not stated), than he was slain in his bed by two of his servants, of Ammonite and Moabite extraction, at the age of forty-seven. Thus ended a reign that had promised to restore the purity of David's kingdom. Joash was buried with his fathers in the city of David, and was succeeded by his son Amaziah. He died in the same year as Jehoahaz, king of Israel.[20]

And now it seemed as if God had sufficiently punished the personal faults of the first kings of both the restored monarchies; for a new era of prosperity began for Israel and Judah

[18] 2 Chron. xxiv. 20–22; Matt. xxiii. 32, 35, where the words "son of Barachias" are a manifest interpolation, from a confusion with the prophet Zechariah, the son of Berechiah.

[19] About B.C. 840; 2 K. xii. 17, 18; 2 Chron. xxiv. 23, 24.

[20] B.C. 839; 2 K. xii. 19–21; 2 Chron. xxiv. 25–27.

under Jehoash and Amaziah, the histories of whose reigns are closely interwoven.

§ 3. JEHOASH (or JOASH),[21] the twelfth king of Israel, and the third of the line of Jehu, began to reign, in conjunction with his father Jehoahaz in the thirty-seventh year of Joash, king of Judah (B.C. 841), and alone two years later (B.C. 839); his entire reign lasted sixteen years.[22] There is an apparent discrepancy between his character and his actions. It would seem as if the calf-worship of Jeroboam had become so inveterate in Israel that a king who practiced it might yet be chosen as a deliverer from foreign oppression if he did not serve Baal; or it may be that God willed to give Israel a final opportunity of restoration, irrespective of the character of the king, "and would not destroy them, neither cast he them from his presence *as yet*."[23] We find Jehoash received with favor when he visited Elisha upon his death-bed, and he mourned over him in his own words when he lost Elijah, "O my father! my father! the chariot of Israel, and the horsemen thereof!" The prophet assured him of victory over the Syrians by significant actions. He bade him shoot an arrow from the open window toward Syria, and himself laid his hands with the king's upon the bow, as if to give divine power to the shot, which he called "the arrow of Jehovah's deliverance from the Syrians," who were to be smitten in Aphek. Then he bade the king strike the ground with the arrows. The three strokes signified three victories; and the prophet was angry with the king for not striking five or six times, as he would then have consumed them utterly. The whole was a parable of the co-operation of human effort with the divine counsels. It was fulfilled by three great victories which Jehoash gained over Benhadad III., the son of Hazael, and by which he recovered the cities which Hazael had taken from his father. Meanwhile ELISHA died, and a last miracle was wrought by his remains. A man was about to be buried in the same rock in which the prophet's sepulchre was hewn, when the bearers were alarmed by the approach of one of the predatory bands of Moabites that now infested Israel. They thrust the body hastily into the first open tomb in the face of the rock. It was that of Elisha, and upon touching his remains, the dead man came to life and stood upon his feet. All these events happened in the early years of Jehoash. The other great event of his reign was the conquest of Jerusalem which is related under the reign of Amaziah.

[21] See note to § 2 (B.C. 841–825).

[22] 2 K. xiii. 10; comp. xii. 1, xiv. 1.

[23] 2 K. xiii. 23; comp. ver. 5, and xiv. 27.

He died, and was buried in the royal sepulchre at Samaria, and was succeeded by his son Jeroboam II., the greatest king of Israel.[24]

§ 4. Amaziah, the ninth king of Judah, was twenty-five years old when he succeeded his father Joash, in the second year of Jehoash, king of Israel, and he reigned twenty-nine years at Jerusalem.[25] His mother was Jehoaddan of Jerusalem. His was a mixed character, like his father's:—"He did that which was right in the sight of Jehovah, but not with a perfect heart"—"not like David his father;" and the people still sacrificed in the high places.[26] He put his father's murderers to death, but spared their children, in obedience to the law of Moses—an act of clemency which is recorded probably because it was then unusual.[27] He prepared a great expedition for the recovery of Edom, which had revolted from Jehoram. To the whole force of Judah and Benjamin, numbering 300,000 warriors of twenty years old and upward, he added 100,000 picked men of Israel, whom he hired for 100 talents of silver. But, at the command of a prophet, he dismissed these mercenaries, who returned in anger, and sacked several of the cities of Judah. Meanwhile Amaziah advanced into the "Valley of Salt" (the Ghor), south of the Dead Sea, and there defeated the Edomites, with the slaughter of 10,000 men. Ten thousand more were dashed to pieces from the rocks of Sela (Petra), the Idumæan capital, which Amaziah took, and called Joktheel (*Possession of God.*) To assert the more strikingly his dominion over the country, Amaziah sacrificed to the idols of Mount Seir; and he silenced the reproof of a prophet with threats and with the taunt, "Art thou made of the king's counsel?" "I know," rejoined the prophet, "that God hath determined to destroy thee;" and misfortune filled up the rest of Amaziah's reign. Whether urged on by arrogance, or provoked by the conduct of the disbanded mercenaries, he sent a challenge to the King of Israel. Jehoash replied by a parable:—"A thistle in Mount Lebanon demanded the daughter of the cedar in marriage; but a wild beast that was passing by trod on the thistle and crushed it: let not the King of Judah boast because he had smitten Edom, but stay quietly at home, lest he and Judah should perish together." Amaziah persisted, and the armies met at Beth-shemesh. Judah was utterly defeated, and Amaziah taken prisoner. Jehoash led him in tri-

[24] 2 K. xiii. 10-28.

[25] B.C. 839-810: 2 K. xiv. 1, 2; 2 Chron. xxv. 1.

[26] 2 K. xiv. 3, 4; 2 Chron. xxv. 2.

[27] 2 K. xiv. 5, 6; 2 Chron. xxv. 1-4.

umph to Jerusalem, the north wall of which he broke down from the gate of Ephraim to the corner gate, a space of 400 cubits; and having taken all the treasures of the Temple and the palace, besides hostages, he returned to Samaria,[28] where he died not long after. Amaziah survived Jehoash fifteen years, seemingly of continued declension, till his government became so hateful that he had to fly for his life from a conspiracy formed against him at Jerusalem. He was overtaken and killed at Lachish. His body was borne back by horses to Jerusalem, and buried with the kings. He was succeeded by his son Uzziah (misnamed Azariah).[29]

§ 5. Jeroboam II., the thirteenth king of Israel, and the fourth of the house of Jehu, succeeded his father Jehoash in the fifteenth year of Amaziah, and reigned forty-one years at Samaria.[30] His reign is by far the most prosperous in the annals of Israel. To him even more than to his father is the statement applied that, in Israel's decline, God gave them a saviour, in remembrance of His covenant with their fathers; though he also followed the sins of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat. He not only recovered from Syria the whole district east of the Jordan from Hamath to the Dead Sea, and reconquered Ammon and Moab, but he attacked Damascus itself; and if he did not actually take the city, he regained a large part of its territory for Israel.[31] The apparent ease of these conquests may be explained by the sufferings of Syria from the constant attacks of the great Assyrian Empire, now at the height of its power. The same prophet who had predicted the recovery of the cities of Gilead and Bashan from Syria, Jonah, the son of Amittai, of Gath-hepher,[32] was sent by God to the great city of Nineveh. There is no more striking proof of the moral grandeur of the religion of Jehovah than this mission of a solitary prophet from the petty kingdom of Israel to warn the great monarch of Western Asia that he and his city should perish unless they repented before God. The brevity of the narrative leaves us in doubt whether the repentance required had respect to the vices which corrupt a great and luxurious city, or to some specific evil. We can hardly suppose that it was the idolatry, which had long been a part of their national customs, and which was certainly not abandoned in consequence of Jonah's preaching, that incurred the threat of immediate destruction of this particular time. Looking at the recent inroads of Assyria upon Syria, nothing

[28] About B.C. 826: 2 K. xiv. 8–14; 2 Chron. xxv. 17–24.

[29] 2 K. xiv. 17–21; 2 Chron. xxv. 25–28.

[30] B.C. 825–784: 2 K. xiv. 23.

[31] 2 K. xiv. 23–29.

[32] 2 K. xiv. 25.

seems more probable than that Israel would be next attacked; and having regard to the repeated statements of God's forbearance with Israel at this crisis, when "Jehovah said not that he would blot out the name of Israel from under heaven"[33]—"He would not destroy them, neither cast he them from His presence as yet"—the mission of Jonah might well be to bid the King of Assyria desist from such an enterprise. In its moral aspect it would then be analogous to the mission of Moses to Pharoah—"Touch not mine anointed, and do my people no harm;" and the repentance of the King of Assyria would be, not a religious reformation, of which history gives no evidence, but the abandonment of a purpose which displeased a divinity whom he had learned to reverence, whether as the supreme deity or as the God of Israel: in one word, he yielded on the very point on which Pharoah hardened his heart and said, "I know not Jehovah." This view strengthens, instead of weakening, the deeper meaning of the transaction, as pointed by our Saviour:—"The men of Nineveh repented at the preaching of Jonas:"—though they were heathens, and only saw in him the messenger of an "unknown God," they believed his word, and yielded to his demands as God's:—"but a greater than Jonas is here:" you, as Jews, know me to be the Messiah spoken of by the prophets, and yet you resist God in resisting me!

As to the motive of Jonah's reluctance to undertake the mission, and his disappointment at its result, which some have ascribed to his jealousy of Nineveh as a future enemy to Israel, surely that would have spurred his zeal to denounce her destruction, so that the two parts of the explanation hardly cohere. The popular view seems truer that his feelings were personal in both cases: in the first, "the fear of man;" in the second, displeasure at his prediction having seemed to fail, as is clearly implied by himself.[34] The story itself, as recorded in the short book which bears the prophet's name, is too familiar to need repeating. The narrative is simple and consistent: its truth is endorsed by the express testimony of our Saviour;[35] and the objections simply resolve themselves into a disbelief in miracles at all. One needless difficulty has been raised by the use of the word "whale" in our version of the New Testament in place of the "great fish," as it is correctly given in the old;[36] and then the climate of the Mediterranean and the anatomy of the

[33] 2 K. xiii. 23, xiv. 27.
[34] Jonah iv. 1-3.
[35] Matt. xii. 39-41, xvi. 4; Luke xi. 29-32.
[36] Jonah i. 17; Matt. xii. 40.

whale are triumphantly appealed to in disproof of the whole story. But idolatry itself bears witness in the worship of Dagon to the fact, which naturalists have proved, that there are sharks in the Mediterranean quite capable of swallowing a man whole. On the other hand, we find incidental allusions which no impostor would have dared to insert. The prophet's three days' journey through the city[37] is not only now known to be consistent with the vast area covered by the scattered houses and gardens of the great cities of the East, but has been confirmed by the space over which the remains of Nineveh extend; and the vast population implied by its 600,000 persons of tender years[38] has several parallels both in ancient and modern Asia. The prophetic character of the book, though its form is narrative, is seen in the use made of it by our Lord, as an example of repentance in a heathen nation, and a sign of His own three days' abode in the earth. Nay, "the sign of the prophet Jonas" must have been, even without an interpretation, a striking emblem of the resurrection, the doctrine of which is clearly implied in one passage of Jonah's "prayer to God out of the fish's belly:"—"The earth with her bars was about me forever: yet hast thou brought up my life from corruption, O Jehovah, my God."[39]

Jeroboam II. died in B.C. 784, and was buried with the kings of Israel, and we are told, according to the usual formula, that "ZACHARIAH his son reigned in his stead"[40]—the fourteenth king of Israel, and the fifth and last of the dynasty of Jehu. But a little further on it is said that Zachariah began to reign in the thirty-eighth year of Azariah (Uzziah), and reigned six months in Samaria.[41] Since the forty-one years of Jeroboam expire in the twenty-seventh year of Uzziah, there must either have been, as Ussher supposes, an interregnum of eleven years, or there must be some error in the numbers. An interregnum is scarcely credible during the lifetime of a king of whose exile and captivity we hear nothing; and the first text seems clearly to imply Zachariah's immediate succession to his father. The other explanation involves the correction of the numbers in the second text by reading twenty-eight for thirty-eight, and ten years and six months for six months; or else the prolongation of Jeroboam's reign for ten years and six months, in which case the forty-one years of his reign will not require alteration, for Zachariah may have been associated with him at the end of the forty-one years, in B.C. 784, while his separate reign of

[37] Jonah iii. 3. [38] Jonah iv. 11. [39] Jonah ii. 6.
[40] 2 K. xiv. 29. [41] 2 K. xv. 8.

six months would fall in B.C. 773. This view is supported by, and tends to remove a difficulty from, the title of the prophecies of HOSEA, which places the prophet "in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah, and in the days of *Jeroboam*, the son of Joash, king of Israel." Now from the *last* year of Jeroboam (B.C. 784) to the *first* of Hezekiah (B.C. 726) is close upon sixty years, and if we add at each end a sufficient time to make the prophet flourish under each of these kings, the result is hardly credible; but the addition of ten or eleven years to Jeroboam's reign brings it within the compass of probability, and accounts for the omission of Zachariah's name.

Of Zachariah himself we are only told that he walked, like his fathers, in the sins of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat. He died the victim to a conspiracy by Shallum, the son of Jabesh, who usurped the crown in the thirty-ninth year of Uzziah.[42] Thus ended the dynasty of Jehu, having lasted 111 years; and the promise was fulfilled, that his descendants should reign to the fourth generation; and so also was the prophecy of Amos against Jeroboam. A civil war now ensued, as in the time of Omri.

SHALLUM, the fifteenth king of Israel, had enjoyed his usurpation only a month when he was overthrown and killed, like Zimri, by another competitor, Menahem, the son of Gadi, who marched from Tirzah and took Samaria. It seems probable that, like Omri, Menahem was a general of the murdered king. Another incident of the civil war was the sack of Tiphsah, a city which refused to open its gates to Menahem, with the most horrid cruelties of war.[43]

§ 6. MENAHEM, the sixteenth king of Israel, and his son PEKAHIAH, the seventeenth king, compose the fifth dynasty, which lasted only twelve years. Of these, Menahem began to reign in the thirty-ninth year of Uzziah, and reigned ten years,[44] with the character which now becomes a formula, "He departed not all his days from the sins of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat."[45] The great point of interest in his reign is the first direct attack upon Israel by the Assyrians—a presage of the catastrophe which was finished fifty years later. The steps of the process have often been repeated in history. The first danger is averted by a bribe, which only serves as a temptation to new aggression. Each new attack leaves the

[42] B.C. 772: 2 K. xv. 8-12.

[43] 2 K. xv. 13-16. If this be Thapsacus on the Euphrates, the conquests of Jehoash in the north-east must have been kept by his successors. But the context rather points to some unknown place near Tirzah.

[44] B.C. 772-761. [45] 2 K. xv. 17, 18.

doomed state weaker and weaker, till it is reduced to tribute; and at last a despairing effort to shake off the yoke brings down destruction. The King of Assyria who began the attack on Israel under Menahem is named PUL, and is the first Assyrian king mentioned in Scripture.[46] But there are indications that this was not the first contact between Assyria and the kingdoms of Palestine. We have seen that Jehu appears as a tributary on the black obelisk of Shalmaneser I., and it would seem that Menahem had neglected to apply to the King of Assyria for the usual "confirmation of his kingdom."[47] Menahem submitted, and paid Pul 1000 talents of silver, as the price of his confirmation, which he exacted by a forced contribution of fifty shekels apiece from the rich men of Israel.[48] The name of the king, who is supposed to correspond to Pul, is read on the Assyrian monuments (though very doubtfully) as Vul-lush or Iva-lush. He reigned at Calah (*Nimrud*) from about B.C. 800 to B.C. 750; warred against Syria, and took Damascus; received tribute from the Medes, Armenians, Phœnicians, *Samaritans*,[49] Damascenes, Philistines, and Edomites; and was the last of the older dynasty of Assyrian kings. His successor, Tiglath-pileser, was a usurper. Menahem's name appears on an obelisk of the latter, perhaps by mistake.[50]

PEKAHIAH, the son of Menahem, was killed, after a reign of only two years,[51] by PEKAH, the son of Remaliah, and the eighteenth king of Israel, whose reign of twenty years[52] is closely interwoven with the history of Judah. His league with Rezin, king of Syria, against Judah, and the consequent destruction of the kingdom of Damascus, and captivity of a large part of Israel, are related under the reign of Ahaz (§ 8). He was put to death by Hoshea, who succeeded him as the last king of Israel (§ 10).

To this period of Jeroboam II. and his successors belong the prophets AMOS and HOSEA, whose writings aid us in filling up the brief narrative of *Kings* by the light they throw on the internal condition of the state, the prevalence of idolatry, the maintenance of "the king's sanctuary" at Bethel

[46] 2 K. xv. 19, 20; LXX. Φαλώχ or Φαλώς.

[47] This is Mr. Rawlinson's inference from 2 K. xv. 19; and he also infers from the similar phrase in 2 K. xiv. 5, that Amaziah stood in the like relation to Assyria. It is highly probable that both kingdoms would league with Assyria against Syria.

[48] 2 K. xv. 17–22.

[49] They appear under the name of Beth-Khumri (*House of Omri*).

[50] Rawlinson, in *Bib. Dict.* art. *Pul*, and *Bampton Lectures* for 1859, p 133.

[51] B.C. 761–759: 2 K. xv. 23–26.

[52] B.C. 759–739; 2 K. 27–31

under its priest Amaziah, who tried to silence Amos, and the almost universal drunkenness, licentiousness, and oppression.

AMOS prophesied the judgments of God upon the surrounding nations, and upon Israel itself; and, in particular, the destruction of the house of Jeroboam by the sword, and the captivity of the people. Amaziah accused him of conspiring against Jeroboam, and bade him to betake himself to Judah, his native country; but he did not shrink from predicting the full restoration of the house of David, while he promised the ultimate return of Israel from captivity, and their final establishment in their land. His probable date is about the middle of Jeroboam's reign.[53]

The prophecies of HOSEA are addressed almost equally to Israel and Judah, whose dissensions are deeply deplored, their captivity foretold, and their final restoration promised. With respect to Israel, we are especially struck by the same tone of affectionate, nay, agonizing forbearance, which we have had occasion to notice repeatedly in the sacred narrative of the period. Like a father in the last struggle of nature against necessity, Jehovah dwells upon the good points in the character of Ephraim, the heir of Jacob's favorite son, before He will consent to cast him off as incorrigible, and the same spirit is shown to Judah:—"O Ephraim, what shall I do unto thee? O Judah, what shall I do unto thee? for your goodness is as a morning cloud, and as the early dew it goeth away."[54] "How shall I give thee up, Ephraim? how shall I deliver thee, Israel? How shall I make thee as Admah? how shall I set thee as Zeboim?[55] Mine heart is turned within me; my repentings are kindled together."

§ 7. UZZIAH, the tenth king of Judah, was set on the throne by the people, after the murder of his father Amaziah, in the twenty-seventh year of Jeroboam II. He was then sixteen years old, and reigned for the long period of fifty-two years. His mother was Jecholiah of Jerusalem.[56] He was contemporary with nearly half the reign of Jeroboam II., with Zachariah, Shallum, Menahem, and Pekahiah, and the last year of his reign was the first of Pekah's. He was one of the ablest of the kings of Judah, serving Jehovah and enjoying unbroken prosperity, till he profaned the Temple, though still the high places were not removed. Like his grandfather Jo-

[53] *Dict. of the Bible*, s.v.

[54] Hosea vi. 4.

[55] Cities of the plain destroyed with Sodom and Gomorrha (Hosea xi. 8, 9).

[56] B.C. 810–758: 2 Chron. xxvi. 1–3; 2 K. xiv. 21, xv. 1, 2. The name given to him in Kings, *Azariah*, arises probably from a confusion with the high-priest Azariah (2 Chron. xxvi. 17).

ash in relation to Jehoiada, he was at first under the influence of Zechariah, a prophet "who had understanding in the visions of God."[57] He began his reign by recovering and rebuilding Eloth (Ælana: *Akabah*), the old port of Solomon and Jehoshaphat, at the eastern head of the Red Sea.[58] His successful wars restored Judah nearly to the power she had possessed under the latter king. He received tribute from Ammon, and subdued the Philistines, razing the fortifications of Gath and Ashdod, and building fortresses throughout their country. The Arabs of the southern desert, whom we have seen, with the Philistines, first as tributaries and then as enemies of Judah, were reduced to the former condition. Towers were built and wells were dug, both in the maritime plain (*Shefelah*) and the Idumæan desert (*Arabah*), for the king's numerous flocks: and he had husbandmen and vine-dressers in the plains about Carmel (in the south) and in the mountains. While thus improving the resources of his country, Uzziah made preparations for its defense, whether against Israel, Syria, or Assyria. He repaired the wall of Jerusalem, which had been broken down after his father's defeat by Jehoash, building towers at the corner gate, and the valley gate, and the angle of the wall. He armed the fortifications with newly-invented military engines, the first of which we read in Jewish history, like the balista and catapult, for shooting arrows and great stones. He kept on foot an army of 307,500 men "that made war with mighty power," under 2600 captains, "the chief of the fathers of the mighty men of valor," with Hananiah as commander-in-chief. They went forth to war by bands, the roll of which was kept by the king's scribe, Jeiel, and the ruler of his house, Maaseiah. By the care of Uzziah, all the soldiers were armed with spears and shields, helmets and coats of mail, bows and slings. "And his name spread far abroad, for he was marvelously helped, till he was strong."[59] But, deprived probably of the counsel of Zechariah, he could not bear his prosperity. In his arrogance, he claimed the functions of the priests; not those which we have seen always exercised by judges and kings, of offering burnt sacrifices, but those which belonged exclusively to the sons of Aaron. He entered into the Holy Place to burn incense on the golden altar. He was followed by the high-priest Azariah, with eighty of the most

[57] 2 Chron. xxvi. 4, 5. This Zechariah must of course not be confounded with the priest martyred under Joash, nor with the prophet whose book is extant, and who prophesied after the Captivity.

[58] 2 K. xiv. 22; 2 Chron. xxvi. 2.

[59] 2 Chron. xxvi. 1–15.

courageous of the priests, prepared to resist the profanation by force. The high-priest reproved the king with all the boldness of his office, and warned him to leave the sanctuary, predicting that dishonor would befall him. What reply or deed Uzziah meditated in his rage, we are not told; but as he stood, censer in hand, there rose with the flush of anger to his forehead the spot of leprosy, the sign of his exclusion even from the court of the house of God. When the priests saw it they thrust him out; nay, he himself was so struck with the judgment that he hastened from the sanctuary. He remained a leper to the day of his death, secluded in a separate house, according to the directions of the law, while the government was committed to his son, Jotham. When he died, he was not received into the sepulchre of the kings, but buried in a field attached to it.[60] His life was written by the prophet Isaiah, as well as in the Chronicles of Judah.

JOTHAM, the eleventh king of Judah, was twenty-five years old when he succeeded his father Uzziah, in the second year of Pekah, king of Israel, and he reigned sixteen years at Jerusalem,[61] having been previously regent about seven years. His mother was Jerushah, the daughter of Zadok. He was one of the most pious and most prosperous of the kings; but the people grew more and more corrupt. He carried on his father's works, both in peace and war. He built the high gate of the Temple, and the tower called Ophel on the city wall, fortified cities in the mountains of Judah, and castles and towers in the forests. War was renewed with the Beni-ammi, who were compelled to pay him an annual tribute of 100 talents of silver, 10,000 measures of wheat, and 10,000 of barley. "So he became mighty, and established his ways before Jehovah his God." Toward the close of his reign, Rezin, king of Damascus, began, in alliance with Pekah, king of Israel, those attacks on Judah, which proved so disastrous under Jotham's weak successor Ahaz.[62]

§ 8. AHAZ, the twelfth king of Judah, succeeded his father in the seventeenth year of Pekah, king of Israel, and reigned sixteen years at Jerusalem.[63] He departed entirely from the virtues of the last three kings, and plunged into all the idolatries of the surrounding nations, making molten images for

[60] 2 K. xv. 5-7; 2 Chron. xxvi. 16-25. The date of Uzziah's leprosy is placed by Ussher about B.C. 765.

[61] B.C. 758-742.

[62] 2 K. xv. 32-37; 2 Chron. xxvii.

[63] B.C. 742-726: 2 K. xvi. 1, 2; 2 Chron. xxviii. 1. His age is given as twenty, which must be wrong, as it would make Hezekiah only eleven years younger than his father. But twenty-five is found in one Hebrew MS., and in the LXX., the Peshito, and Arabic versions of 2 Chron. xxviii. 1.

Baal, and sacrificing his children to Moloch in the valley of Hinnom, besides offering sacrifice in the high places, on every hill, and under every green tree. His punishment quickly followed. The war already begun by Pekah and Rezin was vigorously prosecuted, with a view to set on the throne of Judah a creature of their own, the son of Tabeal.[64] The order of the events that followed is obscure. Ussher supposes two campaigns, in the first of which the invaders were repelled, while in the second they were more successful. But it is not likely that they could lay siege to Jerusalem before they had forced the strongholds built by Uzziah and Jotham, and the story of the war in Isaiah seems to refer to only one series of events. It was therefore most probably on the march to Jerusalem that the allies defeated Judah, with the slaughter of 120,000 men, in a great battle, in which a champion of Ephraim, named Zichri, slew Maaseiah, the king's son, and two of his chief officers; and on their retreat they carried off 200,000 women and children from the cities which were now left undefended.

Their attack upon Jerusalem itself was unsuccessful, chiefly in consequence of the spirit infused into the people by ISAIAH. To this epoch belongs the celebrated prophecy in which the birth of the child IMMANUEL, whose very name expressed the devout confidence, "*God is with us*," was a sign of the speedy overthrow of both the hostile kings by Assyria. A second sign was given by the birth of a child who received the significant name of Maher-shalal-hash-baz, "Make speed to the spoil! hasten to the prey!" And, in that exalted style of pregnant meaning, which has given Isaiah the name of "the evangelic prophet," these passing wars are dignified by the most glowing prophecies of the Messiah's kingdom.[65]

It is a melancholy comment upon some of the grandest passages of Scripture that they seem to have made no lasting impression on the king to whom they were delivered. His persistence in sin insured the continuance of God's judgments. It would seem that Pekah and Rezin retired from Jerusalem by different routes. While the latter took from Judah the lately recovered part of Elath and gave it to the Edomites, the former returned toward Samaria with his miserable captives. The dying glory of Israel burns up with an expiring flame in the deed of mercy that followed. The prophet ODED went out to meet the army, reproved them

[64] Is. vii. 6   [65] Is. vii. foll.

for their purpose of enslaving the children of their brethren, and commanded them to restore the captives. The appeal touched the heart of the princes of the people, and they refused to let the prisoners be brought within their borders. The soldiers left them in their hands, and arrangements were at once made for their relief. They were fed and anointed, clothed and shod from the booty, the feeble were placed on asses, and so they were conducted to Jericho and delivered to their brethren.[66]

The retreat of Pekah and Rezin gave Ahaz no permanent relief. In the words of Isaiah, God had raised up against him the Syrians in front (the East), and the Philistines behind (the West). They overran the whole maritime plain (*Shefelah*) and the highlands that border it, taking Beth-shemesh, Ajalon, and other cities. The Edomites, set free by the Syrians, invaded Judah and carried off many captives, while the Syrians and Israelites threatened to return. Ahaz now applied for help to TIGLATH-PILESER, king of Assyria, against Syria and Israel; declaring himself his vassal, and sending him all the treasures that were left in the Temple, the royal palace, and the houses of the princes. The "Tiger Lord of Asshur" marched first against Damascus, which he took, killing Rezin, and transporting the inhabitants to Kir, as Amos had foretold.[67] Thus ended the great Syrian kingdom of Damascus, after a duration of about 235 years. Israel was stripped of the whole country east of the Jordan, and the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh at length reaped the fruit of their hasty desire to have the first settlement in the land by being the first who were carried into captivity. Their fate was shared by their brethren in Galilee, but the captivity of these northern tribes was only partial.[68] Ahaz gained little by the intervention of his too powerful ally, who, says the narrative, "helped him not." He went to meet the Assyrian king at Damascus: we know not what hard conditions were imposed upon him, but we are told that "in the time of his distress he trespassed yet more against Jehovah;" for he saw at Damascus an altar which incited him

> "God's altar to disparage, and displace
> For one of Syrian mould, whereon to burn
> His odious offerings, and adore the gods
> Whom he had vanquished."

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[66] 2 Chron. xxviii. 6–15.

[67] About B.C. 74: 2 K. xvi. 7–9; 2 Chron. xxviii. 16–22; Amos i 4, 5.

[68] 2 K. xv. 29: see below.

He sent its pattern to Jerusalem, where Urijah the high-priest prepared an altar of the same form against the king's return from Damascus, when, with a profanity on which Athaliah even had not ventured, Ahaz put it in the place of the brazen altar, and commanded Urijah to offer on it all the burnt-offerings and other sacrifices. Superstition led him, however, to preserve the brazen altar for oracular uses, and he placed it on the north of his great altar. The great brass sea of Solomon was dismounted from its supporting oxen, and the lavers from their bases, which were sent to the King of Assyria, together with the coverings which had been built for the king's entry to the house and for the shelter of the worshipers on the Sabbath. The golden vessels of the house of God were cut in pieces and sent with the rest, and the sanctuary itself was shut up; while idol altars were erected in every corner of Jerusalem, and high places in every city of Judah.[69] It was not for want of provocation to Jehovah that Judah did not at once share the captivity of Israel; but for the sake of "the sure mercies of David" another respite was given, and a new era of godliness throws its light over the reign of Hezekiah, amid all the pressure of invasion and the threats of approaching captivity.

§ 9. HEZEKIAH,[70] the thirteenth king of Judah, succeeded his father Ahaz in the third year of Hoshea, the nineteenth and last king of Israel. He was twenty-five years old, and reigned twenty-nine years at Jerusalem.[71] His mother was Abi (or Abijah), the daughter of Zechariah. His character is marked by the commendation which has not been repeated since Jehoshaphat, "He did that which was right in the sight of Jehovah, *according to all that David his father had done.*"[72] The son of Sirach reckons him, with David and Josiah, as the only three kings who did not forsake the law of the Most High;[73] and the historian gives him this panegyric, "He trusted in Jehovah, God of Israel; so that after him was none like him among all the kings of Judah, nor any that were before him."[74]

In the very first month of his reign[75] he began the reformation of religion by reopening and repairing the doors of the Temple, which had been closed by Ahaz, and cleansing

[69] 2 K. xvi. 10–18; 2 Chron. xxviii. 22–25.

[70] "Strength of (or in) Jehovah," like the German *Gotthard.* The usual form of the name is *Hizkiyahu.*

[71] B.C. 726–697.

[72] 2 K. xviii. 1–3; 2 Chron. xxix. 1, 2.

[73] Ecclus. xlix. 4.

[74] 2 K. xviii. 5.

[75] 2 Chron. xxix. 3: this may, however, mean the first month of the first ecclesiastical new year of his reign.

the sacred edifice. The details of the work and of the sacrifices that followed, with the exhortations of the king to the priests and Levites, are related at length in the *Chronicles*.[76] Then follows the account of the great Passover (the first recorded since the time of Joshua), which was kept in the second month, for the reason expressly allowed in the law, the ceremonial impurity both of priests and people in the first month. The king had sent posts through all Israel as well as Judah to invite the people to return to God, that He might return to the remnant who were escaped from the King of Assyria, and be merciful to those who had been carried captive.[77] The message was treated with general contempt: still, many came, not only from Ephraim and Manasseh, but from the distant tribes of Issachar, Zebulun, and Asher, to unite with their brethren of Judah, to whom God had given one heart to obey Him. Several of these visitors being still unpurified, the paschal lambs were slain by the Levites for the people; and Hezekiah implored pardon for those who ate the Passover otherwise than according to the law, but whose *hearts* were prepared to seek the God of their fathers. The seven days of the feast were doubtless much interrupted through these causes, as well as by the occupation, to which the people zealously applied themselves, of destroying the idol altars throughout Jerusalem. By the spontaneous impulse of the worshipers, the feast was prolonged to fourteen days, amid such joy as had not been seen in Jerusalem since the time of Solomon, and God heard their prayers. Departing to their homes, they broke to pieces the idols, cut down the groves, and threw down the high places and altars through Ephraim and Manasseh, as well as through Judah and Benjamin, while the king arranged the service of the Temple.[78] One instance of consummate wisdom, mingled with Hezekiah's zeal against idolatry, deserves to be especially mentioned. The brazen serpent, which Moses had lifted up in the wilderness, had long been an object of worship, not only as the memorial of a great deliverance, but probably in con-

[76] 2 Chron. xxix.

[77] Eminent modern critics see here (especially in 2 Chron. xxx. 6–9, xxxi. 1) a proof that this Passover was not kept till after the captivity of Israel in the sixth year of Hezekiah. But the language seems clearly to apply to a remnant still existing *as a people*, whose repentance might yet avert the fate that had befallen their brethren in the east and north. Nor is their general scorn of the message (xxx. 10) credible immediately after such a judgment. Nor does the description at all correspond to the utter desolation described in 2 K. xvii. See especially the mention of the Israelites returning "every man to his *possession, into their own cities*."

[78] 2 Chron. xxx., xxxi.

nection with the serpent-worship prevalent in the East. No regard for so curious a relic of their early history prevented Hezekiah from breaking it in pieces like any other idol and speaking of it as only "a piece of brass" (*Nehushtan*).[79] We can well believe that this phrase was addressed to the "scornful men," certain rulers at Jerusalem, probably the old friends and counselors of Ahaz, of whose opposition we learn from Isaiah, the king's great supporter and counselor by the word of Jehovah.[80] The head of this party was Shebna (probably a foreigner), who seems to have been degraded, at the instance of Isaiah, from the office of treasurer to that of scribe (or secretary), the former post being conferred on Eliakim, the son of Hilkiah.[81]

The reunion of the people in the fear of God infused new life into their national policy. The Philistines, who had made such inroads during the last reign, were beaten back again as far as Gaza with great slaughter.[82] Trusting in God's protection, Hezekiah even ventured to refuse the tribute which his father had paid to the King of Assyria. The momentous character of such a step at the existing crisis will be seen by turning to the history of the kingdom of Israel. If it was taken after the overthrow of Samaria, or even after the beginning of the siege, it might seem to have been the height of rashness. But it was more truly one of those acts of "considerate courage" by which nations are rescued in their extremity; and, with prudence on the part of Hoshea, it might have proved the salvation of both kingdoms. The revolt may be safely placed about the third year of Hezekiah (B.C. 724).

§ 10. HOSHEA, the son of Elah, the nineteenth and last king of the separate kingdom of Israel, had conspired against Pekah and killed him "in the twentieth year of Jotham, the son of Uzziah," by which we must understand the twentieth year from Jotham's accession, which is the fourth of Ahaz.[83] But he was not established in the kingdom till the twelfth year of Ahaz (B.C. 730;)[84] and there is no error in the numbers, since his seventh year was the fourth of Hezekiah (B.C. 723).[85] The best chronologers (as Ussher) called the intervening nine

[79] 2 K. xviii. 4. Some see in the word a play on *Nahash* (a serpent). It is curious that the brazen serpent is, or was till lately, worshiped in the Church of St. Ambrose at Milan, with the belief that it would hiss at the end of the world.

[80] Is. xxviii. 14, foll.

[81] Is. xxii. 15–25; 2 K. xviii. 18.

[82] 2 K. xviii. 8. According to Josephus all their cities were taken except Gath and Gaza (*Ant.* ix. 13, § 3)

[83] B.C. 739: 2 K. xv. 30: comp. the similar reckoning in 1 K. xvi. 1.

[84] 2 K. xvii 1.

[85] 2 K. xviii. 9.

years an *Interregnum*. Perhaps they should rather be regarded as a struggle of Hoshea, at the head of a reform party against the idolaters and enemies of Judah, the party to which the late king belonged. That such a reform party existed may be inferred from the noble scene related above of the restoration of the Jewish captives, and from the response made to Hezekiah's invitation to the Passover. Its rise may be accounted for by the earnest pleadings of the prophets, and especially of the new king's namesake, Hosea,[86] whose affecting pleas for union can not have been entirely unheeded. The character ascribed to Hoshea agrees with this hypothesis. Though, corrupted by the long prevalence of idolatry and wickedness, "he did evil in the sight of Jehovah," the record is qualified by the addition, "*but not as the kings of Israel that were before him*."[87] We have seen the freedom with which the posts of Hezekiah traversed his kingdom, and with which the worshipers from Israel went up to Jerusalem; nor do we read of any opposition to their zealous destruction of the idols and altars in Ephraim and Manasseh. In fine, Hoshea's revolt from Shalmaneser seems to have been no less an act of patriotism than Hezekiah's, though not prompted by such purely religious motives. Hoshea was, in fact, the best king in the whole line from Jeroboam.

Nor ought we to be surprised that the final catastrophe came in his reign. Speaking humanly, the state was past redemption; the utter corruption and impenitence of the people are attested by the denunciations of Hosea, and confirmed by their scornful rejection of Hezekiah's call to repentance and union. Even the king was only some shades better than his predecessors, and it was no partial reform that could save and renew the state. Viewing the case from the higher ground taken throughout the Scripture history—the inseparable connection between national prosperity or adversity and religious obedience or rebellion—we can not say that it was too late for Israel to be saved; as Sodom would have been, if five righteous men had been found in her; as Nineveh was, when her people repented at the preaching of Jonah. They had only forty days of grace: Hoshea and his people had three years: let us now see how they used them. In the third year of Hoshea (B.C. 726) Shalmaneser, who had succeeded Tiglath-pileser, in B.C. 730 marched against Hoshea to enforce payment of the tribute, the refusal of which, in the very year of Hezekiah's accession, is perhaps another

[86] In Hebrew both names are Hoshea. [87] 2 K. xvii. 2.

proof of a common feeling.[88] The cruelties perpetrated at the storming of the fortress of Beth-arbel evidently belong to this campaign.[89] Hoshea submitted, and became tributary to Assyria. His second revolt is morally justified by patriotism; and even politically, the favorite test of success might not have been wanting, as we see in the case of Hezekiah. But, in the religious point of view, it was an utter wrong and failure. Had Hoshea made common cause with Hezekiah, and thrown himself on the protection of Jehovah, we have a right to believe that the times of David might have returned. But Hoshea took the very course denounced by the law of Moses, reliance upon Egypt. The long contest had begun between the sovereigns of Egypt and Western Asia for the frontier province of Palestine, and both had their partisans at the court of Samaria. The King of Egypt, who is called So in the Scripture narrative, was either Shebek I., the Sabaco of Herodotus, or his son Shebek II., the Sevechus of Manetho. He belonged to the warlike xxvth (Ethiopian) dynasty, who opposed the progress of Assyria with all their force. Hoshea formed a secret league with him, and withheld the accustomed tribute from Shalmaneser; who, informed of the conspiracy, seized the King of Israel, and shut him up in prison, where he was bound with fetters and treated with cruel indignity.[90] His sudden destruction is compared by the prophet Hosea to the disappearance of the foam upon the water.[91] The imprisonment of Hoshea clearly preceded the siege of Samaria: it may be that he was seized on a visit to Nineveh for the purpose of excusing his conduct. Shalmaneser then marched against Israel; and after overrunning the country, laid siege to Samaria in the seventh year of Hoshea, the fourth of Hezekiah (B.C. 723).[92] Then followed one of those memorable defenses, the despairing efforts of dying nations. We have no details of the siege; but Isaiah gives a glowing description of the mighty instrument of Jehovah smiting like a hailstorm the glorious beauty of the city, which towered on its hill like a crown of pride, the head of the fat valleys of the drunkards of Ephraim.[93] Its strong position enabled the city to hold out for three years,[94] during which we learn from the Assyrian monuments that Shalmaneser died and was succeeded by his son SARGON, a change not noticed in the Scripture narrative, which, after the first mention of Shalmaneser,[95] only speaks

[88] 2 K. xvii. 3. [89] Hosea x. 14.
[90] 2 K. xvii. 4; Micah v. 1: B.C. 725. [91] Hosea x. 7.
[92] 2 K. xvii. 5, xviii. 6.
[93] Is. xxviii. 1–4. [94] 2 K. xvii. 5.
[95] 2 K. xvii. 3; comp. vs. 4, 5, 6

of the "King of Assyria." The city was taken in the ninth year of Hoshea, the sixth of Hezekiah.[96] Sargon himself records the capture of Samaria in the following terms:—"Samaria I looked at, I captured" (like Cæsar's *vidi, vici*); "27,280 men (or families) who dwelt in it I carried away."[97] According to the Scripture narrative, he "carried *Israel* away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan and the cities of the Medes."[98] This deportation of the people extended to Samaria and its dependent towns, a region small in comparison to the original kingdom of the ten tribes. The region east of Jordan had already been so treated by Tiglath-pileser, who had also carried away the northern tribes, but not to the same extent; for a remnant were left, who form the nucleus of the mixed population of the later GALILEE. The cities in the south of Ephraim, which had been attached to Judah by conquest, or by the bond of religion under Hezekiah, probably shared the fortunes of the southern kingdom. The removal was of that complete character, which we have seen in the case of Damascus, and which was frequently practiced by the conquerors of Western Asia.[99] The process is compared to the act of "wiping out a dish and turning it upside down."[100] Josephus states that the King of Assyria "transplanted all the people."[101] These statements, which have the most important bearing on the national character of the later "Samaritans," are confirmed in various ways. Not a word is said of any remnant, as in the case of the captivity of Judah, when "the poor of the land were left to be vine-dressers and husbandmen;"[102] nor, if such a remnant had been left, could the new population have been so ignorant of "the manner of the God of the land" as to need one of the captive priests to be sent from Assyria to teach them to fear Jehovah.[103] The ten tribes never returned to their land as a distinct people: and the contrast between their fate and that of Judah in both these points marks the favor of God to the house of David, and to the people who never entirely cast off His worship.

Cursory readers are liable to confound the three kings, Shalmaneser, Sargon, and Sennacherib, and the name of the last takes them by surprise.

[96] B.C. 721: 2 K. xvii. 6, xviii. 10.

[97] Hincks, in *Journal of Sacred Literature*, Oct. 1858; Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 148.

[98] 2 K. xvii. 6.

[99] As in the case of Samos by the Persians (Herod. iii. 149), which is described by the very expressive words σαγηνεύειν, "to drag" as a pond, and ἐκθηρεύειν, "to hunt out" the inhabitants. The former image is the more perfect, as the people were not dispersed.

[100] 2 K. xxi. 13.

[101] *Ant.* ix. 14, § 1.

[102] 2 K. xxv. 12.

[103] 2 K. xvii. 25–28.

Thus ended the kingdom of Israel, after a duration of just 255 years,[104] under nineteen kings and seven dynasties, not reckoning among the latter the ephemeral usurpations of Zimri and Shallum. The last two of these dynasties perished with their founders, Pekah and Hoshea: three, those of Jeroboam, Baasha, and Mehanem, had two kings each: the house of Omri numbered four kings in three generations: Jehu's, the longest of all, reigned for five generations from father to son, and all its kings died a natural death except the last, Zachariah. Of the other kings, only Jeroboam I., Baasha, Omri, Ahaziah, and Mehanem had the same lot; the rest were slain by traitors or in battle, or died in captivity. Their character was even worse than their fate. Not one in the whole list is commended either for morality or piety: all were idolaters, and traitors to Jehovah. Even the zeal of Jehu ended in idol-worship, and the patriotism of Hoshea was marred by disloyalty to God. The sacred historian concludes their history with an impressive and affecting summary of their sins, in which they were followed by Judah, provoking the anger of Jehovah till "He removed them out of his sight." First, "there was none left but the tribe of Judah only;" but their sins had already caused Jehovah to "rend Israel from the house of David;" and at last "Jehovah rejected all the seed of Israel." But not till He had given them abundant invitations to return to God by the long line of PROPHETS, the preachers of repentance and reformation. Besides the many whose names are too often forgotten because their writings are not extant, ELIJAH and ELISHA shine amid the darkest night of Israel's idolatry; Zechariah, the son of Jehoiada, seals his testimony against the apostasy of Judah with his martyrdom; and the century before the fall of Samaria is glorified by the names of JONAH, AMOS, and HOSEA in Israel, and JOEL, ISAIAH, and MICAH in Judah.

The end of the kingdom of Israel involves two questions of great interest—the fate of the captives who were carried away, and the condition of the country after their removal. Respecting the first point, we have had the statement of their transplantation to certain districts of Assyria and Media, where we almost lose sight of them. Nor is this surprising. The gradual contraction of the limits of the Samaritan kingdom suggests, what the inscription of Sargon confirms, that the numbers carried captive at last were far less considerable than is commonly supposed. Their absorp-

[104] B.C. 976–721.

tion in the surrounding population would be aided by their long addiction to the practices of idolatry, and the loss of reverence for their religion involved the absence of care for the records of their national existence. As they furnished no confessors and martyrs, like Daniel and "the three children," so neither did they preserve the genealogies on which Judah based the order of the restored commonwealth.[105] But yet their traces are not utterly lost. The fact that a priest was found among them to teach the Samaritans to fear Jehovah, proves that they maintained some form of worship in His name. The Book of Tobit preserves the record of domestic piety among captives of the tribe of Naphtali. The first Jewish exiles, who were carried away by Sennacherib, seem to have been settled in the same districts as their brethren of Israel, on whom their influence would be salutary; and, after the great captivity of Judah, it is most interesting to see how continually Ezekiel addresses the captives by the name of *Israel.* The prophetic symbol of the rod of Judah and "the rod of the children of Israel, his *companions*" being joined into one, in order to their restoration as one nation, as Isaiah also had predicted,[106] seems to imply that all that was worth preserving in Israel became amalgamated with Judah, and either shared in the restoration, or became a part of the "dispersion," who were content to remain behind, and who spread the knowledge of the true God throughout the East. It is an important fact that St. James addresses the "dispersion" as "the *twelve* tribes." The edict of Cyrus, addressed to the servants of Jehovah, God of *Israel*, would find a response beyond the tribe of Judah; and though none of the ten tribes appear, *as such*, among the returned exiles, there is room for many of their families in the number of those who could not prove their pedigrees.[107] As for the rest, according to the very images of the prophet,

> "Like the *dew on the mountain*,[108]
> Like the *foam on the river*,[109]
> Like the bubble on the fountain,
> *They are gone, and* FOREVER."

The very wildness of the speculations of those who have sought them at the foot of the Himalayas and on the coast

[105] See Ezra and Nehemiah.

[106] Ezek. xxxvii. 15–28; Is. xi. 13, 16.

[107] At the time of Christ there were Jews known to belong to other tribes than Judah, Benjamin, and Levi; as Anna, of the tribe of Asher (Luke ii 36). Such may have been descended either from returned captives, or from those left in the north beyond the limits of Samaria.

[108] Hosea xiii. 3.

[109] Hosea x. 7

of Malabar among the Nestorians of Abyssinia and the Indians of North America, proves sufficiently the hopelessness of the attempt. Have then the promises of God concerning their restoration failed? No! they were represented, as we have seen, in the return of Judah; and for the rest, though they are lost to us, "the Lord knoweth them that are His." We do not enter, in this work, into the controversy respecting the return of Israel to their own land. But of this there is no question, that when God shall reveal, "out of every nation, those who have feared God, and wrought righteousness," all the tribes of believers in Israel will be owned, in some especial manner, as His people. That this restoration will be not temporal, but spiritual, seems to be the plain teaching of St. Paul, in the passage which forms the great New Testament authority on the whole subject.[110]

We turn back to the condition of their deserted land, guarding first against the common error of confusing its limits with those of the old kingdom of the ten tribes. The final deportation by Shalmaneser (or Sargon), following upon that made by Tiglath-pileser, justifies our speaking of the captivity of the ten tribes; but the depopulation in the earlier captivity was much less complete than in the latter, at least on the west of Jordan. This has already been seen in the description of Hezekiah's reformation. It was only the region immediately round Samaria that was utterly depopulated. The description of its repeopling follows immediately upon the narrative of the Captivity in the *Second Book of Kings*;[111] but it is clear that there was a very considerable interval. The new colonization is expressly ascribed to Esar-haddon, the grandson of Sargon, and "the great and noble Asnapper," either his officer, or a title of the king himself.[112] This is confirmed by the fact that some of the colonists came from Babylon, which only became subject to Assyria under Sennacherib, the father of Esar-haddon. It is probable that the colonization was suggested by Esar-haddon's observation of the state of the country during his campaign against Manasseh, about B.C. 678. It was effected by the usual Assyrian method of removing the whole population of other conquered cities or districts in a distant

[110] Romans ix–xi.

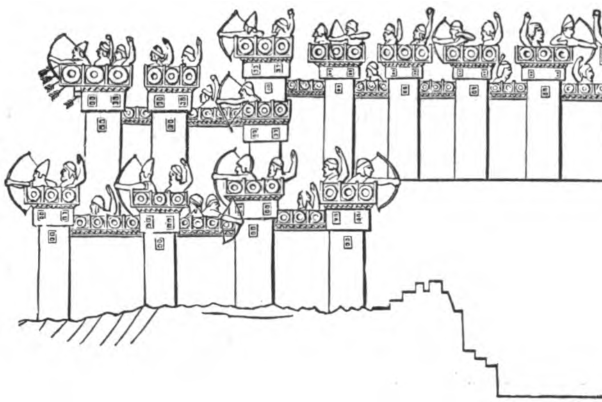
[111] 2 K. xvii. 24-41. Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 14, x. 9) is misled by this into making it the work of Shalmaneser; and in the preceding narrative he knows nothing of the distinction between Shalmaneser and Sargon. Such errors should make us very cautious how we accept his statements as derived from independent sources. Like the Greek scholiasts, he often seems to be giving us information, when he is only making glosses on the text of Scripture.

[112] Ezra iv. 2, 10.

part of the empire, "from Babylon, Cuthah, Ava (or Ival), Hamath, and Sepharvaim," the three last being places mentioned among the conquests of Sennacherib.[113] The new inhabitants imported their idolatrous worship; and God showed his jealousy for His own land by plaguing them with lions, which had doubtless multiplied during nearly half a century of desolation. They ascribed the infliction to their ignorance of "the manner of the God of the land," and the King of Assyria sent back one of the captive priests, who established himself at Bethel, and "taught them how to fear Jehovah." His teaching was probably mixed with no little error, but it seems to have been free from the old idolatry of Jeroboam. The worship thus established was regarded by the people as merely local, and they none the less set up their own idols in the old high places of the Israelites: Succoth-benoth, the god of Babylon; Nergal, Ashima, Nibhaz, and Tartak, the gods of Cuth, Hamath, and the Arvites, while the Sepharvites burnt their children to Adram-melech. Priests were appointed for the high places from the lowest of the people. The compromise between their new religion and their old idolatries is thus summed up: "They feared Jehovah, and served their own gods." The writer lays the greatest stress on their entire departure from the law of Moses, and concludes by stating that these practices were followed by "their children and their children's children: as did their fathers, so do they unto this day."[114]

These are evidently the words of a writer disowning all religious communion with the devotees of such degrading superstitions. The date to which they lead, their tone and spirit, and the part ascribed to Ezra in making up the Canon of the Old Testament, all point to their having been written by him at the time when these people were doing all they could to thwart the exertions of the restored Jews to build up the Temple and city of Jerusalem. They explain that long course of mutual hostility which the subsequent history develops, and which is summed up in the saying, "The Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans," not so much as to ask and receive a cup of cold water at a well-side in the noonday heat of travel.

[113] 2 K. xvii. 24, xviii. 13. [114] 1 K. xvii. 41.



The City of Lachish repelling the Attack of Sennacherib. From Layard's Monuments of Nineveh, 2d Series, Plate 21.

CHAPTER XXV.

FROM THE END OF THE KINGDOM OF ISRAEL TO END OF THE KINGDOM OF JUDAH. B.C. 721–586.

§ 1. Progress of Assyria—Siege of Tyre by Sargon—His invasion of Egypt. § 2. Illness and recovery of Hezekiah—Embassy from Babylon—First Prophecy of the Babylonish Captivity. § 3. Sennacherib succeeds Sargon—Egyptian party in Judah denounced by Isaiah—Invasion of Sennacherib and submission of Hezekiah—War of Sennacherib with Egypt—Rabshakeh summons Jerusalem—Destruction of the Assyrian army—Death of Sennacherib—Prosperity and death of Hezekiah. § 4. MANASSEH, fourteenth king of Judah—Anti-religious reaction—Imprisonment of Manasseh by Esar-haddon at Babylon—His repentance and restoration—His probable relations with Egypt—His death. § 5. AMON, fifteenth king of Judah. § 6. JOSIAH, sixteenth king of Judah—Religious degradation of the people—Josiah begins to seek the Lord—Restoration of the Temple and Ark—Book of the Law discovered—The prophetess Huldah—Destruction of the idols—Gehenna—Isaiah's great Passover. § 7. Fall of Assyria, and rise of Media and Babylon—Rivalry of Babylon and Egypt—Expedition of Necho—Death of Josiah at Megiddo—The mystic battle of Armageddon—Revival of prophecy under Josiah: NAHUM, ZEPHANIAH. HABAKKUK, and JEREMIAH. § 8. The successors of Josiah but nominal kings—JEHOAHAZ, the seventeenth king of Judah, set up by the people, and deposed by Necho—"Cadytis" taken by Necho. § 9. JEHOIAKIM, the eighteenth king of Judah—Defeat of Necho by NEBUCHADNEZZAR—Jeremiah prophesies the seventy years' Captivity at Babylon—Story of the Rechabites—Nebuchadnezzar takes Jerusalem—The *First Captivity of Judah*—DANIEL and his comrades—Public reading of Jeremiah's prophecies by Baruch—Rebellion and death of Jehoiakim. § 10. JEHOIA-

CHIN, the nineteenth king of Judah—Set up and deposed by Nebuchadnezzar—The *Second and great Captivity of Judah*—Subsequent history of Jehoiachin and the line of David. § 11. ZEDEKIAH, the twentieth and last king over the remnant of Judah—Parties at Jerusalem—Jeremiah advises submission—The seditious false prophets—Predictions of the restoration of Israel and the fall of Babylon—EZEKIEL prophesies at Babylon—Zedekiah conspires with Egypt. § 12. Jerusalem besieged by Nebuchadnezzar—Advance and retreat of Pharaoh-hophra—Imprisonment of Jeremiah—Capture and destruction of Jerusalem—Exultation of the neighboring nations—Prophecy of OBADIAH—*Third Captivity*—Summary of the Captivities—The land left uncolonized. § 13. The remnant in Judæa—Gedaliah, Ishmael, and Johanan—Flight into Egypt under Johanan—Nebuchadnezzar invades Egypt—His other conquests.

§ 1. THERE is a gap in the Scripture narrative, from the taking of Samaria in the sixth year of Hezekiah to the attack from Assyria in his fourteenth year (B.C. 721–713). But from an allusion in Isaiah as well as from the direct testimony of an ancient historian preserved by Josephus, we know how the King of Assyria employed the interval. It may seem strange that Sargon should not at once have marched to subdue Hezekiah. But he was evidently preparing for a more important campaign, of which the reduction of Judah would be merely an incident, against Egypt, the ally of Hoshea, and the probable supporter of Hezekiah. To conduct such a war to a successful issue, and to accomplish a cherished object of Assyrian policy, it was necessary to secure the great port of Western Asia on the Mediterranean. Sargon overran Phœnicia and laid siege to Tyre, then at the height of its power, under its king Elulæus. Having retired the first time without success, Sargon renewed the attempt with the aid of sixty ships furnished by other Phœnician cities, as Sidon, Acé (Accho), and Palæ-tyrus (old Tyre on the main land) whether from compulsion, or from jealousy of the island queen. This navy was defeated by the Tyrians, who had only twenty ships; and, thus secured against a storm, they held out for five years (B.C.720–715) with the same constancy that they afterward displayed against Nebuchadnezzar and Alexander, and probably with better success.[1] The issue of the blockade is not recorded; but, if it had been successful, "the gods of Tyre" would doubtless have been included in the boast of Rabshakeh.[2] We can not be wrong in referring to this occasion the prophecy of Isaiah against Tyre, warning "the merchant city" that though she had escaped this time, she was doomed to utter destruction.[3]

[1] Menander, ap. Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 14. As before, Josephus confounds Sargon with Shalmaneser. [2] 2 K. xviii. 33, 34. [3] Is. xxiii.

Sargon sent an army against Judah and Egypt, under a "Tartan" (or general) in the tenth year of his reign, which was the fourteenth of Hezekiah B.C. 713).[4] How this expedition affected Judah we do not know, for in our present text it is manifestly confused with the celebrated incursion of Sennacherib several years later; but it inflicted a great blow on Egypt. While the Assyrian army was detained near the frontier by the siege of Ashdod, which probably belonged then to Egypt, Isaiah uttered his remarkable prophecy of the defeat and captivity of the Egyptians,[5] which appears from Nahum to have been soon fulfilled by the capture of Thebes (No-amon).[6] We learn from Herodotus that Sebechus (the So who conspired with Hoshea) was succeeded by a priest of Vulcan (Phthah), whose neglect of the military caste reduced him to great danger in an invasion by the King of Assyria.[7]

§ 2. About this time must have occurred the mortal illness of Hezekiah: "In those days was Hezekiah sick unto death," and Isaiah was sent to warn him of his approaching end.[8]

[4] 2 K. xviii. 13; 2 Chron. xxxii. 1; Is. xx. 1. To make the narrative consistent with itself, and with the Assyrian monuments, we must suppose that, by the confusion indicated above, the name of Sennacherib has crept into 2 K. xviii. 13, and Is. xxxvi. 1, which is the more easily understood from the evident ignorance of the authorities who settled the received text, of the interposition of Sargon between Shalmaneser and Sennacherib. The confusion can scarcely be quite disentangled; but we incline to take only the words, "Now, in the fourteenth year of King Hezekiah, the King of Assyria came up against Judah," as referring to Sargon's expedition in B.C. 713, and to take all the rest as applying to the much later expedition of Sennacherib somewhat thus: "Sennacherib came up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them." The mention of the siege of Lachish seems to make the capture of these cities a part of the same transaction as the submission of Hezekiah; and that this could not have been made (at least in the form stated in vs. 14–16) before his illness, is clear from the display of his riches to the Babylonian ambassadors (2 K. xx. 13). Again, the illness must have followed close upon the expedition of Sargon, and long before that of Sennacherib, because—(1), Fifteen years were added to the king's life; and as he died in B.C. 698, the illness was in B.C. 713 (2 K. xx. 1), (2), Sennacherib did not succeed his father till B.C. 702; (3), Hezekiah is promised, at the time of his recovery, a deliverance from Assyria, which can be none other than the destruction of Sennacherib's army, the story of which is preceded by the very same promise (2 K. xix. 34). Ussher saw that chap. xx. must be placed before chap. xix.

[5] This prophecy may perhaps indicate the triumph of the anti-Egyptian party in the councils of Judah, and their ascendency may have been the cause for Sargon's refraining from attacking Judah on this occasion.

[6] Nahum iii. 8.

[7] Herod. ii. 141. The account of his miraculous deliverance is evidently an appropriation by the Egyptian priests of Hezekiah's deliverance from Sennacherib, whose name has thus got into the story of Herodotus in place of Sargon's.

[8] 2 K. xx. 1, 2; 2 Chron. xxxii. 24; Is. xxxviii. 1.

The record of his feelings, written by his own hand when he recovered, is preserved for us by Isaiah in language highly poetical. In the same dismal tone as the patriarch Job, he deplores the end of life but chiefly as the end of all opportunities for serving God:—"The grave can not praise Thee; death can not celebrate Thee; they that go down into the pit can not hope for Thy truth."[9] He thought doubtless of his unfinished work, of the danger still impending over Judah, but, above all, of the Temple which he had restored, and where he had hoped long to worship God.[10] He turned his face to the wall, and prayed and wept sore. The prophet, who had but just left him, was sent back to promise that he should recover and go up to the house of God on the third day: at the same time he directed a poultice of figs to be laid upon the boil or carbuncle, for such was the king's disease.[11] As was so usual with the Jews, Hezekiah asked for a sign; and the shadow of the sun went back ten degrees upon the dial of Ahaz, signifying a proportionate addition to the days of his life.[12] But alas! for the weakness of our nature, this deliverance engendered a rash confidence, which brought new judgments on Judah and Jerusalem.[13] The news of Hezekiah's recovery brought an embassy of congratulation from Merodach-baladan, king of Babylon, a power which now appears for the first time.[14] The ostensible object was to make inquiries respecting the astronomical marvel.[15] But its real purpose was probably to form a league against Assyria. The kings of the lower Assyrian dynasty held Babylon by an insecure grasp, and Merodach was at the head of the party of independence. From the records of Sargon and

[9] Is. xxxviii. 18. [10] Is. xxxviii. 22.

[11] 2 K. xx. 7; Is. xxxviii. 21.

[12] 2 K. xx. 8-11; Is. xxxviii. 7, 8. The Heb. word translated by "dial" is the same as that rendered "steps" in A. V. (Ex. xx. 26; 1 K. x. 19), and "degrees" in A. V. (2 K. xx. 9, 10, 11; Is. xxxviii. 8), where, to give a consistent rendering, we should read with the margin the "degrees" rather than the "dial" of Ahaz. In the absence of any materials for determining the shape and structure of the solar instrument, which certainly appears intended, the best course is to follow the most strictly natural meaning of the word, and to consider that the dial was really stairs, and that the shadow (perhaps of some column or obelisk on the top) fell on a greater or smaller number of them according as the sun was low or high. The terrace of a palace might easily be thus ornamented. Ahaz's tastes seem to have led him in pursuit of foreign curiosities (2 K. xvi. 10), and his intimacy with Tiglath-pileser gave him probably an opportunity of procuring from Assyria the pattern of some such structure.

[13] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 25.

[14] 2 K. xx. 12; Is. xxxix. 1. The form "Berodach" is merely a dialectic variety. The name of the god Merodach has invariably the M.

[15] 2 Chron. xxxii. 31.

Sennacherib we learn that he was twice expelled from his kingdom; by the former in the twelfth year both of Sargon and of Merodach (B.C. 709), and by the latter in his first year (B.C. 702), when Merodach had only recovered his kingdom for six months.[16] The embassy to Hezekiah falls during his first tenure of power; and if its object be rightly understood, the King of Judah's eagerness to show the ambassadors his treasures would have another motive besides mere ostentation to prove his ability to enter on a great and dangerous war. Whatever the motive, the display was made in a spirit of self-glorification, which called down a divine judgment; and it must have been doubly bitter for Hezekiah to hear from Isaiah's lips that his kingdom was to fall a prey, not to Assyria, but to the very power whose alliance he was courting. There had already been several predictions of the captivity of Judah; but this was the first distinct intimation of the quarter from which the judgment was to fall. Hezekiah humbled himself before God, and he was comforted by the assurance that the sentence should not be executed in his days.[17]

Up to the time of his mortal illness, Hezekiah seems to have been childless—a circumstance which would embitter his distress at the prospect of death. He now married Hephzibah, the daughter of a citizen or prince of Jerusalem,[18] in whose name, which signifies *delightsome*, Isaiah traces a figure of the future glories of Jerusalem.[19] The son born of this union received the name of *Manasseh*, which never occurs elsewhere in the history of Judah. The adoption of the name of a rival tribe may be taken as a sign of the policy pursued by Hezekiah, from the time of the destruction of Samaria, to rally the remnant of the ten tribes in a religious union with Judah.[20]

§ 3. The remainder of Sargon's reign was fully occupied by rebellions in the heart of his empire. Herodotus places the revolt of the Medes and Babylonians in B.C. 711. The former maintained their independence, and founded the power by which Babylon, after overthrowing Assyria, was herself subdued. As to the latter, we have seen that Merodach was expelled in B.C. 709; but his return at the death of Sargon proves the unsettled state of the province in the mean time. From

[16] The *Canon* of Ptolemy gives him twelve years, B.C. 721–709, and Polyhistor six months in B.C. 702 (Euseb. *Chron.* p. 1, v. 1: see *Bib. Dict. s. v.*). His restoration may have been caused by Sargon's death.

[17] 2 Chron. xxxii. 31; 2 K. xx. 12-19; Is. xxxix.

[18] 2 K. xxi. 10; Joseph. *Ant.* x. 3, § 1.

[19] Is. lxii. 4, 5.

[20] 2 Chron. xxx. 6, xxxi. 1.

both quarters Sargon must have had enough upon his hands for the rest of his reign. In B.C. 702 Sargon was succeeded by his son SENNACHERIB (or Sanherib), a monarch as warlike and able as himself. After crushing the revolt of Merodach and placing Belib,[21] a creature of his own, on the throne of Babylon, he undertook a great expedition against Judah and Egypt. This was the crisis of the history of the men of Judah to prove whether the religious revival under Hezekiah would inspire them with faith in God, or whether they would seek safety by forbidden means. There was a strong party in fa vor of an alliance with Egypt, the help of which they seem to have sought only to be repulsed with contempt.[22] Isaiah vehemently denounces this party, and lays down the law—"Their strength is to sit still;" "In quietness and confidence shall be your strength"—in a series of his most magnificent prophecies, describing the destruction of the Assyrian by supernatural means when he should encamp against Ariel (*Lion of God*), the city of David, the establishment of Messiah's kingdom, and the privileges of his people. These chapters stand in the Book of Isaiah immediately before the history of Sennacherib's invasion, for which they were evidently designed to prepare the minds of king and people.[23] The king proved worthy of such a prophet. Though he may have tampered with Egypt, a point on which we have no certain knowledge, and though he was driven to one act of disgraceful submission, his faith revived in the supreme crisis. Encouraged by Isaiah, he committed his own and his people's safety to Jehovah, who wrought for them a deliverance as signal as the destruction of Pharaoh and his army in the Red Sea.

The campaign was opened by an attack on the fortresses of Judah, of which several were taken.[24] Isaiah describes the progress of Sennacherib through Benjamin and the distress of the cities on his route.[25] He was engaged in the siege of Lachish, a city in the south-west of Judah (apparently with the view of securing the whole country toward Egypt before attacking Jerusalem), when Hezekiah sent him a message of complete submission:—"I have offended; return from me; what thou puttest upon me I will bear."[26] The Assyr-

[21] The Belibus of Polyhistor and the Canon. [22] Is. xxx. 1–5.

[23] Is. xxix.–xxxv. A similar prophecy is contained in chs. x.–xii.

[24] 2 K. xviii. 13; Is. xxxvi. 1; 2 Chron. xxxii. 1: by that suppression of calamitous and disgraceful events, which is so often found in the *Chronicles*, no mention is made of the capture of these cities, nor of Hezekiah's message of submission.

[25] Is. x. 28–32. [26] 2 K. xviii. 14.

ian exacted a contribution of 300 talents of silver and thirty talents of gold; to meet which, Hezekiah took all the silver vessels of the Temple and of his own palace, and cut off the gold with which he himself had overlaid the doors and pillars of the Temple, and sent it to Sennacherib.[27]

But this spoliation was only a preliminary to the intended extirpation of the Jewish people and the destruction of Jerusalem. Sennacherib sent an army against Jerusalem under a Tartan (or captain), Rabsaris (the chief eunuch), and Rabshakeh (the chief cup-bearer),[28] expecting apparently the surrender of the disheartened city without a siege. We are informed of the exact spot where the envoys stood to deliver their message, "the conduit of the upper pool in the highway of the fuller's field." Hezekiah sent to the conference the chief of his household, his secretary, and recorder. Rabshakeh, who acted as spokesman, asked on whom the King of Judah relied. Was it on Egypt, a broken reed, that would pierce the hand of him who leaned on it? Was it on Jehovah?—the God, said the orator, with a strange confusion of ideas, whose high places and altars Hezekiah had taken away. Nay, his master even claimed to have been sent up against Jerusalem by the word of Jehovah, referring probably to the prophecies of Isaiah.[29] Thus far he had spoken in Hebrew; but now the officers of Hezekiah entreated him to speak in the Syrian language, so as not to be understood by the people on the wall. "They," rejoined Rabshakeh, "are the very persons to whom I am sent, to warn them of the consequences of resistance." Then, raising his voice, he cried to the men upon the wall to come forth to make their peace with him, promising that they should be unmolested till he came again to remove them to a land as good as their own. Let them not listen to Hezekiah, persuading them that Jehovah would deliver them, but look upon the nations subdued before Assyria, and see if the gods of Samaria and the rest had delivered them out of his master's hand. The people, as Hezekiah had bidden them, returned no answer, and the servants of Hezekiah reported to him the words of Rabshakeh. He sent them to Isaiah, while he betook himself to prayer. The prophet replied that God took the blasphemies

[27] 2 K. xviii. 15, 16.

[28] In the A. V., Tartan, Rabsaris, and Rabshakeh are treated as proper names, but they are probably rather names of offices than of persons; Tartan signifying a "captain," Rabsaris "chief eunuch," and Rabshakeh "chief cup-bearer." There are several other Assyrian and Babylonian names found with the prefix "Rab," in the sense of "chief."

[29] Is. viii. x.

of Rabshakeh as uttered against Him, and predicted that, in consequence of a "blast" sent upon him by God, and a "rumor" which he should hear, the king would retreat to his own land, and there perish by the sword.

Sennacherib had now left Lachish, probably having taken it,[30] and his messengers found him besieging Libnah, a city in the same vicinity. The news of the approach of Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, compelled him to postpone his revenge for the defiance of Hezekiah; but he gave vent to his rage in a letter in the same tone as Rabshakeh's speech. Hezekiah spread the letter before God, with a solemn prayer to Him to prove the difference between Jehovah, the only God, and the "no gods" whom the Assyrian had justly reproached; and the answer was given by the mouth of Isaiah in a sublime prophecy of the destruction of the Assyrian and the future glory of the remnant of Judah. On that very night the well-known catastrophe followed, not, as is too often supposed by cursory readers, before Jerusalem, which Sennacherib had never approached, but only "shaken his fist at her" from the distance.[31] His army still lay before Libnah, not having even moved to meet Tirhakah, when in one night "the angel of Jehovah went out, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians 185,000 men." When the watchmen looked forth in the early morning, the plain was covered with their corpses:—

> "And the might of the Gentiles, untouched by the sword,
> Had melted like snow at the 'blast' of the Lord."

There is no doubt that some secondary cause was employed in the accomplishment of this miracle. We are certainly "not to suppose," as Dr. Johnson observed, "that the angel went about with a sword in his hand stabbing them one by one, but that some powerful natural agent was employed." The Assyrians may have been suffocated by the hot wind of the desert, or they may have fallen by tens of thousands before "the pestilence that walketh in darkness."[32] It is

[30] The siege of Lachish is considered by Layard and Hincks to be depicted on the slabs found by the former in one of the chambers of the palace of Kouyunjik, which bear the inscription "Sennacherib, the mighty king, king of the country Assyria, sitting on the throne of judgment before (or at the entrance of) the city of Lachish (Lakhisha). I give permission for its slaughter" (Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* 149-52, and 153, note). These slabs contain a view of a city which, if the inscription is correctly interpreted, must be Lachish itself. See wood-cut, p. 571.

[31] Is. x. 32.

[32] Ps. xci. 6, 7. The whole Psalm is most suitable for the crisis, though it may have been composed on the occasion of some other pestilence.

enough for us to remember that God, who at first "breathed into man's nostrils the breath of life," has the power, in a thousand ways, to "breathe" death on whom He pleases. Sennacherib himself returned into Assyria, and was there slain, as Isaiah had foretold. But his death, which is mentioned at the end of the Scripture narrative, did not take place till some years later. He was murdered in the Temple of Nisroch by two of his sons, Adrammelech and Sharezer, who fled into Armenia, and was succeeded by another son, ESAR-HADDON, one of the most powerful of the Assyrian monarchs (B.C. 680).[33]

The fame of Hezekiah's deliverance brought him congratulations and presents from all the surrounding nations; and the remainder of the days, which God's special grace had added to his life, were spent in prosperity and wealth. Like Uzziah, he possessed numerous flocks and herds, in addition to the treasures that he collected at Jerusalem. When he died, he was honored with the chief place in the sepulchres of the kings (B.C. 698).[34] The glorious promise of his reign was terribly eclipsed under his successor.

§ 4. MANASSEH, the fourteenth king of Judah, was only twelve years old when he succeeded his father Hezekiah, and he reigned fifty-five years (B.C. 698–643). But of this, the longest reign in the annals of Judah, our accounts are extremely scanty. In the *Second Book of Kings*, it fills only eighteen verses,[35] which are occupied with a general description of the monstrous evils of the period, almost to the exclusion of particular incidents. It would seem as if the sacred writer abstained from recording more of a reign so disgraceful than was sufficient to point the lesson of retribution.[36] The narrative in the *Chronicles* is scarcely longer; but it is distinguished from the other by one remarkable feature, the story of Manasseh's captivity, repentance, and restoration.[37]

The reign of Manasseh was a period of fatal reaction in the religious policy of the state, which has been well compared to that of Mary in our own history. We have seen indications that the idolatrous party, who had been triumphant under Ahaz, did not yield without a struggle to Hezekiah.

The huge masses of men packed together in great Oriental armies, and exposed to all kinds of physical and moral pollution, have always been peculiarly exposed to pestilence; and the records of the Asiatic cholera contain examples of attacks as fatal and as sudden as the case before us, though on a smaller scale.

[33] 2 K. xviii., xix.; 2 Chron. xxxii. 1 22; Is. xxxvi., xxxvii.

[34] 2 Chron. xxxii. 23–33.

[35] 2 K. xxi. 1–18. [36] 2 K. xxiv. 1–4.

[37] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 1–20.

Such a reform as that king wrought must have been in a great degree superficial among a people so corrupted as the testimony of the prophets proves that the Jews had now become. The history of religious conflicts shows how well the losing party can succumb and bide their time, like the Romanists under Edward VI.; and the accession of a king too young to have had his character established by his father's teaching, but not too young to desire the gratification of his self-will, gave them a new opportunity. The princes of Judah, whose influence would naturally be great during the king's minority have been seen more than once on the side of idolatry, especially in the apostasy of Joash. It has been suggested that the policy which drew Hezekiah toward Babylon in the latter part of his reign may have had an evil influence over his young son. Certain it is that Babylonian superstitions are conspicuous among the religious errors of Manasseh, and his punishment came from the same quarter.

The description of Manasseh's idolatries includes every form of false religion and abominable vice that Israel had ever learned from the heathen nations. He restored the high places and groves which Hezekiah had removed, established the worship of Baal in a manner worthy of the house of Ahab, and added to the obscene rites of Ashtoreth those unutterable abominations, which made princes and subjects "rulers of Sodom and people of Gomorrah."[38] The Temple was profaned in a manner that even Ahaz had not attempted. An idol figure was set up in the sanctuary, and altars for the worship of the heavenly bodies in the two courts of the Temple, while the ark was displaced from its abode. The king made his son pass through the fire to Moloch, to whom he appears to have reared a stately temple in the valley of Hinnom. He dealt with wizards and necromancers, and, in short, "seduced the people to do *more* wickedness than the nations whom Jehovah destroyed before them."[39]

This great apostasy was not consummated without warnings from the prophets who had flourished under Hezekiah. As the king and people had repeated the sins of Ahab, the prophets denounced the doom of Samaria on Judah and Jerusalem in the most striking figurative language.[40] The king attempted to silence them by the fiercest persecution recorded in the annals of Israel. We are only told in the sacred history that Manasseh "filled Jerusalem with innocent blood, which Jehovah would not pardon;" and that this was the

[38] Is. i. 10. [39] 2 K. xxi. 9. [40] 2 K. xxi. 10-15.

crowning sin which doomed the nation to captivity.[41] Fuller particulars of the persecution are preserved by Josephus, who tells us that executions took place every day.[42] Its effect is thus described by Jeremiah: "Your own sword hath devoured your prophets, like a destroying lion."[43] After the death of Isaiah, whom tradition makes the first victim of this persecution,[44] the prophetic voice was no more heard till the reign of Josiah.[45]

These crimes were not long left unavenged. It is inferred from passages in the prophets of the next age that the Philistines, Moabites, and Ammonites, who had been tributary to Hezekiah, revolted from his son.[46] But the great blow came from Assyria. Sennacherib's successor, Esar-haddon, one of the most powerful of all the Assyrian kings, soon put down the revolt of Evil-merodach and abolished the vice-royalty of Babylon, fixing his own residence at that city for about thirteen years (B.C. 680–667). Esar-haddon is the only Assyrian monarch whom we find to have actually reigned at Babylon, where he built himself a palace, bricks from which have been recently recovered bearing his name. This fact accounts for Manasseh being taken to Babylon, and not to Nineveh. To that city he carried Manasseh captive on a charge of rebellion; and it would seem that Jerusalem was taken at the same time. The date of this event is placed by a Jewish tradition at the twenty-second year of Manasseh (B.C. 677), which agrees very well with the account of the new colonization of the country of Samaria by settlers whom Esar-haddon (or Asnapper) sent from *Babylon* and other places.

And now it seemed as if the time had come for the Babylonish captivity which Isaiah had foretold; but, by a new proof of Jehovah's long-suffering with the house of David, the end was postponed for another century. The severity of Manasseh's imprisonment brought him to repentance. God

[41] 2 K. xxi. 16; xxiv. 4.

[42] Joseph. *Ant.* x. 3, § 1.

[43] Jerem. ii. 30.

[44] Rabbinical tradition says that Isaiah was sawn asunder in a trunk of a tree by order of Manasseh, to which it is supposed that reference is made in Hebrews xi. 37. But Isaiah must have been 80 or 90 years of age at Manasseh's accession. See *Dict. of Bible*, vol. i. p. 876.

[45] The Rabbinical traditions place JOEL, NAHUM, and HABAKKUK in the reign of Manasseh. But Joel is certainly much earlier; Nahum probably belongs to the reign of Hezekiah, and the best critics place Habakkuk under Josiah. Even the prolongation of Isaiah's life beyond the time of Hezekiah, and of his martyrdom under Manasseh, is of very doubtful truth.

[46] Zeph. ii., Jerem. xlvii., xlviii., xlix.

heard his prayer, and restored him to his kingdom at Jerusalem, where he again reigned long and prosperously.[47] He removed the idols and their altars from the Temple and the city, repaired the altar and sacrificed upon it, and commanded the people to serve Jehovah. There was, however, no thorough reformation of religion; the ark was not restored, and the people still sacrificed in the high places. At the same time Manasseh put Jerusalem in a state of defense. He protected its weak side by a new wall "on the west side of Gihon, in the valley to the entrance of the fish-gate." He heightened the tower of Ophel, which Jotham had begun, and he placed garrisons in the fortified cities of Judah. That these proceedings were permitted by Assyria can be easily understood from the unwarlike character of Esar-haddon's successor, Sardanapalus II., whose monuments confirm the character given to him by Greek writers. But they were doubtless also connected with the new position of Egypt, the history of which now emerges from its long obscurity.

After the usurpation of the xxvth (Ethiopian) dynasty, and the anarchy of the "Twelve Kings," Psamatek (Psammetichus I.) founded a native dynasty (the xxvith, Saite) in B.C. 664, the thirty-fifth year of Manasseh. He at once renewed the old contest with Assyria, and took Ashdod, after a siege of twenty-nine years.[48] We have already seen that there was a powerful Egyptian party in Judah, and the denunciations of the prophets, who began to prophecy under Josiah, prove that it had gained great strength. The name of Manasseh's son, Amon, who was born about the time of the accession of Psammetichus, though not incapable of explanation as a Hebrew word, points to a connection with Egypt. On these grounds it has been supposed that Manasseh sought the Egyptian alliance to strengthen him against Assyria. When he died, he was buried in the garden of Uzza, attached to his own house, and not in the sepulchres of the kings, and his memory is held in detestation by the Jews.[49]

§ 5. AMON, the fifteenth king of Judah, succeeded his father at the age of twenty-two; and after a reign of two

[47] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11-13. The mention of *Babylon* as the place of Manasseh's captivity is a strong argument for its authenticity. An inventor would have placed it at Nineveh. Its duration is unknown. The apocryphal "Prayer of Manasseh" is an imaginative production of a later age. The writer was well acquainted with the Septuagint, but beyond this there is nothing to determine the date at which he lived.

[48] Herod. ii. 157.

[49] 2 K. xxi. 17, 18; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 20, Sanhedr. c. xi. 1.

years, during which he followed Manasseh's idolatries, without sharing his repentance, he fell the victim of a court conspiracy. The conspirators were slain by the people, who raised Josiah, the infant son of Amon, to the throne. Amon was buried with his father in the garden of Uzza. His mother was Meshullemeth, the daughter of Haruz, of Jotbah.[60]

§ 6. JOSIAH, the sixteenth king of Judah, was eight years old at his accession, and reigned thirty-one years at Jerusalem.[61] His mother was Jedidah, the daughter of Adaiah of Boscath. Though he fell in battle before he had completed his fortieth year, he left the brightest name for piety and religious zeal among all the successors of David. He shares with Hezekiah the praise of walking perfectly in the way of his father David.[62] His reign marks the last dying glory of the earthly kingdom of David. It may, indeed, seem mysterious that a doom, so often postponed by the repentance and faith of earlier kings, should have followed so close upon the reign of the best and most zealous of them all, and that he himself should have fallen by a premature and violent death. But we must look beyond the personal character of the king to the state of the people and their rulers. We have seen that the great reform of Hezekiah was probably superficial; the apostasy under Manasseh and Amon was the last and lowest stage in the long course of national degeneracy; and the deep corruption that prevailed during the minority of Josiah is drawn in the blackest colors by the prophets ZEPHANIAH and JEREMIAH. The very violence of Josiah's reformation indicates the absence of true and spontaneous sympathy among the people. In short, they were past purifying except by the fiercest fires of affliction.

Josiah must not be regarded as an example of the quiet growth of youthful piety under favorable culture. So evil were the influences about him that he only "began to seek after the God of David his father" in his sixteenth year. His religion was his own decided choice, as the first act of his opening manhood; a choice prompted by that loyalty to his high calling as the son of David, which marks every act of his reign. Doubtless he was aided and encouraged by some among the priests, and by prophets, such as Zephaniah and Jeremiah; but it is a striking feature of his history, that the king himself is the prime mover in every act of reformation. In the twelfth year of his reign, at the age of twenty,[63]

[60] B.C. 643-641: 2 K. xxi. 19-26; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 21-25.
[61] B.C. 641-610.
[62] 2 K. xxii. 1, 2; 2 Chron. xxxiv 1, 2.
[63] B.C. 630.

he made a progress not only through Judah, but through those parts of Israel which we have before seen recognizing Hezekiah as their religious head—Simeon, Ephraim, Manasseh, and even as far as Naphtali—to put away all objects of idolatry. The altars, groves, and statues were thrown down and destroyed, the molten and chased images were ground to powder, and their dust sprinkled on the graves of their worshipers in the king's presence, and the bones of the idolatrous priests were disentombed and burned upon their own altars.[54] These proceedings were continued for six years, during which the zeal of Josiah was quickened by a most important discovery. He had issued a commission to his chief officers to co-operate with the high-priest Hilkiah in a thorough renovation of the Temple.[55] Money had been collected by the priests from all the tribes that the king had visited; and it was delivered without reckoning to the workmen, who proved faithful to the trust—a striking contrast to the checks which were found necessary in the time of Joash. The ark, which appears to have been removed by Manasseh when he set up a carved image in the Holy of Holies, was restored to its place by Josiah.[56] During these repairs, the high-priest Hilkiah found the sacred copy of the book of the law, and delivered it to Shaphan the scribe, who read it before the king. It is hard for us to realize the full force of this discovery. We can scarcely conceive of a state of things in which, during centuries of the nominal establishment of Christianity, the people should still observe solemn festivals at the old sites of Druidical worship; the altars of Thor, and Woden, and Freya should smoke with sacrifices in every city, town, and village, their statues be set up in our cathedrals, and the heights round London should be crowned with the temples of Sivah and Juggernaut: all this lasting for centuries, with an occasional and partial return to the purer form of worship, while the BIBLE, never multiplied by printing, and only known in older and purer times through infrequent readings by the clergy, should have been utterly lost and forgotten! Add to this the supposition that the lost volume

[54] 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3–7.

[55] 2 K. xxii. 3, foll.; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 8, foll. The date prefixed to both passages (Josiah's 18th year) must surely have arisen from a confusion with the epoch at which the repairs were completed and the Passover kept; for, even if we date Josiah's years from the beginning of the civil year, six months would not be nearly enough for all these proceedings. Even if, with Clinton, we begin the 18th year of Josiah from May, B.C. 623, so as to make the Passover fall in March—April, B.C. 622, the interval is short.

[56] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 7, xxxv. 3.

contained, not the dark symbols of the Apocalypse, but the clear warning of national destruction and captivity to befall us because of these idolatries, and then let us imagine our feelings on its sudden discovery! No wonder that Josiah rent his clothes, and could not rest till he found a prophet to expound these terrible denunciations! For the first time since the days of Deborah, we meet with a prophetess, HULDAH, the wife of Shallum, keeper of the sacred vestments, who had her abode in the suburb of Jerusalem.[57] Her reply to the high-priest and officers whom Josiah sent to consult her confirmed his worst fears for the fate of the city and the kingdom, but she added a message of comfort to the king. As he had shown a tender heart, and had humbled himself before God when he heard His words of threatening, he should be gathered to his fathers in peace, and not see the evil that was coming on Jerusalem.[58]

Josiah convened a solemn assembly at the Temple for the public reading of the law and the renewal of the nation's covenant with Jehovah. With new zeal the people set to the work of purging Jerusalem from idolatry. All the monuments of false worship were destroyed, from the temples built by Solomon on the Mount of Olives, and the horses and chariots which successive kings had dedicated to the sun at the temple gates, to the altars set up by Ahaz and Manasseh. The images were brought out of the Temple and ground to powder, and their dust strewn on the brook Kishon. The houses devoted to the orgies of Ashtoreth and the worser abominations of Sodom were pulled down. Tophet, the seat of the worship of Moloch, in the valley of Hinnom, was defiled with the bones of the idol-priests, and the fire of the god was used for consuming the refuse of the city.[59]

Jerusalem being thus purified, the king went to Bethel, being now, it would seem, better informed of the events that had occurred there under Jeroboam. He broke down and

[57] Rosenmüller, *Sch. ad Zeph*, i. 10.

[58] 2 K. xxii. 3-20; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 8-28. The peaceful end promised to Josiah stands in contrast to captivity and the ruin of the kingdom, and is in no way inconsistent with the event of his death in battle.

[59] 2 K. xxiii. 1-14; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 29-33. Hence the powerful figure by which "*Gehenna*" (i. e., *Ge-Hinnom*, the *Valley of Hinnom*), with its carcasses consuming by worms and fire, became the type of the place of final punishment and destruction, "where their worm dieth not, and their fire is not quenched" (Matt. v. 22, 29, 30, x. 28, xviii. 9, xxiii. 15, 33; Mark ix. 43, 45, 47; Luke xii. 5; James iii. 6). The Talmudists placed here the mouth of hell: "There are two palm-trees in the valley of Hinnom, between which a smoke ariseth . . . . and this is the door of Gehenna."

burned the high place, the altar, and the grove, and fulfilled the word of the disobedient prophet by taking the bones of the priests out of the sepulchres and burning them upon the altar while he spared the remains of the prophet and of the other who was buried with him. The priests, who still dared to sacrifice in the high places, were put to death, according to the law against idolatry. The wizards and necromancers shared their fate.[60]

Returning to Jerusalem in the eighteenth year of his reign (B.C. 622), Josiah kept the passover according to the directions of the newly-discovered Book of the Law. This passover was the greatest and the most exact that had been kept since the time of Moses. It is the last great united act of religion in the time preceding the Captivity.[61]

§ 7. The foreign relations of Judah were most favorable to these great reforms. The friendship of Egypt had been secured by the preceding kings, though, as we shall soon see, Josiah had kept from the entanglement of a close alliance. The Assyrian Empire was tottering to its fall, which was consummated at the very time that Josiah had completed his reforms. It was about B.C. 625 that the allied forces of Media and Babylon finally laid siege to Nineveh, and after a long and obstinate resistance, SARACUS, the last Assyrian king, gathered his wives and treasures into his palace, and perished with them in the fire kindled by his own hand. He was the grandson of Esar-haddon, and the son of Sardanapalus II., with whom he is confounded by the classical historians. The fall of Assyria fulfilled the prophecies of Isaiah, and the more recent predictions of NAHUM and ZEPHANIAH.[62]

Upon its ruins rose two great empires, the one destined to overthrow and the other to restore the Jewish commonwealth. Speaking roughly, they were divided from each other by the highlands that bound the great valley of the Tigris and Euphrates on the east and north. While the MEDES sought the extension of their power beyond the mountains of Armenia, and disputed with the Lydians the supremacy of Asia Minor, the King of BABYLON laid claim to the provinces that had owned the sovereignty of Assyria west of the Euphrates. During most of the reign of NABOPOLASSAR, the first king (B.C. 625–604), Josiah probably paid the accustomed tribute. But the powerful dynasty that now ruled in Egypt resolved to dispute the supremacy with Babylon.

[60] 2 K. xxiii. 15–20, 24, 25; comp. 2 K. xiii.
[61] 2 K. xxiii. 21–23; the details are given in 2 Chron. xxxv.
[62] Is. x. 5–19; Nahum, the whole; Zephaniah ii. 13–15.

PHARAOH-NECHOH,[63] the son of Psammetichus, having finished the conquest of the Philistines, advanced with a great army to attack Carchemish,[64] which commanded a chief ford of the Euphrates. His line of march was through the great maritime plain and the valley of Esdraelon. Not only did he thus avoid Judah, but when Josiah showed signs of hostility, Necho sent him an emphatic but friendly warning to remain at peace. There has been much speculation on Josiah's motives for hostility. Some ascribe it to an honorable loyalty to Babylon as his sovereign; but we incline to think that he was carrying into action the patriotic principles he had learned from the Book of the Law, though miscalculating his own strength and mistaking the Divine will. Marching down from the highlands of Manasseh into the plain of Esdraelon by the pass which issues near MEGIDDO,[65] he encountered the whole force of the Egyptian army. He had so far deferred to the remonstrance of Necho as to try to conceal his being present in person, but his disguise did not serve him. The Egyptian archers, shooting in their serried ranks, as we still see them on the monuments, wounded Josiah mortally in his chariot. He was removed in his second chariot to Jerusalem,[66] and was buried among the sepulchres of the kings. His fall caused a universal mourning. Jeremiah wrote a lamentation for him, the spirit of which may be gathered from a passage in his larger *Book of Lamentations*:—"The breath of our nostrils, the Anointed of Jehovah, was taken in their pits, of whom we said, under his shadow shall we live among the heathen."[67] His loss formed the burden of regular songs even after the Captivity, when "the mourning of Hadad-rimmon in the valley of Megiddon" was still the type of the deepest national affliction.[68]

[63] 2 K. xxiii. 29: in 2 Chron. xxxv. 20, he is called simply NECHO; by the Greek writers, NECOS (νεκώς); in the hieroglyphics, NECU.

[64] Carchemish is not the classical Circesium, but lay much higher up the Euphrates, occupying nearly the site of the later *Mabog*, or Hierapolis. The word means "the fort of Chemosh," the well-known deity of the Moabites.

[65] Megiddo is the modern *el-Lejjûn*, which is undoubtedly the Legio of Eusebius and Jerome. It commands one of the passes into the hill-country. The topography is illustrated in the history of the defeat of Sisera and Barak. See p. 343.

[66] In 2 K. xxiii. 30, his dead body is said to have been carried to Jerusalem; in 2 Chron. xxxv. 24, he appears to have died after reaching Jerusalem: another of those slight discrepancies which are far more important as proofs of honesty than their reconciliation could be valuable.

[67] 2 Chron. xxxv. 25; Lam. iv. 20.

[68] Zech. xii. 11. Hadad-rimmon seems to have been a sanctuary of the Syrian god, where the first mourning was made for Josiah on the spot where he fell.

Well might such feelings be excited by the battle of Megiddo. That great valley of Esdraelon, the lists of Palestine, the scene of the great victories of Barak and of Gideon, was now stained with a second defeat more disastrous than that in which Saul lost his life. Then it had witnessed the fall of the short-lived dynasty of the people's choice, but now it saw the virtual end of the earthly monarchy of the house of David. Hence may be traced the mystic significance which surrounds the name of this battle-field. The prophet Zechariah employs the mourning at Megiddo as a type of the more wholesome sorrow of Judah in the day when God shall pour out upon them the spirit of grace and prayer, as a preparation for his final destruction of all the nations that come up against Jerusalem; and his imagery is adopted in the visions of the Apocalypse. On the very scene of the two most signal defeats of Israel and Judah by their most inveterate enemies, the Philistines and Egypt, the seer beholds the mystic "Battle of Armageddon," which avenges all such defeats by the final overthrow of the kings of all the world in the great day of God Almighty.[69]

The reign of Josiah was marked by the revival of *prophecy*, which had long been silent under Manasseh and Amon. To this period belong Nahum, Zephaniah, Habakkuk, and the greatest of all, Jeremiah. NAHUM's splendid prophecy of the destruction of Nineveh seems to have only preceded the event by a short time. The date of HABAKKUK, though far from certain, has been placed, upon strong internal evidence, about the twelfth or thirteenth year of Josiah (B.C. 630–629). The title of ZEPHANIAH's prophecy places him in the reign of Josiah; and, though it has been inferred from one passage[70] that he wrote after the restoration of Jehovah's worship, his vehement denunciations of the sins that prevailed in Judah seem rather applicable to an earlier period. JEREMIAH's long career began in the thirteenth year of Josiah (B.C. 629)[71] with

[69] Zech. xii. 9–14; Rev. xvi. 14–16. "Armageddon" is the "fortress" or "height of Megiddo," according as we take the prefix for the Hebrew Ar or Har (=Hor). The absurdities of certain prophetical schools might have been avoided if they would only have recognized the essential character of the Apocalypse that it is *imagery seen in vision*, not *history foretold in logical language*; and if they would have compared John's imagery with the Hebrew prophets who first used it, and both with the scenes and events that suggested it. Thus, when the great spiritual victory which is to end man's rebellion against God is to be revealed to John, he beholds in vision the armies of the world mustered in the great valley of his native Galilee, as they had been against Deborah and Gideon, against Saul and Josiah. That the victory is spiritual, is perhaps more clearly seen in Zechariah than in the Apocalypse itself.

[70] Zeph. iii. 5.

[71] Jer. i. 2.

reproaches for sin and warnings of coming judgment, mingled with exhortations and encouragements to repentance, and promises of restoration. Though he is only once mentioned in the history of Josiah's reign, the language of his own book assures us that, both as priest and prophet, he animated the king and people in the work of reformation, and most vigorously denounced the policy of the Egyptian party. His final lamentation for the fate of Josiah must have been doubly embittered by seeing Israel again prostrate beneath her old oppressor.[72] In his prophecies we also trace that strange perplexity concerning the ultimate fate of the people, which even now weighs upon the student of their history, and which must have been terribly felt while the event was still unknown. Was it possible for a state that had sunk so low, not only politically but morally, to be restored even by repentance and reformation? His only refuge from the despair involved in the true answer is in contemplating the past proofs of Jehovah's goodness to the nation, and uttering his inspired predictions of future glory.

§ 8. The death of Josiah, in B.C. 610, or rather 608,[73] marks the virtual end of the kingdom of Judah. The four kings who followed him were the mere puppets of Egypt and Babylon, and the twenty-two years of their nominal reigns are occupied with successive conquests and deportations. These twenty-two years are divided into two equal parts by the captivity of Jehoiachin. To follow their events, we must first have a clear view of the family of Josiah, the stem of which is as follows:[74]—

JOSIAH (b. B.C. 650, d. B.C. 610).

Johanan (Jehoahaz?)	Eliakim or Jehoiakim, b. B.C. 635 (2 K. xxiii. 36; 2 Chron. xxxv. 5).	Mattaniah or Zedekiah, b. B.C. 620 (2 K. xxiv. 17, 18).	Shallum (Jehoahaz?).

Sons of Eliakim or Jehoiakim:

Jehoiachin, Jeconiah, or Coniah.	Zedekiah?

[72] Jer. ii. 18, 36; 2 Chron. xxxv. 25.

[73] This is the most convenient place to adopt the correction, required by recent investigations, of lowering by two years the dates of the received chronology.

[74] 1 Chron. iii. 15. The second Zedekiah is probably inserted by the common confusion between "brother" and "uncle," which is made in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 11, as the age of Zedekiah shows.

The place of Jehoahaz, the successor of Josiah, is purposely left doubtful in this pedigree. If the question were to be decided only by probability, we could scarcely hesitate to identify Jehoahaz with Johanan, as in the margin of our version. The name[75] and the succession both favor this view; and it involves no necessary alteration of the dates, though it is at least suspicious to find that Jehoiakim was born when his father was only fifteen. But it seems to have been overlooked that Jehoiakim had a different mother from Jehoahaz and Zedekiah: his mother's name was Zebudah, the daughter of Pedaiah, of Ruma; theirs was Hamutai, the daughter of Jeremiah, of Libnah.[76] If Hamutai was the first wife of Josiah, her eldest son would take precedence of the eldest son of the second wife, even though younger, both in the statement of the pedigree and in the succession to the kingdom. We have, however, the express authority of a passage in Jeremiah, unless there be some corruption of the text, for identifying Jehoahaz with Shallum.[77] In this case, we must transpose his place in the genealogy, and make him the third instead of the fourth son of Josiah; for Jehoahaz was twenty-three years old in B.C. 610, and was therefore born in B.C. 633, thirteen years before Zedekiah. The absence of any mention of Johanan is accounted for by the supposition that he died before his father, or fell with him at Megiddo; and the preference of Shallum to Eliakim may have been due to the superior rank of his mother.

JEHOAHAZ, the seventeenth king of Judah, was raised to the throne by the people after Josiah's death, while Pharaoh-necho proceeded on his expedition against Carchemish. Having (it seems) taken that city, he summoned Jehoahaz to Riblah in Hamath (on the Orontes) and there kept him as a prisoner till his return to Egypt. Entering Jerusalem as a conqueror, he placed on the throne Eliakim (the brother of Jehoahaz), to whom he gave the name of Jehoiakim,[78] and imposed a tribute of 100 talents of silver and a talent of gold (about £40,000), which Jehoiakim collected by a tax on the land. Jehoahaz was carried by Pharaoh-necho to Egypt,

[75] *Johanan*, the common Hebrew name familiar to us in the shorter form of *John*, is an abbreviation of *Jehohanan* (the *Gift of Jehovah*, equivalent to the Greek *Theodore*): hence its application to John the Baptist (Luke i. 13, 60-63; for other *Johns*, see *Bib. Dict.* arts. *Jehohanan* and *Johanan*). *Jehoahaz* means *possession of Jehovah*. The change of the last letter would be naturally made at his accession.

[76] 2 K. xxiii. 31, 36, xxiv. 18: this Jeremiah is a different person from the prophet.

[77] Jer. xxii. 11.

[78] The name itself looks more as if it had been given by the priests. The change is from *El* (*God*) to *Jeho* (*Jehovah*).

where he died soon afterward. His brief reign was characterized by wickedness and oppression, but he was lamented as the last king of the people's choice. Jeremiah, who had mourned so bitterly for Josiah, now says:—"Weep ye not for the dead, neither honor him: weep sore for him that goeth away; for he shall return no more, nor see his native country."[79] The fortunes of Jehoahaz and his two successors are described in highly poetical imagery by Ezekiel.[80]

The expedition of Pharaoh-necho is related by Herodotus, who places the victory over "the Syrians," as he calls the people of Josiah, at Magdolus, evidently by a confusion between Migdol and Megiddo. After the battle he took Cadytis, a great city of the Syrians, and he sent the garment he had worn in the campaign as an offering to the Temple of Apollo at Branchidæ of the Milesians.[81] It is commonly assumed that Cadytis is Jerusalem, the name being derived from its ancient appellation "Kodesh" (the *Holy City*), which it still bears in Arabic (*el-Khuds.*) But this is scarcely to be reconciled with another passage, in which Herodotus makes the country of "the Syrians of Palestine" extend from Phœnice to *Cadytis* (a city not much smaller than Sardis), after which are the places of traffic *along the sea* belonging to the Arabian king.[82] It is not improbable that GAZA may be the city which Herodotus calls Cadytis.

§ 9. JEHOIAKIM, the eighteenth king of Judah, was twenty-five years old when he was placed on the throne by Pharaoh-necho, instead of his brother Jehoahaz; and he reigned eleven years at Jerusalem, doing evil in the sight of Jehovah.[83] Jeremiah sternly rebukes his injustice and oppression, his cruelty and avarice, and his reckless luxury in building himself a magnificent palace, and contrasts all this with his father's justice to the poor:[84] and in the *Chronicles* his name is dismissed with an allusion to "all the abominations that he did."[85] From the very commencement of his reign, the voice of Jeremiah is heard plainly predicting, and prefiguring by striking signs, the captivity at Babylon as a judgment rendered inevitable by the people's sins, but adding the promise of their future restoration.[86] Attempts were made

[79] 2 K. xxiii. 31-34; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 1-4; Jer. xxii. 10-12.

[80] Ezek. xix. 1-9.

[81] Herod ii. 159.

[82] Herod. iii. 5. The arguments against Jerusalem apply still more strongly to *Kedesh* on the Orontes, which has been suggested by some Orientalists.

[83] 2 K. xxiii. 36, 37; 2 Chron xxxvi. 5.

[84] Jer. xxii. 13-17.

[85] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 8.

[86] Jer. xiii.-xix.

to silence him by the princes, priests, and false prophets of the Egyptian party, who represented him as a traitor. He often complains of these enemies, and he expressly predicts the captivity of Pashur, the priest and governor of the Temple, who had beaten him and put him in the stocks (or pillory.)[87] Still he faithfully delivered the messages which Jehovah now gave him to the King of Judah by name, as plainly as Nathan had been sent to David. This directness of language is a striking character of the prophecies of Jeremiah, and indeed of most of the historical prophecies. In one of these prophecies, after mourning the death of Josiah and the hopeless captivity of Jehoahaz, he predicts the fate of Jehoiakim to the very details of his dishonored end.[88] On another occasion the prophet took his stand in the court of the Temple, amid an assemblage from all the cities of Judah, to proclaim that God would even yet repent him of the coming evil if they turned to Him, but if not, that His house should be destroyed like the tabernacle at Shiloh, and the city made a curse to all nations.[89] The priests and prophets now resolved on Jeremiah's death: and they had a precedent in the case of URIJAH, the son of Shemaiah of Kirjath-jearim, who, having uttered prophecies like those of Jeremiah, had been pursued by the envoys of Jehoiakim into Egypt, and brought back to suffer an ignominious death. The princes of Judah, however, before whom Jeremiah was arraigned, appealed to the better precedent of the times of Hezekiah, who allowed MICAH to prophesy with impunity, and Jeremiah's life was saved by the influence of Ahikam, the son of Shaphan, and other old counselors of Josiah.[90] These warnings were given in the beginning of Jehoiakim's reign, and their fulfillment was soon begun by the overthrow of his Egyptian protector.

The fourth year of Jehoiakim (B.C. 605–4) is a marked epoch both in secular and sacred history, though the destruction of Nineveh, once assigned to it by chronologers, is now referred to an earlier date. In this year we first meet with NEBUCHADNEZZAR,[91] the greatest of the Babylonian kings, and the destined destroyer of the Jewish monarchy. His

[87] Jer. xx. [88] Jer. xxii. 1–23.

[89] Jer. xxvi. 1–7.

[90] Jer. xxvi.

[91] Also called Nabuchodonosor, and by Jeremiah, Nebuchadrezzar. The last form is the nearest to his native name *Nabu-Kuduri-utsur* (*Nebo is the protector against misfortune*). The year B.C. 605, the fourth of Jehoiakim, is reckoned the first year of his reign by Jeremiah (xxv. 1). The date is further fixed as the twenty-third year from the 13th of Josiah, when Jeremiah began to prophesy.

father, Nabopolassar, appears to have been still alive when he led a great army against Carchemish, which was still held by the Egyptians, and inflicted a decisive defeat on Pharaoh-necho. This blow put an end to the hopes of the Egyptian party at Jerusalem, as well as to all fears of subjugation from that quarter, and left the city defenseless against Nebuchadnezzar. "The King of Egypt came not again any more out of his land; for the King of Babylon had taken from the river of Egypt unto the River Euphrates all that pertained to the King of Egypt.[92] Meanwhile Jeremiah, having predicted the overthrow of the Egyptians,[93] uttered that memorable prophecy, in which he fixes the duration of the coming Captivity at seventy years, and predicts the fall of Babylon and the other nations hostile to the Jews. It was from this prophecy that Daniel was enabled to calculate the time of the promised restoration, and it was fulfilled by the decree of Cyrus in B.C. 536.[94]

The interesting episode of the flight of the RECHABITES to Jerusalem also belongs to the time of Nebuchadnezzar's advance from Carchemish to Jerusalem. Their fidelity to the patriarchal laws of their ancestor, Jonadab the son of Rechab, is used by Jeremiah as a powerful reproof of the faithlessness of the Jews toward Jehovah.[95]

Nebuchadnezzar advanced to Jerusalem, which he took after a brief siege,[96] dethroned Jehoiakim, and put him in fetters, with a view to carry him to Babylon. For some reason this intention was abandoned, and Jehoiakim was restored to his throne as a vassal. His treasures were carried off to Babylon, where the vessels of the sanctuary were dedicated in the Temple of Belus.[97] At the same time Nebuchadnezzar commissioned Ashpenaz, the chief of his eunuchs, to choose a number of royal and noble Hebrew youths, excelling alike in beauty and mental accomplishments to be brought up at his court and trained in the learning of Chaldæa. Among those thus selected were DANIEL, with his three companions, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, to whose well-known history we shall soon return.[98]

[92] 2 K. xxiv. 7. [93] Jer. xlvi. 1–12.

[94] Jer. xxv.; Daniel ix. 1, 2; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22; Ezra i. 1. Here again we notice the literal directness of a chronological and historical prophecy:—Jerusalem, Babylon, Cyrus (Is. xliv.), seventy years, have all their literal meanings. [95] Jer. xxxv.

[96] Dan. i. 1.

[97] 2 K. xxiv. 1; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6, 7; Dan. i. 1, 2.

[98] Dan. i. 3–7. A difficulty arises from the date in this passage, the *third* year of Jehoaikim, instead of the *fourth*, as in Jeremiah. The simplest explanation is that the advance of Nebuchadnezzar from Babylon began in the third year of Jehoiakim,

While the long train of Syrian, Jewish, and Egyptian captives were led by the usual route, Nebuchadnezzar hastened back across the Syrian desert, in consequence of his father's death, and ascended the vacant throne without opposition.[99] His accession is fixed by the Canon of Ptolemy at January 21, B.C. 604, which corresponds to the fourth year of Jehoiakim, the received chronology being two years too high.[100] The state in which Jerusalem was left can be learned from Jeremiah, though there is great difficulty not only in determining the order of his prophecies, but in deciding, among those that belong to this period, which were delivered before, and which after, Nebuchadnezzar's first capture of the city. It seems to have been after his retreat that a great fast was appointed for the ninth month, in the fifth year of Jehoiakim.[101] The occasion was seized by Jeremiah, at the command of God, to make a solemn appeal to the people to return from their evil way, that they might even yet be forgiven. With the aid of his disciple and secretary, Baruch the son of Neriah, he had written in a volume the whole of the prophecies that he had uttered, from the days of Josiah downward, against Israel, Judah, and other nations. Being prevented, perhaps by the command of God to insure his safety, from going up to the Temple himself, he commissioned Baruch to read the volume to the people assembled out of all the cities of Judah. Baruch took his station in a chamber above the new gate of the Temple, belonging to Michaiah the scribe, who was the grandson of Shaphan, and a friend to Jeremiah. When Baruch had read the book to the people in the court below, Michaiah reported the whole to the princes who were assembled in the scribe's chamber at the palace. Having sent for Baruch and heard him read the volume, they advised him and Jeremiah to hide themselves while they laid the matter before the king. Jehoiakim was sitting in his winter palace, with a fire burning in a brazier (for it was cold), and the prince Jehudi read the roll at his command. As fast as he read, the king cut off the leaves with a penknife and threw them into the fire till the whole volume was consumed, in spite of the intercession of Gemaliah and others. Jeremiah and Baruch only escaped arrest through having followed the advice of the princes. But this earliest example of Bible-burning was as unsuccessful in suppressing the word of God as later feats of the same kind. Jeremiah

but that Jerusalem was not taken till the fourth.

[99] Berosus, Fr. 7.

[100] See note [73], on p. 589.

[101] November to December, B.C 604: Jer. xxxvi. 9.

was bidden to take another roll, and to write in it the same words, with a further prophecy of the utter desolation of Judah, and of the king's disgraceful end. So Baruch wrote in the next volume, at the dictation of Jeremiah, all the words of the book which the king had burned, "and there were added besides unto them many like words." Both king and people, however, remained obdurate.[102]

The failure of this last appeal can scarcely have surprised Jeremiah, but it had a deep effect on his more youthful and ardent disciple. Baruch seems to have hoped that, amid the solemnity of the fast, the people would have been stirred up by his words to a movement of new national and religious life, and Jeremiah addresses him in words fitted to chasten the despair of the too sanguine patriot. He reminds him of God's sovereign right to break down what He had built, and to pluck up what He had planted, and adds:—"Seekest thou great things for thyself? seek them not: for, behold, I will bring evil upon all flesh, saith Jehovah: but *thy life* will I give thee for *a prey*"—as if snatched from the net of the destroyer—"in all places whither thou goest."[103] The promise was fulfilled by Baruch's sharing with Jeremiah the protection of Nebuchadnezzar when Jerusalem was taken, and by his afterward finding a refuge in Egypt with the remnant of the Jews.[104]

The burning of Jeremiah's prophecies indicates that spirit of defiance which led Jehoiakim to rebel against Nebuchadnezzar, after reigning for three years as a vassal of Babylon.[105] He relied, if we may believe Josephus, on the aid of Egypt. The Scripture narrative is here so brief that we have to follow other authorities, whose statements are conflicting and uncertain. It seems that Nebuchadnezzar was too much occupied with the great conflict between the Lydian and Median empires to march against Jerusalem; but his governors roused the surrounding nations, the Syrians, Moabites, and Ammonites, who joined with such forces of the Chaldæans as could be spared to harass Judah. At length, in the seventh year of his reign (B.C. 598), he took the field in person, with Cyaxares, king of Media, as his ally, and marched first against

[102] Jer. xxxvi. There is no occasion for the supposition of Ussher and Prideaux, that the first roll was read twice. It was written in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, which ended (according to the Canon) in August, in preparation for the fast which fell in the following November to December in the king's fifth year.

[103] Jer. xlv. 1–5. See the exquisite paraphrase in the *Christian Year*, 11th Sunday after Trinity.

[104] Jer. xliii. 6.

[105] 2 K. xxiv. 1: B.C. 602.

Tyre, which had rebelled about the same time as Judah. Having invested the city, he marched with a part of his forces against Jerusalem, put Jehoiakim to death, as Jeremiah had prophesied, and placed his son Jehoiachin upon the throne.[106]

§ 10. JEHOIACHIN, JECONIAH, or CONIAH,[107] the nineteenth king of Judah, was eight years old when he was placed on the throne by Nebuchadnezzar, and reigned only three months and ten days.[108] Considering his infancy, "the evil which he did in the sight of Jehovah" must be understood of the policy pursued by those who ruled in his name, the old idolatrous and Egyptian party. The fate which they brought upon the young king is vividly described by Jeremiah, who compares Jehovah's rejection of "Coniah" to the plucking off and throwing away a signet ring, and the king himself to a despised broken idol, foretells his captivity and his mother's, without hope of return, and solemnly invokes the whole earth to hear the sentence of Jehovah, pronouncing this man childless, and the last of his line who should sit upon the throne of David.[109] But even this terrible burden is accompanied with the promise of Messiah's kingdom and of the people's restoration.[110]

The machinations of the Egyptian party at Jerusalem were at once crushed by Nebuchadnezzar, who again turned from the siege of Tyre to Jerusalem, in the eighth year of his reign (B.C. 598, Clinton; 597, Rawlinson). The city was saved from a storm by the surrender of Jehoiachin, with his mother, Nehushta, and the royal harem, and all his princes and officers. They were all carried off to Babylon, with all the mighty men of the country, and all the skilled artisans, none being left behind but the poorest sort of the people. The total number of the captives was 10,000, of whom 7000 were soldiers, and 1000 smiths and other craftsmen: it would seem that the royal family, the princes, and the priests, made up the other 2000.[111] Among the captives were Ezekiel, who had not yet received his prophetic commission, and the grand-

[106] 2 K. xxiv. 6; Jer. xxii. 18, 19, xxxvi. 30; Polyhistor, Fr. xxiv.; Joseph. *Antiq.* x. 6, 7, 8, *c. Ap.* i. 21; Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. i. pp. 513, 514. Clinton places the end of Jehoiakim's reign in March, B.C. 598; Rawlinson in B.C. 597; the common Chronology, in B.C. 599.

[107] *Appointed of Jehovah:* other forms of the name are Joiachin, Joiachim, and Joachim; also Joiakim and Joakin, by confusion with Jehoiakim. There seems to be an allusion to the meaning of his name in Jer. xxii. 24.

[108] March to June, B.C. 597 (Clinton, B.C. 598). 2 K. xxiv. 8, 9; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9; the age given in the latter passage, eight years, is clearly preferable to that of the former, eighteen.

[109] Jer. xxii. 24–30.

[110] Jer. xxiii.

[111] 2 K. xxiv. 10–16.

father of MORDECAI, Shimei, the son of Kish, a Benjamite.[112] At the same time all the remaining treasures of the Temple and palace were carried off, and the golden vessels of the sanctuary were cut in pieces.[113] Mattaniah, the youngest son of Josiah, and uncle of Jehoiachin, was made king over the wretched remnant of Judah, under the new name of Zedekiah.[114]

One of the most remarkable circumstances of this event is that Nebuchadnezzar abstained from the utter destruction of the rebellious city. We shall see that, in all probability, the king had already received the first of those great revelations of Jehovah's power and majesty which were made to him through Daniel,[115] and it seems impossible not to refer his moderation to this lesson. Ezekiel expressly states what was the policy of Nebuchadnezzar in thus continuing the existence of the state: "He hath taken away the mighty of the land, that the kingdom might be base, that it might not lift itself up, but that by keeping of his covenant it might stand."[116] The *covenant* referred to is the oath which Nebuchadnezzar exacted of the new king,[117] and which Zedekiah shamefully broke.

Jehoiachin survived for many years after the fall of Zedekiah. For a long time his imprisonment at Babylon was rigorous: he was closely confined and clad in a prison dress. The plots of the Egyptian party and the hopes of his return held out by the false prophet Hananiah (B.C. 595) explain this severity as well as Hananiah's cruel execution;[118] but in the thirty-seventh year of his captivity (on the 25th or 27th day of the twelfth month, Adar=Feb. B.C. 561) he was released by Evil-merodach, who had just succeeded to the throne of Babylon (Jan. 11, B.C. 561).[119] He was received with kind words, was placed in the royal presence on a throne above all the other captive kings, received a robe of honor, and a portion for his daily diet, until his death. With him expired the royal line of Solomon. "This man was written childless," as Jeremiah had declared; and "no man of his seed prospered, sitting upon the throne of David, and ruling

[112] Joseph. *Ant.* x. 6, § 3; Esth. ii. 5, 6.

[113] 2 K. xxiv. 13; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 19. The vessels are described as "those that Solomon had made." Either they were too massive for removal on the many previous occasions when the Temple had been plundered, or they had been made to replace the originals.

[114] 2 K. xxiv. 7. In 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10, "brother" means "father's brother."

[115] B.C. 603. See chap. xxvi. § 2.

[116] Ezek. xvii. 13, 14.

[117] Comp. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 13.

[118] Jer. xxviii. See p. 599.

[119] 2 K. xxv. 27-30; Jer. lii. 31-34. Clinton, *Fasti*, vol. i. pp. 319, 329.

any more in Judah."[120] The inheritance of David passed on to the line of his son Nathan, whose representative, Salathiel, is therefore inserted in the genealogies as the son of Jehoiachin, and the ancestor of Christ.[121]

§ 11. ZEDEKIAH, the twentieth and last king of Judah, and the youngest son of Josiah and Hamutai, was twenty years old at his accession, and reigned eleven years, till the final destruction of Jerusalem.[122] His proper name, Mattaniah, was changed to Zedekiah at his accession. The only events of his reign, except the brief record of the fall of Jerusalem, are those connected with the history of Jeremiah, from whose book we learn the spirit of the times. Zedekiah accepted his royalty over the impoverished remnant of the Jews, as the vassal of Nebuchadnezzar, to whom he was bound by every principle of good faith. The fate of his brother and his nephew had proved the hopelessness of rebellion even before the whole strength of the nation had been carried into captivity. The miserable remnant might well envy the condition of their captive brethren, and the time had at length come for piety and patriotism to show themselves in a wise submission to what was proved to be the will of God. Of such a course Jeremiah was the assiduous adviser. His parable of the two baskets of figs showed the goodness that God had in store for the captivity, but the hopeless state of the remnant left behind.[123] His letter to the elders, priests, and prophets at Babylon warned them, in opposition to the false prophets who promised their speedy restoration, to make all their arrangements for a prolonged residence there, and repeated the former statement that their captivity should last seventy years; adding that those left behind should, after suffering from the sword, the famine, and the pestilence, be dispersed over all the world, and become a by-word and reproach.[124] From what follows we learn more of the false prophets whom Jeremiah denounced. Two among them, Ahab, the son of Kolaiah, and Zedekiah, the son of Maaseiah, whose lives were as profligate as their principles, were seized by Nebuchadnezzar, and "roasted in the fire," an example which must have been the more striking from its contrast with the deliverance of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-

[120] Jer. xxii. 30. There are allusions to him in the apocryphal books: Baruch i. 3; 1 Esdr. v. 5; Susannah.

[121] 1 Chr. iii. 17; Matt. i. 12; Luke iii. 31.

[122] From June, B.C. 598 to June, B.C. 587, Clinton; B.C. 597–586, Rawlinson.

[123] Jer. xxiv.

[124] Jer. xxix. 1–14, 16–20: ver. 15 should be placed as in the LXX., after ver. 21.

nego. Another of the same party, Shemaiah the Nehelamite (or the dreamer), dared to write, as if by the word of Jehovah, to Zephaniah and the other priests at Jerusalem, complaining of Jeremiah's letter, and demanding his imprisonment.[125] Constant in his opposition to these false prophets, whether at Babylon or at home, Jeremiah uttered his grand prophecies of the restoration of Israel in God's own time, but not till then,[126] and of the judgments that awaited all her enemies.[127] His great prophecy against Babylon, for the consolation of the exiles, was rendered the more impressive by the sign which followed it. Seraiah, the son of Neriah, who carried this prophecy to Babylon, was directed, after reading it, to tie a stone to the volume and to sink it in the Euphrates, saying, "Thus shall Babylon sink, and shall not rise from the evil that I will bring upon her."[128] The occasion found for executing this commission was a visit which Zedekiah paid to Babylon in the fourth year of his reign (B.C. 594–3), probably to pay his tribute to Nebuchadnezzar, or perhaps to defend himself against the first suspicions of treasonable dealings with Egypt. For in the same year Pharaoh-necho, who seems never to have ventured to meet Nebuchadnezzar after the defeat of Carchemish, was succeeded by his son Psammetichus II. (the Psammis of Herodotus). From the Book of EZEKIEL, who began in this year to enforce upon the exiles at Babylon the same lessons that Jeremiah was teaching at Jerusalem, we learn that Zedekiah entered into a treasonable correspondence with the new King of Egypt, which the prophet denounces as a gross violation of his plighted faith, destined to end in the king's being brought to Babylon for punishment, while his people should fall by the sword or be scattered to the winds.[129] The terms of the agreement with Egypt are expressly stated by the prophet:—"He rebelled against him in sending his ambassadors into Egypt, that they might give him horses and much people;" and we are forbidden to give Zedekiah credit for a patriotic resistance by the declaration of the historian:— "He rebelled against King Nebuchadnezzar, who had made him swear by God; but he stiffened his neck and hardened his heart from turning unto Jehovah, God of Israel."[130]

At Jerusalem the plot appeared so far ripe that the false prophet Hananiah promised the return of Jehoiachin within two years, and publicly broke off the neck of Jeremiah the

[125] Jer. xxix. 21–32.
[126] Jer. xxx., xxxi.
[127] Jer. xlviii., xlix.
[128] Jer. l., li. The same figure is used to portend the fall of the mystic Babylon, in Rev. xviii. 21.
[129] Ezek. xvii. 11–21.
[130] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 13.

yoke which he wore, as a sign of the hopeless subjection of Judah and the surrounding nations, who seem to have joined the Egyptian league. Jeremiah replied that the yoke of wood (the present vassalage of Babylon) should be replaced by a yoke of iron (the final destruction of the nation), and predicted the death of Hananiah, which happened within the year.[131] We find further evidence of the progress of the conspiracy in the Book of Ezekiel. His vision of the Temple at Jerusalem, in the fifth day of the sixth month of the sixth year of the Captivity (B.C. 594–3), reveals the idol abominations which would soon be punished by the destruction of all but a small chosen remnant,[132] and other visions and types follow to the like effect.[133] The plainer language of Ezekiel, about a year later (on the tenth of the fifth month of the seventh year of Zedekiah),[134] when the elders of Judah came to him to inquire of Jehovah concerning the state of Jerusalem, serves to show that the rebellion had broken out.[135] The utter corruption of the people at this time, their persecution of God's prophets and rejection of his word, so that his wrath came upon them "till *there was no remedy;*" the wickedness of Zedekiah in not humbling himself before the word of God by Jeremiah; his faithlessness to the oath he had sworn to Nebuchadnezzar, and that not from religious patriotism, for "he stiffened his neck and hardened his heart from turning unto Jehovah God of Israel; and the result in the destruction of Jerusalem and the captivity of the people till the time of the Persian Empire, so that the land kept her sabbaths for 70 years as Jeremiah had foretold; these outlines of the catastrophe are drawn by the writer of the Chronicles.[136]

§ 12. It was still two years before Nebuchadnezzar laid siege to Jerusalem, with the resolution to destroy it utterly for Zedekiah's treason. From this point the dates of Ezekiel's prophecies accompany the events at Jerusalem. The city was invested in the ninth year of Zedekiah, on the tenth day of the tenth month;[137] and on the same day Ezekiel was commissioned to foretell its utter destruction, by striking images, to the exiles at Babylon.[138] The forces marshaled

[131] Jer. xxvii., xxviii.

[132] Ezek. viii., ix. [133] Ezek. x.–xii.

[134] The 10th of Ab=July 26 (about) B.C. 591. It was on this very day, five years later, that the Temple was destroyed. The *days* of our calendar are the anniversaries of the Jewish calendar in 1863, which, beginning with the vernal equinox, may be taken as a *normal* year.

[135] Ezek. xx., xxii., xxiii.

[136] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 11–21; comp. Jer. xxxvii. 1, 2.

[137] The tenth of Thebet=December 20 (about), B.C. 589. This anniversary is kept as a fast by the Jews.

[138] 2 K. xxv. 1, 2; Jer. xxxix. 1, lii. 4; Ezek. xxiv.

against Jerusalem comprised Nebuchadnezzar's whole army, all the vassal kings of his empire, and all the nations around, Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites, and others, who came up to avenge the quarrels of a thousand years.[139] All the fortified cities of Judah had already been taken except Lachish and Azekah.[140]

In this extremity Zedekiah proclaimed freedom to all Hebrew slaves, and sent Zephaniah the priest, with another messenger, to entreat the prayers of Jeremiah. In reply, he announced the coming destruction of the city and the fate of the king himself.[141] The king now attempted to silence him by a mild confinement in the court of the prison in the palace, where he had the society of Baruch. While thus shut up, and that in a city environed by a mighty enemy, Jeremiah purchased, as the "Goël," a field at his native village of Anathoth in Benjamin, as a sign of that return which he went on to prophesy, together with the glories of Messiah's kingdom.[142] This act of faith has been compared to that of the Roman who bought, at its full value, the ground on which Hannibal was encamped.[143]

And now there broke forth a deceptive ray of hope. Pharaoh-hophra,[144] who had just succeeded to the throne of Egypt, led the forces which his father had collected to the relief of Zedekiah. His capture of Gaza[145] caused Nebuchadnezzar to suspend the siege of Jerusalem, and to march against him. And now Jerusalem exulted with the joy of a city delivered from a hopeless siege. But Jeremiah forbade them to deceive themselves, while, on the distant banks of the Euphrates, Ezekiel also foretold the ruin of Egypt.[146] The princes of Judah now broke their solemn covenant to release their Hebrew slaves; and Jeremiah, having denounced their conduct, left the city for his home in Benjamin. He was detained by one of his enemies, who happened to be captain of the gate. The princes accused him of deserting to the Chal-

[139] Jer. xxxiv. 1.

[140] Jer. xxxiv. 7.

[141] Jer. xxxvii. 1–4, xxxiv. 1–10. This arrangement is based on the statement in xxxvii. 4, that Jeremiah was not yet imprisoned. Ver. 7 of the same chapter may refer to a later message.

[142] Jer. xxxii., xxxiii.

[143] Liv. xxxvi. 11.

[144] The Vaphres or Apries of Manetho and Herodotus, and the *Uaphra* of the Egyptologers.

[145] See J[illegible] [illegible]vii. 1–7.

[146] Jer. xxxvii. 6–10; Ezek. xxix., xxx., xxxi. The dates of these prophecies are given: the twelfth day of the tenth month of the tenth year of Zedekiah = end of December, B.C. 588; the seventh of the first month of the eleventh year = April, B.C. 586, and the first of the third month = end of May, B.C. 586. These dates are all two years higher in the received chronology.

dæans, a course which had now become common; and he was imprisoned in the house of Jonathan the scribe, where he remained for some time.[147] Meanwhile his warnings were fulfilled by the return of the army of Nebuchadnezzar, who, according to Josephus, had defeated the Egyptians; though more probably the enemy retired without a battle.[148]

Zedekiah now sent secretly for Jeremiah, and asked him, "Is there any word from Jehovah?" "There is," replied the prophet; "thou shalt be delivered into the hand of the King of Babylon." Hoping, it would seem, for a more favorable answer, the king sent him back to the court of the prison, and ordered him to be fed while any bread was left in the city.[149] In reply to another request which the king sent to him by Pashur and Zephaniah to inquire of Jehovah, the prophet pointed out a surrender as the only hope of safety.[150] Upon this the princes demanded his death as a traitor, and the king confessed himself too weak to withstand them. They threw Jeremiah to perish in a hideous pit of the prison, where he sank into the mire; but the better feelings of the king came to his rescue at the intercession of the Ethiopian eunuch Ebed-melech, to whom he promised his life "for a prey" in the destruction of the city.[151] Once more adjured by Zedekiah, in private, to give him counsel from God, the prophet pressed him to surrender; but the king was afraid of falling into the hands of the Jews who had revolted to Nebuchadnezzar, and who had doubtless many a wrong to avenge. So he entreated Jeremiah to keep the interview a secret, and sent him back to the court of the prison, where he remained till Jerusalem was taken.[152]

That catastrophe was now at hand; the ruin foreseen by Moses from the very birth of the nation, foretold by the prophets, and postponed for the sake of pious kings, as often as it was provoked by their degenerate successors; held in suspense in remembrance of God's oath to David, but brought down at last by the shameless, persistent, inveterate violation of His covenant of piety and purity by the chosen people. Jehovah had done all he could by his prophets, whose words they despised and misused their persons, "until the wrath of Jehovah arose against his people *till there was no remedy*."[153]

In the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, as the eleventh year of Zedekiah drew to a close, Jerusalem, which had been

[147] Jer. xxxiv. 11–22, xxxvii. 11–15.

[148] It is evident from Jer. xxxvii. 21, that the city was again invested.

[149] Jer. xxxvii. 11–21. [150] Jer. xxi.

[151] Jer. xxxviii. 1–13, xxxix. 15–18.

[152] Jer. xxxvii. 14–28.

[153] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 16.

besieged for two years and a half, with no relief except the brief diversion made by Pharaoh-hophra, was reduced to the last extremities of famine. On the ninth day of the fourth month[154] an entrance was effected at night thro gh a breach in the city wall, probably on the northern side, and the great officers of Nebuchadnezzar entered the Temple and took their station in the middle court, as was the custom of the Assyrians at the conclusion of a siege.[155] Zedekiah, with all his men of war, fled by the garden gate of the royal palace on the south side, near the present Bab-el-Mugharibeh, and took the road over the Mount of Olives to the valley of the Jordan. They were hotly pursued with the morning light. Zedekiah was overtaken in the plain of Jericho, his army dispersed, and himself taken. He was carried to Nebuchadnezzar at Riblah, in Hamath, whither the king had gone to watch the siege of Tyre. Zedekiah spoke with his conqueror face to face, as Jeremiah had predicted. Having seen the slaughter of all his sons and the princes of Judah, his eyes were put out, and he was sent to Babylon, where he remained a close prisoner till his death. The pity, which might be felt for the sad fate of the last king who wore the crown of David at Jerusalem, must be withheld from the forsworn vassal, who accepted his nephew's throne at the hand of a conqueror, only to prove a traitor alike to his earthly master and to his king, Jehovah.

Other victims were selected for the vengeance of Nebuchadnezzar. The high-priest Seraiah, the second priest Zephaniah, and three door-keepers of the Temple, the commander-in-chief, who was an eunuch, and five (or seven) of the principal courtiers, the scribe or mustering officer of the army—and sixty representatives of the people, were carried by Nebuzar-adan, the captain of the guard, to Riblah, where Nebuchadnezzar sentenced them to death, probably by impalement and even by worse tortures, if we may judge by the customs that still shock our eyes on the monuments of Assyria and Babylon. Amid all these horrors, there is something in the deliberate justice of the Eastern conqueror which bears a favorable contrast with the general massacre that attended the second great capture of Jerusalem by the virtuous Titus. Our involuntary respect for the grand King of Babylon is confirmed by the treatment which Jeremiah met with in obedience to his orders. As soon as the city was

[154] Ninth of Thammuz=June to July, B.C. 586. The day is still kept as a fast.

[155] Layard, *Nineveh*, vol. ii. p. 375; respecting the forms of a siege, see *ibid*, pp. 366, foll

taken, Nebuzar-adan, with the other chief officers, sent for the prophet out of the prison, and committed him to the care of GEDALIAH, the son of Ahikam, son of Shaphan, who plays a most important part in the subsequent transactions.

Meanwhile the King of Babylon decided on the fate of the rebellious city, which he had twice spared. On the seventh day of the following month (Ab, the fifth month) Nebuzar-adan returned to Jerusalem, charged to carry out the instructions of his master. Two clear days were occupied in collecting the booty that was still to be found in the Temple and the city after their former spoliations, including the ornaments of the Temple which had been considered too bulky for removal, and the vessels which appear to have been left, out of religious respect, for the necessary service of the sanctuary. Among the former were the two great pillars of the Temple-porch, Jachin and Boaz, and the brazen sea, with the twelve bulls on which it rested, all of which were broken to pieces, and their brass transported to Babylon. On the third day the Temple and city were committed to the flames, with the palaces of the king and princes, and all the chief houses of Jerusalem, and the walls were leveled with the ground. The day of the catastrophe was the tenth day of the fifth month (Ab), in the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, just after the completion of the eleventh year of Zedekiah. It is still observed by the Jews as a fast only second to the great Day of Atonement.[156]

While the work of destruction was carried on by the Chaldæan army, it was viewed with malignant exultation by the nations which had so long chafed beneath the yoke of their kinsman Israel. The Ammonites "cried Aha! against the sanctuary, when it was profaned; and against the land of Israel, when it was desolate; and against the house of Judah, when they went into captivity."[157] Moab and Seir said, "Behold, the house of Judah is like unto all the heathen."[158] The more active enmity, which was but natural in the Philistines, who "took vengeance with a despiteful heart, to destroy it for the old hatred,"[159] was emulated by Edom, the nearest kinsman and bitterest rival of his brother Israel. "Edom hath dealt against the house of Judah by taking vengeance, and hath greatly offended, and revenged himself

[156] B.C. 586, about the end of July (July 26, in 1863). Clinton places it in B.C. 587, and Ussher in B.C. 588; but the first date is fixed by the epoch of Nebuchadnezzar's accession, January, B.C. 604. The same fast commemorates the destruction of the second Temple by Titus.

[157] Ezek. xxv. 3.

[158] Ezek. xxv. 8.

[159] Ezek. xxv. 15.

upon them."[160] How deeply this blow was felt, is seen in the well-known passage in which the Psalmist joins Edom with Babylon herself in a common imprecation, prefacing the most terrible words in which retribution was ever called down upon a cruel foe,[161] with the indignant prayer:—"Remember, O Lord, the children of Edom in the days of Jerusalem; who said, *Rase it! rase it! even to the foundation thereof!*" All these nations soon fell victims to the like fate, which the prophets again and again denounce upon them; and the punishment of Edom, in particular, forms the whole burden of the prophecy of OBADIAH, which may be placed, by internal evidence, between the destruction of Jerusalem in B.C. 586, and the conquest of Edom by Nebuchadnezzar in B.C. 583. This brief prophecy of only twenty-one verses is chiefly remarkable for the closing prediction of the coming "day of Jehovah," in which the restoration and enlargement of Judah and the final destruction of Edom are clearly but figures of the great consummation that still remains to be fulfilled, when, "Saviours shall come upon Mount Zion to judge the mount of Esau; and the kingdom shall be Jehovah's."[162]

The captives who were carried away on this occasion were but the gleanings of those who had been led off with Jehoiachin. After the escape of the warriors, the people left in the city and those who had deserted to the Chaldæans numbered only 832 persons fit to bear the march. A remnant of the very poorest class were left to till the ground and dress the vineyards; and to these must be added a few objects of the royal favor, as Jeremiah, and those of the fugitive soldiers and other roving bands, who had escaped pursuit in the fastnesses of Judæa and the desert. At the end of the Book of Jeremiah we have the following summary of the captivities under Nebuchadnezzar:

1. In the *seventh* (eighth) year of his reign	(B.C. 597)	3023	Jews.
2. " " *eighteenth* (nineteenth) " "	(B.C. 586)	832	"
3. " " *twenty-third* " " "	(B.C. 582)	745	"
Total............................		4600	Jews.[163]

[160] Ezek. xxv.

[161] "O daughter of Babylon, who art to be destroyed; happy shall he be, that rewardeth thee as thou hast served us. Happy shall he be, that taketh and dasheth thy little ones against the stones" (Ps. cxxxvii. 7–9).

[162] Obad. 21. For a full discussion of the date and interpretation of the prophecy, see *Dictionary of the Bible*, art. *Obadiah*.

[163] Jer. lii. 28–30. They are expressly called *Jews*, apparently to distinguish them from resident foreigners slaves and others who shared their captivity. The discrepancy of the

Those last mentioned were carried away by Nebuzar-adan at the time of the war with Egypt.

It deserves especial notice that the land which we may henceforth call JUDÆA,[164] to distinguish it from the other parts of Palestine, was not subjected, like that of Samaria had been, to a new colonization by heathen settlers. It lay ready to be occupied by those to whom God had given it, after it had rested for the sabbatic years of which it had been deprived, and when they themselves had been chastened by affliction. This hope sustained those of the captives who, like Daniel, had still the faith to pray with their faces turned toward Jerusalem: it is mingled with the sad complaints of the pathetic Psalms that belong to the time of the Captivity, and it even breathes through the more dismal wailing of Jeremiah's *Lamentations*. These choice utterances of Hebrew poetry may well excuse the vain attempt to point the moral of a catastrophe, whose long-accumulating causes and sure approach have been traced at every step of the history of the Jewish people.

§ 13. Before pursuing the story of the Jews at Babylon to the end of the Captivity, we may conclude the history of Judæa itself during the last twenty-five years of Nebuchadnezzar's reign (B.C. 586–561), comprising the fate of the people left behind, and the fortunes of Jeremiah. The desolated land was not abandoned to anarchy. Nebuzar-adan appointed GEDALIAH, the son of Ahakim, as governor at Mizpah, and Jeremiah joined him, having been left at liberty by Nebuzar-adan to go to Babylon or wherever he pleased.[165] The dispersed soldiers and people soon gathered about the new governor, who prudently exhorted them to live quietly as the subjects of the King of Babylon.[166] Many Jews appeared from the countries of Moab, Ammon, and Edom, and the people were soon peacefully engaged in gathering the vintage and summer fruits throughout their cities.[167] But the brief rest from trouble was cut short by the envy of the King of

numbers of the first captivity, and the 10,000 reckoned in 2 K. xxiv. 14, seems to result from Jeremiah's not counting in the soldiers. The great difference between even the largest total and the number who returned from the Captivity, 42,360, seems to show how large an accession was received from previous captivities, and especially from the Ten Tribes.

[164] The name of Jews (*i. e.*, men of Judah), which rarely occurs up to the time of the Captivity (2 K. xvi. 6; Jer. xxxviii. 19, xl. 11, lii. 28), seems to have now become the common designation of the people by their conquerors (Dan. iii. 8, 12; Ezra iv. 12). Its gradual adoption by themselves is easily traced in the books of *Nehemiah* and *Esther*.

[165] 2 K. xxv. 22; Jer. xl. 1–6.

[166] 2 K. xxv. 24. [167] Jer. xl. 7–12.

Ammon and the ambition of a Jewish prince of the royal blood, Ishmael, the son of Nethaniah. They had the incredible audacity to attempt a new insurrection. Ishmael and ten Jewish princes came to Mizpah as friendly guests; and Gedaliah, who had refused to credit a warning of his treachery, was murdered with the Jews and Chaldæans who were with him at Mizpah, only two months after the departure of Nebuzar-adan.[168] Two days later a band of eighty mourners appeared on the frontier, from Shechem, and Shiloh, and Samaria, bringing offerings for the desolated house of God, a touching proof of the religious patriotism which was still to be found even in the most heathenized part of Israel. By a treacherous artifice, Ishmael slew them all but ten, and cast their bodies, with those of his former victims, into a pit which Asa had dug at Mizpah for a hiding-place during his war with Baasha, and which may rank in history with the Glacière of Avignon and the well of Cawnpore. He then collected the people who were at Mizpah, including the daughters of Zedekiah, who had been intrusted to Gedeliah's care, and carried them off as captives toward Ammon. He was pursued by the Jewish captains, headed by Johanan, the son of Kareah, the same who had ineffectually warned Gedeliah. They overtook him by the great waters at Gibeon, and rescued the captives, while Ishmael, with eight comrades, fled to Ammon. Then, instead of returning to Mizpah, they marched southward to Bethlehem, intending to take refuge in Egypt from Nebuchadnezzar's vengeance for the murder of his governor.[169] First, however, they asked Jeremiah for counsel from Jehovah. In ten days the answer came, forbidding them to go to Egypt, promising them the protection of God if they remained, and assuring them that, if they persisted in departing, the famine, and sword, and pestilence, from which they fled, would overtake them in their new refuge.[170] So faithful was the prophet to the long-standing command that the people should never, under any pressure, seek to return by the way of Egypt. His warning only brought upon him a charge of conspiring with Baruch to speak falsely in God's name; and both he and Baruch were carried to Egypt against their will, with all the remnant who had been left under Gedaliah. Many of the Jews had already taken refuge there during the whole time that Egypt was regarded as their help against Assyria. They now form-

[168] In the seventh month, Tisri = September to October. The third of this month is still a Jewish fast for the murder of Gedaliah.

[169] Jer. xli.

[170] Jer. xlii.

ed a large community, living at Migdol, Tahpanhes, Noph, and Pathros—a community which had afterward an important history of its own. Meanwhile they fell into idolatry, and Jeremiah denounced both on them and on Egypt itself the vengeance of Nebuchadnezzar--a prophecy echoed from the banks of the Euphrates by Ezekiel, whose warnings, promises, and exhortations to the exiles at Babylon still kept pace with the current of events in Judæa.

The threatened blow soon fell. In B.C. 585 Tyre surrendered, after a siege of thirteen years. After a brief repose Nebuchadnezzar led his victorious army into Egypt, probably on some new provocation by Apries.[171] In the absence of his own annals or other direct testimony, we can only infer from the statements of Josephus,[172] and from the prophecies of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, that the chastisement he inflicted on Egypt reached the Jews who had taken refuge there. It was at this time, as we have already seen, that his general Nebuzar-adan carried off another remnant from Judæa, thereby probably almost completing the depopulation of the land.[173] There is some evidence, though far from certain, that Nebuchadnezzar invaded Egypt a second time, ten years later (B.C. 571), deposing Apries and setting up Amasis; and this may be the occasion of Ezekiel's last prophecy against that power.[174] At some time during the interval it is almost certain that the King of Babylon subdued the nations bordering upon Judah, and for whose exultation in her destruction the prophets had denounced on them the heaviest woes, such as the Ammonites, Moabites, and Edomites. There is a very remarkable passage in which Jeremiah comforts the Jews amid all these judgments by contrasting His destruction of the other nations and of their present oppressors with His correction of themselves:—"Fear thou not, O Jacob my servant, saith Jehovah: for I am with thee; for I will *make a full end* of all the nations whither I have driven thee: *but I will not make a full end of thee, but correct thee in measure;* yet will I not leave thee wholly unpunished."[175] No words could express more fully the principle of Jehovah's dealings with the Jews, as the type of his dealings with his own people in every age.

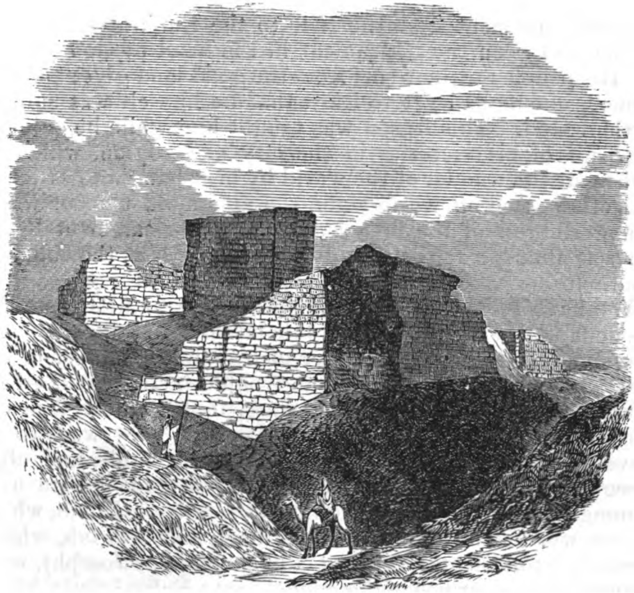
[171] Herod. ii. 161: B.C. 581.

[172] *Ant.* x. 9.

[173] Jer. lii. 30: the twenty-third year of Nebuchadnezzar=B.C. 582.

[174] Ezek. xxix. 17, xxx. 19. The date, the twenty-seventh year of the captivity of Jehoiachin, answers to the thirty-fourth of Nebuchadnezzar, B.C. 576.

[175] Jer. xlvi. 28.



The *Kasr*, or Remains of the ancient Palace at Babylon.

CHAPTER XXVI.

FROM THE DESTRUCTION OF THE KINGDOM OF JUDAH TO THE CLOSE OF THE CAPTIVITY AT BABYLON. B.C. 586–536.

§ 1. The captives at Babylon—Daniel and his companions. § 2. Nebuchadnezzar's dream—The Imperial statue—The fiery furnace. § 3. Nebuchadnezzar's humiliation—His death. § 4. The successors of Nebuchadnezzar. § 5. Rise of CYRUS THE GREAT, and foundation of the Persian Empire. § 6. Coalition of Lydia, Egypt, and Babylon against Cyrus—Defeat of Crœsus. § 7. Cyrus attacks Babylon—Siege of Babylon—Belshazzar's feast—The city surprised and taken—End of the Babylonian Empire. § 8. Reign of "Darius the Median," probably Astyages. § 9. Daniel under Darius—The den of lions. 10. Prophecies of Daniel—i. Dream of the *Image*—ii. Dream of *Nebuchadnezzar's madness*—iii. Dream of the *Four Beasts*—iv. Vision of the *Ram and He-goat*—v. Prophecy of the *Seventy Weeks*—vi. Vision of the Son of God, and *Prophecy of the Last Days*. § 11. Subsequent history and final desolation of Babylon.

§ 1. OF all historic figures, Nebuchadnezzar most strikingly represents the power of destruction. Like his own image on the plain of Dura, he towers over the ground he has cleared

of every opponent from the Nile to the Euphrates. Above all, he had been the instrument in the hand of God to root out His people for their sins from the good land given to their fathers, but he had yet to learn that he himself was subject to their God. This lesson was taught him while he enjoyed the fruit of his victories in the city of Babylon, which he had made the wonder of the world by his "hanging gardens" and other splendid works; and the appointed teacher was a young Hebrew of the first captivity, whose career at Babylon was almost a repetition of that of Joseph at the court of Pharaoh.

We have seen that when Nebuchadnezzar first took Jerusalem, in the third year of Jehoiakim (B.C. 605), he commissioned Ashpenaz, the master of his eunuchs, to select the most comely youths of royal and noble birth, possessed of natural grace and acquired learning, to be educated in the language and wisdom of the Chaldæans. They were to receive their food and wine from the king's table, and after three years' training they were to be brought before him. Among them were four belonging to the tribe of Judah, whose names were Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, which, according to Oriental custom (as in the case of Joseph), were changed by the prince of the eunuchs into Belteshazzar, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego. In sacred history, however, Daniel has retained his own name, while the other three, being only mentioned on one important occasion, are known by their Babylonish appellations.[1] Daniel resolved that he would not defile himself with the king's food and wine, things that had been offered to idols: and, through the tender regard with which he had inspired the prince of the eunuchs, he obtained the favor of an experiment on himself and his three friends. After being fed for ten days with pulse and water, they were found in better condition than their comrades who had been nourished on the king's dainties; so this diet was continued to the end. Meanwhile God endowed them with all knowledge and wisdom, and to Daniel in particular he granted the same insight into dreams and visions that had distinguished Joseph. When the time came for them to appear before the king, he found them the fairest of all their fellow-captives, and ten times better in wisdom and discernment than all the magicians and astrologers of Chaldæa. So they stood before him among the courtiers.[2] We must not

[1] So much is this the case, that many persons quite forget who are meant by "Ananias, Azarias, and Misael," in the *Benedicite* of our Liturgy.

[2] Dan. i.

fail to notice that law of God's providence, by which, at every crisis of His people's history, he raised up for them a leader skilled in all the accomplishments of their adversaries; Abraham, the stately prince, among the Arab sheiks; Joseph, the diviner and statesman; Moses, the warrior, and learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians; Daniel, the most learned sage and faultless governor in the realm of Chaldæa. Well might South reply to the flippant objection that God has no need of our learning—"Much less has He need of your ignorance."

§ 2. The great opportunity for the use of Daniel's power as an interpreter of dreams for the glory of God occurred in a manner very similar to the case of Joseph. The date assigned to this event is the second year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar.[3] Lightfoot and others take this to mean the second year after the full settlement of his empire, or about B.C. 570. But as the captivity of Daniel commenced, as we have seen, a year before the accession of Nebuchadnezzar, the three years of his probation would expire in the second year, and the date may be taken literally. This result throws a flood of light on the career of Nebuchadnezzar, and especially on his repeated forbearance toward Jerusalem, and his kindness to Jeremiah. It is needless to recount in detail those pictures which are so vividly impressed on our earliest recollections, the king's troubled sleep and dreams, which he forgot when he awoke in the morning; his despotic demand of the Chaldæan soothsayers, scarcely too severe a test of their extravagant pretensions, to tell him the dream itself, as well as the interpretation; the simplicity with which, for once in their lives, they confess their impotence to discover what was not first told them, instead of boldly avowing, like Daniel, that God would not conceal from the man divinely inspired to reveal His counsels the far lesser knowledge of the signs chosen to exhibit them. When their failure had all but involved in their sentence of death the Hebrew men of learning too, Daniel obtained from the king a respite, which he and his companions spent in prayer; and he received the revelation with one of those grand utterances of praise and prayer that form the great charm of his book. The vision, which he was inspired to expound to Nebuchadnezzar, is one of several by which, at this epoch, when the great monarchies of Asia were about to come into collision with the powers of the West, God revealed the steps by which the successive empires were to give way before His kingdom. The symbol

[3] Dan. ii. 1.

of a colossal statue was perhaps connected with the image which Nebuchadnezzar soon afterward set up on the plain of Dura.[4] As he was meditating the erection of that monument of his victories, God showed him a statue whose composition and end revealed the fate, not only of his own empire, but of all the other attempts at universal dominion to the end of time. The lesson was the same as that which was taught to the first Babel-builders on that very spot—that all such attempts are futile, for the kingdoms of the world are reserved to be the kingdoms of our God, and of his Christ. And now we can look back on the almost complete fulfillment of the sign:—

> "Quenched is the golden statue's ray,
> The breath of heaven has blown away
> What toiling earth had piled;
> Scattering wise heart and crafty hand,
> As breezes strew on ocean's sand
> The fabrics of a child."[5]

There now only remain the last relics of the system of ungodly force, the fragments of the mingled iron and clay which represent what was the last empire that claimed to be universal:—

> "Ambition's boldest dream and last
> Must melt before the clarion blast
> That sounds the dirge of ROME."

The confession which Daniel's exposition of his dream drew from Nebuchadnezzar is scarcely the language of a convert to the true religion, but rather of a heathen yielding to the God of the Jews an exalted place among the gods. According to his promise,[6] he loaded Daniel with rewards, made him ruler over the province of Babylon, and master of the Chaldæan sages, and appointed his three companions, at his request, to high offices in the province of Babylon.

Their fidelity to Jehovah soon underwent a terrible trial, but came out as unscathed as their persons from the fiery furnace.[7] That Nebuchadnezzar should have condemned them for such a reason so soon after the lesson he had learned, is a more striking than surprising example of a despot's impatience of opposition and readiness to take the bait of flattery. Daniel would seem to have been too firmly established in the royal favor for his enemies to venture to at-

[4] Townsend, *Chronological Arrangement of the Bible*, vol. ii. p. 612.

[5] Keble, *Christian Year*, Monday in Whitsun Week.

[6] Dan. ii. 4.

[7] Dan. iii. We have met before with an instance of this mode of execution. See p. 598.

tack him till they had first made an example of his companions. There has been much discussion respecting the vision of the "Son of God" with the three Hebrews in the fiery furnace. His walking with them there seems to imply that they were conscious of His presence and sustained by His comfort, like Stephen in the agony of his martyrdom, and they would doubtless recognize in him the "Angel Jehovah," who had so often shown himself to their fathers, and who had promised, "When thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned; neither shall the flame kindle upon thee."[8] But we must not ascribe such divine knowledge to Nebuchadnezzar. To him the vision was that of some unknown deity, "a Son of the Gods"—but it was enough first to petrify[9] him with astonishment, and then to extort from him a warmer acknowledgment of the God of the Hebrews. Their enemies were silenced by a terrible decree, and they themselves were promoted to higher stations in the province of Babylon.[10]

§ 3. A third lesson, by which the King of Babylon was finally bowed in submission to Jehovah, is recorded in his own rescript to all the provinces of his empire.[11] Another dream, which Daniel again interpreted when the Chaldæan soothsayers had failed, warned the king that his reason should depart, and he should be driven from among men to herd with the beast of the field, till "seven times"[12] had passed over his head. The judgment came upon him at the expiration of a year. His enemies had been subdued on every side, his great works of art and power had been completed, and, as he surveyed them from the roof of his palace, he forgot God, of whose might he had had such proofs, and exclaimed, "Is not this great Babylon that I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honor of my majesty?" The words had scarcely mounted toward the vault of heaven, when a voice replied, "O King Nebuchadnezzar, to thee it is spoken; THE KINGDOM IS DEPARTED FROM THEE;" adding the details of his exile from among men, all

[8] Is. xliii. 2.

[9] Nebuchadnezzar the king was *astonied* (Dan. iii. 24). This expressive word is used by our translators in two other passages of Daniel (iv. 19, v. 9), two of Job (xvii. 8, xviii. 20), and two others (Ezra ix. 3; Ezek. iv. 17).

[10] Dan. iii.

[11] Dan. iv.

[12] This is the first example of the mode of reckoning which has given so much trouble to expositors of Daniel and the Apocalypse. In the case before us the word "times" clearly signifies *complete revolutions of the seasons;* in one word, *years.* It seems always to be used for *years*—literal or symbolical—*where it has a definite chronological meaning,* the great question being to decide when this is the case.

which were fulfilled for a space of seven years. Assuredly Nebuchadnezzar is the grandest of all despots; but the climax of his grandeur is seen in his publishing the history of his own humiliation, in order to give glory to the most high God.[13]

The seven years of Nebuchadnezzar's madness may safely be placed in the last decade of his reign, B.C. 571–561; and, as he was again "established in his kingdom and excellent majesty was added to him," a few years must be allowed after his recovery. The date of Ussher (B.C. 569–563) is therefore quite late enough. After a reign of forty-three years he was succeeded, in B.C. 561, by his son EVIL-MERODACH (the Illoarudamus of the Greek writers), whose release of Jehoiachin from prison is the last event mentioned in the books of Kings.[14]

§ 4. For the twenty-three years between the accession of Evil-merodach and the fall of Babylon (B.C. 561–538) there is a gap in the Scripture history. The Book of Daniel passes at once to the capture of the city and the death of Belshazzar, who is called the son of Nebuchadnezzar;[15] but this word need not signify more than a direct successor. Jeremiah, whose prophecies of this period are almost as definite as histories, predicts that all nations should serve Nebuchadnezzar, and *his son*, and *his son's son*, until the very time of the land came;[16] and the *Chronicles* state that the Jews were servants to him *and his sons*, until the reign of the kingdom of Persia. Our chief secular authorities for the period, Berosus, Herodotus, Ctesias, the Canon, and Josephus, amid many discrepancies of detail, yet agree sufficiently to guide us to probable conclusions, with the aid (here unfortunately very scanty) of the inscriptions on the monuments.[17] The succession of kings seems to have been as follows:—

B.C.		Years of Reign.
561.	EVIL-MERODACH, the son of Nebuchadnezzar...........................	2
559.	NERIGLISSAR, sister's husband to Evil-merodach, a usurper; perhaps the same as Nergal-sharezer, the Rab-mag (*Chief of the Magi*? Jer. xxxix. 3, 13)...	3½

[13] See the magnificent ascription of praise in Dan. iv. 34, 35. The king's disease was that type of madness known as *Lycanthropy*, in which the patient fancies himself a wild or domestic beast. It took the latter and milder type with Nebuchadnezzar: he did not "raven as a wolf," but "ate grass as oxen." His being allowed to live out of doors in squalid neglect must be traced to the reluctance, partly superstitious and partly prudential, to thwart the inclinations of a madman.

[14] 2 K. xxv. 27–30.

[15] Dan. v. 2, 11, 13. It must be observed that the narrative part of the book ends with chap. vi.; the latter half containing the prophetic visions which Daniel saw under Belshazzar, Darius, and Cyrus. Respecting the allusions to Belshazzar in vii. 1 and viii. see pp. 620, 621.

[16] Jer. xxvii. 7; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 20.

[17] Mr. Rawlinson's discussion of

B.C.		Years of Reign
556.	LABOROSOARCHOD, his son, killed by a conspiracy, and the family of Nebuchadnezzar restored	0¾
555.	NABONADIUS or Nabonedus (*Nabu-nit*), the LABYNETUS II. of Herodotus,[18] probably the son or grandson of Nebuchadnezzar, and the last king of Babylon	17
539.	(about). BELSHAZZAR (*Bil-shar-uzur*), son of Nabonadius, becomes his associate in the kingdom, and governor of Babylon	2
538.	Babylon taken by CYRUS, and governed by his grandfather (?) Astyages, DARIUS THE MEDE	2
536.	Death of Darius—Cyrus reigns alone—Restoration of the Jews	
529.	Death of Cyrus, after a reign of nine years from the taking of Babylon	9

§ 5. It was during the reign of Neriglissar that the great revolution occurred which was destined to change the fate of Western Asia and to act powerfully on Europe, the overthrow of the old dynasty in Media and the foundation of the Persian Empire by CYRUS THE GREAT. Taking the length assigned to the reign of Cyrus by Herodotus, twenty-nine years, his accession falls in B.C. 558.

As the restorer of the Jews, and as "called by his name" by the prophet Isaiah, no heathen monarch fills a more important place in sacred history. But we must not confound his high destiny with his personal character. Even when God, by the mouth of Isaiah, says of Cyrus "he is my shepherd, to perform all my pleasure," "my anointed, whose right hand I have holden to subdue nations before him," he adds, "I have surnamed thee, *though thou hast not known me*."[19] The prejudice raised in his favor by his appearance in the Scriptures has been confirmed by the choice made of him by Xenophon, in his romance of the "Cyropædia," for the ideal model of a king trained up and governing on Socratic principles. But the Cyrus of history is an Asiatic conqueror in an age of despotic force, though a favorable specimen of his class. His history proves that he had many of the virtues of a hero and a king; but if we seek further for his likeness, we must look rather at Zingis Khan or Timour, than at the Cyrus of the "Cyropædia."

Of the many conflicting versions of his history which were derived from the romantic stories of the Persian poets, that of Herodotus is the most probable and consistent. Passing over the fables of his exposure and preservation, we come to the fact in which all his historians concur,[20] that he dethroned Astyages, the last king of Media (and according to some au-

these authorities is, upon the whole, satisfactory (Herod. vol. i., essay viii.).

[18] The interchange of the dental liquids N and L is a mere dialectic variety.

[19] Is. xliv. 28–xlv. 4.

[20] Even Xenophon confirms it indirectly (*Anab.* iii. 4, §§ 8, 11). It should be remembered that the Medo-Persian Empire was always regarded as *one*, and the united nations are continually called *Medes*, even after the revolution.

thorities, as Herodotus, his mother's father), and transferred the rule over the Medo-Persian Empire to the royal family of Persia. This revolution transferred the Medo-Persian Empire from an effete dynasty to a family of hardy mountaineers,[21] both being of that Aryan race which had not yet occupied a leading place in history. The capital was fixed at Agbatana (Ecbatana).

§ 6. The change was naturally alarming to the three great monarchies of Lydia, Babylon, and Egypt. The first was the ancient rival of the Medes in Asia Minor, where the river Halys had been fixed as the boundary of the two empires, after the great battle between Alyattes, king of Lydia, and Cyaxares, king of Media, which was broken off by the same solar eclipse that was predicted by Thales of Miletus.[22] While Astyages, or Aspadas, the successor of Cyaxares in Media, reigned quietly and, as it seems, weakly, CRŒSUS (B.C. 568), the son of Alyattes, subdued all the independent nations of Asia Minor west of the river Halys (except the Lycians and Cilicians, who were protected by the chain of Taurus), and obtained that power and wealth which make him so conspicuous a figure in the history of Herodotus. The news of the revolution effected by Cyrus decided him on an attempt to check the growth of the Medo-Persian power.[23] While seeking encouragement from the oracles of Greece, he sent envoys to Amasis, king of Egypt, and to Nabonedus, who had just obtained the throne of Babylon, to form an alliance against Cyrus. It seems to have been at this time that Nabonedus constructed those great works for the defense of Babylon and for the inundation of the surrounding country, which Herodotus ascribes to an otherwise unknown Queen Nitocris. Meanwhile the rapid advance of Cyrus and the impetuosity of Crœsus, who crossed the Halys, deceived, according to the well-known story of Herodotus, by an ambiguous oracle, brought the conflict to an issue. Crœsus was defeated and shut up within the walls of Sardis. His pressing messages to his allies had scarcely arrived, when they were followed by the tidings that Sardis had been surprised and Crœsus taken prisoner, and that Cyrus was master of his kingdom to the Ægean Sea.[24]

[21] Persia Proper, or Persis, includes the highlands on the N.E. of the Persian Gulf.

[22] This eclipse, the turning-point of Asiatic chronology, is unfortunately still a subject of dispute. Different authorities have identified it with calculated eclipses in B.C. 625, 610, 603, and 585. The date of B.C. 610 seems best to meet all the conditions of the history.

[23] Herod. i. 46.

[24] B.C. 554, Rawlinson; but the date

The interval of nearly fifteen years before the final conflict with Babylon was probably occupied by Cyrus in finishing the conquest of the tribes of Asia Minor, strengthening his power in Media, and subduing the more distant portion of the Babylonian Empire in Upper Assyria. Nabonedus seems to have remained on the defensive, completing the great works around Babylon. At length Cyrus marched from Ecbatana, and crossed the river Gyndes by a diversion of its channel, which must have prepared his engineers for their greater operation of the same kind on the Euphrates. Nabonedus tried the fate of one battle, and, on his defeat, retired to Borsippa (*Birs Nimrûd*), "the Chaldæan Benares, the city in which the Chaldæans had their most revered objects of religion, and where they cultivated their science."[25] Here he surrendered after the capture of Babylon. Cyrus spared his life, and gave him a principality in Carmania, where he died.

§ 7. Meanwhile the people of Babylon remained in fancied security behind their immense fortifications. The city formed a vast square, divided diagonally, and almost equally, by the Euphrates. Each side of the square was about fourteen miles long.[26] The double walls are said to have been about three hundred feet high and eighty-five feet broad; dimensions which cease to be incredible when we remember that they were vast mounds of earth and brickwork, the remains of which, and others like them, are still traced by travellers. These walls were strengthened by two hundred and fifty towers, and pierced with a hundred gateways, the lintels and side-posts, as well as the gates themselves, being of brass. The river was enclosed on both banks by the quays, which were likewise protected by walls and brass gates. These walls and gates are particularly referred to in that striking prophecy of Jeremiah, which is almost a history of the siege.[27] The vast area of two hundred square miles, interspersed, as is usual in Eastern cities, with large open spaces, gave opportunities for growing corn, in addition to the immense supplies of food which had been laid up for a siege of many years.[28]

is fixed by most other authorities in B.C. 546; and Cyrus is supposed to have been engaged in consolidating his empire before the war with Crœsus.

[25] Niebuhr, *Lectures on Ancient History*, lect. xii.

[26] Herodotus gives 480 stadia as the circuit; each side, therefore, 120 stadia = 12 geographical miles = nearly 14 statute miles. The dimensions given by Ctesias are one-fourth less. Perhaps he refers to the *inner* of the two walls mentioned by Herodotus.

[27] Jer. l. 15, li. 53, 58.

[28] Herod. i. 190.

The two banks of the river were connected by a stone bridge, about a thousand yards in length, at each end of which stood a royal palace. The chief was that on the east, a fortress in itself, surrounded by triple walls, of which the outer had a circuit of seven miles, the middle of four and a half, and the latter of two and a half miles: the middle wall was three hundred feet high, and its towers four hundred and twenty feet, and the inner one was higher still. Such statements may diminish our surprise at the security in which the inhabitants of the city and palace lived under their reckless young prince, Belshazzar.

Cyrus wasted no efforts on the impregnable defenses, but resolved to divert the stream of the Euphrates, and to enter the city by its bed. When the work was complete, Belshazzar gave him the opportunity for a surprise by that great feast, of which we have so graphic an account in the Book of Daniel.[29] A thousand of his lords were assembled at the banquet; and the prince, inflamed with wine and flattery, ordered the gold and silver vessels of the temple to be brought, that he and his wives and concubines and courtiers might drink in them to the praise of their gods. At that moment a hand was seen writing upon the wall in the full light of the candelabra. Belshazzar, his joints unnerved by fear, cried out for the Chaldæan astrologers and soothsayers to be brought before him, and proclaimed that the man who could read the writing should be invested with the insignia of royalty, and made third ruler in the kingdom.[30] While the hand moved slowly on from letter to letter, they confessed their inability to read the unknown characters. The king was beside himself with terror, when a new personage appeared upon the scene. The "queen," who addresses Belshazzar in the tone of authority, was probably his mother or his grandmother, and may perhaps be the Nitocris of Herodotus. She alone of all the court remembered the wonders that had been revealed to Nebuchadnezzar by Daniel, who seems to have been deposed from his post as master of the soothsayers. By her advice the king sent for him, and repeated his offers of reward. Rejecting them with disdain, Daniel reproached Belshazzar for not learning from the example of Nebuchadnezzar, and for the crowning insult of that night against God. By this time the hand, which had been slowly moving over the wall, had completed its awful inscription:—

[29] Dan. vi.

[30] A confirmation of the view that his own position was that of second ruler.

MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN:

Numbered! numbered! Weight! and Division (or *the Persians*).[31]

"The days of thy kingdom are *numbered* and *finished*,
Thou art *weighed* in the balances, and found wanting:
Thy kingdom is *divided*, and given to the Medes and *Persians*."

Belshazzar's last act of sovereignty was to confer the promised reward on Daniel. All that is added in the Scripture narrative is this:—"In that night was Belshazzar the king of the Chaldæans slain." We learn from other sources that, while the city was sunk in revelry, Cyrus led his army along the empty bed of the Euphrates and entered by the water-gates, which it had not been thought worth while to secure. The soldiers fled.[32] The more distant regions of the vast city were taken and set on fire long before the news reached the palace, perhaps before Daniel had done expounding the writing on the wall. "One post ran to meet another, and one messenger to meet another, to show the King of Babylon that the city was taken at one end, and that the passages were stopped, and the reeds they had burnt with fire, and the men of war were affrighted."[33] At last the enemy reached the citadel, in the storm of which Belshazzar seems to have met the fate which so nearly befell Crœsus at Sardis, being slain by some soldiers who did not know him for the king. Nabonadius, his father, was taken, as we have seen, at Borsippa; and thus fell the empire of Babylon, little more than twenty years after the height of its splendor under Nebuchadnezzar. Its fate furnished not only a great example of the fulfillment of ancient and recent prophecies, especially those of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, but also a type of the worldly splendor and power, the unbridled insolence, and the conspicuous ruin of the future oppressors of the Church of God, and especially of that one—whatever it be—which is called in the Apocalypse "Babylon the Great, Mystery of Iniquity, Mother of Harlots."

§ 8. Instead of following the progress of Cyrus, the sacred history remains with the Jews at Babylon, where we read, simultaneously with the death of Belshazzar, that "DARIUS THE MEDIAN took (or received) the kingdom, being about sixty-two years old."[34] This personage is one of the enigmas of sacred history. Till lately it was the fashion to identify him with the Cyaxares, whom Xenophon introduces, in the

[31] The last word has this double meaning. [32] Jer. li. 30.

[33] Jer. li. 31, 32.

[34] Daniel. v. 31. Compare ix. 1:—"Darius, the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes, which was made king over the realm of the Chaldæans."

"Cyropædia," as the son of Astyages; and great was the triumph in this confirmation of Scripture by so philosophic a writer, against the united testimony of Herodotus and all the other profane historians.[35] But not only does the consent of all these historians overbear the romance of Xenophon, who evidently imagined the character of Cyaxares as a foil to the virtues of Cyrus; but their testimony is confirmed by Scripture. In the great prophecy of Isaiah it is *Cyrus* that takes Babylon; and even in Daniel the *Persians* are the conquerors. Darius is too old to be identified with Xenophon's Cyaxares, and his father's name is *Ahasuerus*,[36] which has no affinity with Astyages, but which is the very name of *Cyaxares*, the father of Astyages. This is but one of many arguments in favor of identifying Darius the Mede with Astyages himself. We know that Cyrus treated his dethroned predecessor with the greatest honor, which he may have carried so far as to yield him the outward rank of supreme king during his lifetime; for the Darius of Daniel certainly appears to exercise an authority over the whole kingdom more extensive than could have belonged to a mere governor of Babylon.[37] The testimony of Herodotus, and indeed of his own fate, to the weak character of Astyages, agrees entirely with the impulsive and vacillating conduct of Darius toward Daniel and his enemies. Some chronological difficulties still remain; but, on the whole, it seems most probable that Cyrus committed the civil government, with the whole royal authority, to Astyages (Darius), while he himself was completing his new conquest, for a period of two years (B.C. 538–536), and that on the death of Darius he assumed the sole sovereignty (B.C. 536). The two years of Darius are included in the nine years which are assigned to Cyrus in the Babylonian annals (B.C. 538–529), as his real position was known to the scribes; while the close relations of Darius with the captive Jews account for their speaking of him as the king, and dating the year of his death as the *first year* of Cyrus. This

[35] See Hales, *Analysis of Chronology*, vol. iv. p. 87. Josephus, who first made the identification, is the only ancient writer, except Xenophon, that recognizes this Cyaxares II.

[36] Dan. ix. 1. Ahasuerus, or *Achashverosh*, is the same word as the Sanscrit *Kshatra*, a *king*, *Kshérshé* in the Persepolitan inscriptions, with the Hebrew prosthetic א. Its Greek form is *Xerxes*, which Herodotus explains by ἀρήϊος (vi. 98). *Cyaxares* is the same name with the prefix *Kai*, which is seen also in the Persian name of Cyrus, *Kai Khosru*. In Scripture *Ahasuerus* is the name of several kings. 1. The father of Darius the Mede, probably *Cyaxares*, king of Media (Dan. ix. 1). 2. *Cambyses*, son of Cyrus, who probably assumed the name (Ezra iv. 6). 3. *Xerxes*, Esther

[37] Dan. vi. 1.

was the glorious year of their own restoration to their land. But before opening that new page of their history, we must glance at the last days of Daniel and the final fate of Babylon.

§ 9. We read that Daniel continued "even unto the first year of King Cyrus;" that is, as the margin of our Bible well puts it, "he lived to see that glorious time of the return of his people from the Babylonian captivity, though he did not die then."[38] Again we read, "This Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius, and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian."[39] After the death of Nebuchadnezzar, or in the dynastic contests which followed the reign of Evil-merodach, he seems to have retired into obscurity till he was called forth to interpret the handwriting on the wall. That proof of prophetic power would insure him respect from the conquerors, who seem also to have recognized the rank conferred on him by Belshazzar. Shortly after the capture of Babylon we find him employed by the king in some commission to Susa (Shushan), one of the Median capitals.[40] When Darius made a settlement of the provinces, in which we trace the germ of the satrapies of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, Daniel was made the first of the three "presidents" who were placed over the 120 "princes" of the provinces. The Medo-Persian princes were doubly offended at being placed under a Jew by birth and a servant of the late dynasty. His administration was too faultless to give an opening to their envy; so they set one of those ingenious traps in which religious persecution is concealed under the guise of loyalty. Two of the grandest pictures in the Bible are, the faithful servant of Jehovah continuing his prayers thrice a day, neither diminishing their number nor withdrawing from his open window which looked toward Jerusalem, and the confessor calmly sitting in the den of lions, whose mouths God had shut, while the king, who had consented to his death, remains restless and fasting. It is superfluous to relate his deliverance from the lions, the punishment of his enemies, and the proclamation of Darius in honor of Daniel's God.

§ 10. After this Daniel enjoyed unbroken prosperity under Darius and Cyrus, and doubtless had a share in advising the restoration of the Jews. His last vision is dated in the *third*

[38] Dan. i. 21. Compare the use of *till* in Ps. cx. 1, cxii. 8.

[39] Dan. vi. 28.

[40] Dan. viii. 1, 2. "I was at Shushan, *in the palace;*" comp. ver. 27, "I rose up and did the king's business." The date in ver. 1, "the third year of King Belshazzar," is evidently the last unfinished year of his reign. We have met with several previous examples of such a mode of computation.

year of Cyrus, B.C. 534.[41] The following is a summary of his visions, dreams, and prophecies:

i. *In the second year of Nebuchadnezzar*, B.C. 603.[42] The interpretation of the king's dream of the image representing the four great empires, namely—

(1.) The *Golden Head:* — the Assyrio-Babylonian monarchy.

(2). The *Silver Breast and Arms:*—the Medo-Persian Empire.

(3.) The *Brazen Belly and Thighs:* — the Greco-Macedonian kingdoms, especially, after Alexander, those of Egypt and Syria.

(4.) The *Legs of Iron*, the power of Rome, bestriding the East and West, but broken up into a number of states, the *ten toes*, which retained some of its warlike strength (the *iron*), mingled with elements of weakness (the soft potter's clay), which rendered the whole imperial structure unstable.

(5.) The *Stone* cut without hands out of the *Living Rock*, dashing down the image, becoming a mountain and filling all the earth:—the Spiritual Kingdom of Christ.

ii. In Nebuchadnezzar's reign, about B.C. 570. The interpretation of the king's second dream concerning his madness.[43]

iii. In the *first year of Belshazzar*, B.C. 540.[44] Daniel's dream of the *Four Beasts*, another symbol of the *Four Empires*, the ten horns of the fourth corresponding to the ten toes of the image; ending with the judgment of the fourth beast by the "Ancient of days," and the establishment of the kingdom of the Son of man. Throughout this vision, and especially in the "little horn" which rose up among the ten horns as the symbol of some blaspheming enemy of God, we meet with those images, common to Daniel and the Apocalypse, which are still involved in the obscurity of unfulfilled prophecy.

iv. In the *third year of Belshazzar*, probably soon after the fall of Babylon, B.C. 538.[45]

The vision which Daniel saw at Shushan of a conflict between a ram and he-goat, the symbols of the Medo-Persian and Macedonian powers. The peculiar character of the former is represented by its two horns, of which *the higher came up last.* Alexander is plainly represented by the "notable horn" of the he-goat, and his successors by the four horns which replaced it. The "little horn" springing out of one of

[41] Dan. x. 1.
[42] Dan. ii.
[43] Dan. iv.
[44] Dan. vii.
[45] Dan. viii.

the others, and representing "a king of fierce countenance and understanding dark sentences," prospering, persecuting, and opposing the Prince of princes, till he is broken without hand, seems to correspond to the "little horn" of the preceding dream, and to involve similar difficulties.[46]

v. In the *first year of Darius*, B.C. 538.[47] Daniel, having read in the prophecies of Jeremiah that God would accomplish seventy years in the desolations of Jerusalem, set himself to seek God with fasting and the garb of mourning. His prayer and confession on this occasion forms a model of all such supplications. It was answered by the mission of the angel Gabriel, who now appears for the first time as the special herald of God's purposes.[48] He comes to Daniel to announce the beginning of the period, the close of which he proclaimed to Zacharias. His message constitutes the celebrated *Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks*,[49] the leading idea of which, regarded as an answer to Daniel's prayer, seems to be that God would mercifully recompense his people for their captivity at Babylon by a new possession of their land for seven times that period, until the whole history of the nation should be crowned, and its religious institutions finished, by the advent and sacrifice of Messiah the prince.

We can not here enter into the minute details of the exposition. It is enough to point out that, from the *final* and *effectual* edict of Artaxerxes Longimanus for the rebuilding of Jerusalem (B.C. 457) to the death of Christ (A.D. 33) was just four hundred and ninety years.

vi. *In the third year of Cyrus*, B.C. 534. The vision of the Son of God to Daniel on the banks of the Hiddekel (Tigris), in the same glorious form in which he appeared to St. John in Patmos, and the prophecy that followed.[50] Throughout this prophecy both the imagery and the substance bear a close analogy to the Apocalypse. There can be little doubt that the earlier part relates to the contests between the two Greek kingdoms of Syria and Egypt, which disputed the mastery of

[46] The symbol is commonly interpreted of Antiochus Epiphanes, but it seems to have a deeper meaning.

[47] Dan. ix.

[48] Gabriel (the *Man of God*) is a title exactly descriptive of the angelic office, and not necessarily a proper name.

[49] Literally, *Seventy Sevens.* It must not be supposed that the exposition rests on the general assumption that a *day* stands for a *year* in the symbolical language of prophecy. It is rather a plain inference from the whole bearing of the prophecy, that the *sevens* spoken of are *sevens of years;* just as the word *Sabbath* is often used for the *Sabbatic year.* In fact, the phrase seems best interpreted as seventy cycles of Sabbatic years = 490 years.

[50] Dan. x.–xii.

Judæa; but it is clear that at some point a transition is made to the final mysteries of God's government and judgment. How the study of those mysteries ought to be approached, we learn from the prophecy itself. Daniel is bidden to "*shut up* the words and *seal* the book, even to the time of the end." When that time is so near that God reveals his purposes to his people, as he did to Daniel from the books of Jeremiah, the Lamb in the midst of the throne will open the volume, seal by seal, and page by page, while his servants "run to and fro on the earth, and knowledge shall be increased." Then all conflicting guesses will cease respecting the "time and times and dividing of a time," the 1290 and the 1335 days. "None of the wicked shall understand, but the wise shall understand." Meanwhile "Blessed is he that *waiteth*," and blessed especially the man who is distinguished above all others by the assurance in God's own word of his personal salvation:—

> "He only of the sons of men
> Named to be heir of glory then."

But, though he alone is *named*, all who share his faith and follow his piety may take the comfort of the words with which this most perfect of all Scripture characters is dismissed from the scene:—"But thou, go thy way to the end: for thou shalt rest, and stand in thy lot at the end of the days."[61]

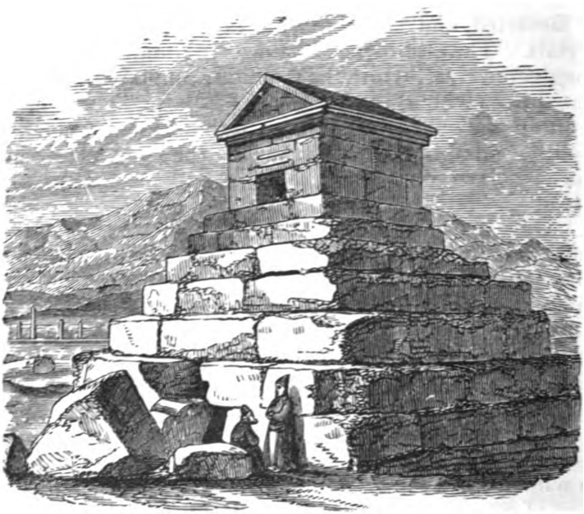
§ 11. How different the end of the great city in which he delivered his testimony for God! Its fall was delayed for many years. It must have suffered greatly in its capture by Cyrus, and again in the reign of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, when it was the seat of a rebellion under a person who called himself "Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabonadius." But it remained the second city of the Persian Empire, and the residence of the king during the greater part of the year. Alexander ended his career in the city, which he had designed to renovate for his capital. The Seleucid kings of Syria transferred the capital to Antioch, while they chose a more eligible site on the Tigris for the frontier city of Seleucia, to which

[61] Daniel xii. 13. The distinction of Daniel in being named by Ezekiel (xiv. 14) with Noah and Job, for his righteousness, is an honor the more conspicuous from its being conferred by the inspired prophet upon a living man. "The order of the names—Noah, Daniel, and Job—seems to suggest the idea that they represent the first and last historic types of righteousness, before the law and under it, combined with the ideal type" (Delitzsch, p. 271). Some critics account for Daniel's omission to speak of the actual return of the Jews, though he dates a prophecy two years later (in the third year of Cyrus), by regarding the first chapter of *Ezra* as his composition.

most of the inhabitants of Babylon removed The houses were deserted, and the walls became quarries for building-materials. The site of the city was gradually swept over by the neglected river, while the mounds around it crumbled into the moat from which they were dug. "Babylon became heaps, a dwelling-place for 'dragons,' an astonishment and a hissing, without an inhabitant;"[52] fulfilling to the very letter the prophetic visions of its utter desolation, and presenting a lively image of the fate reserved for the mystic Babylon of later days. Only in our own days have those "heaps" given up the monuments of the city's grandeur, and the records from which we may hope to gain confirmations and illustrations of Scripture history as signal as the witness borne by the ruins themselves to the truth of Scripture prophecy.

Not only the site of Babylon herself, but the whole plain of Babylonia, covered with the shapeless heaps under which the great Chaldæan cities lie hidden, bears a perpetual witness to the truth of the prophecy every word of which is a historic description:—"Her cities are a desolation, a dry land, and a wilderness, a land wherein no man dwelleth, neither doth any son of man pass thereby."[53] "Besides the great mound," says the most distinguished investigator of the site, "other shapeless heaps of rubbish cover for many an acre the face of the land. The lofty banks of ancient canals fret the country, like natural ridges of hills. Some have been long choked with sand; others still carry the waters of the river to distant villages and palm-groves. On all sides fragments of glass, marble, pottery, and inscribed brick are mingled with that peculiar nitrous and blanched soil which, bred from the remains of ancient habitations, checks or destroys vegetation, and renders the site of Babylon a naked and hideous waste. Owls start from the scanty thickets, and the foul jackal skulks through the furrows."[54]

[52] Jer. li. 37. [53] Jer. li. 43. [54] Layard, *Nin. and Bab.*, p. 484.



Tomb of Cyrus at *Murg-Aub*, the ancient Pasargadæ.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE RESTORED JEWISH NATION AND CHURCH.

FROM THE DECREE OF CYRUS TO THE CLOSE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CANON. B.C. 536–400?

§ 1. The decree of Cyrus—Moral gains of the Captivity—Cessation of idolatry—More spiritual worship—Germs of new declension. § 2. Numbers of the first caravan—The new nation composed of all the tribes—Arrival at Jerusalem, and foundation of the Temple. § 3. Opposition to the building—Series of Persian kings—The work interrupted under the Pseudo-Smerdis, and resumed under Darius Hystaspis—The prophets HAGGAI and ZECHARIAH—Dedication of the second Temple. § 4. Accession of Xerxes, the Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther—The feast of Purim—Esther not Amestris. § 5. Artaxerxes Longimanus—Commission of EZRA—The second caravan of returned exiles—Reformation by Ezra. § 6. Commission of NEHEMIAH—Building of the walls—Opposition of Sanballat and Tobiah—Nehemiah's Reformation—Completion of the wall—Reading of the Law by Ezra—Feast of Tabernacles—Day of Atonement—Covenant of the people—Peopling of Jerusalem—Dedication of the wall. § 7. Nehemiah returns to Persia—His second commission to Jerusalem—Misconduct of the high-priest and princes—Nehemiah's Second Reformation—Book of Nehemiah. § 8. Prophecy of MALACHI. § 9. Last days of Ezra, and works ascribed to him—The great Synagogue—The Old Testament Canon—The cxixth Psalm. § 10. Schism of the Samaritans, and their temple on Mount Gerizim.

§ 1. IN the first year of his sole reign at Babylon (B.C. 536),[1] Cyrus issued a decree for the rebuilding of the Temple, in the language of which we trace the advice of Daniel. We are not only assured that the king's spirit was stirred up to this measure by God, that the word spoken by Jeremiah might be fulfilled, but the proclamation itself acknowledged the God of Israel as THE GOD, and that HE, who had given Cyrus all the kingdoms of the earth, had charged him to build Him a house at Jerusalem, in Judah. He therefore invited the people of God throughout his empire to go up to the work, and charged those among whom they dwelt to help them with gold and goods and cattle.

The response to this act of noble generosity—for such is its true character, whatever secondary motives may have been mixed up with it[2]—was the more easy, as the captive Jews had preserved their genealogies, and their patriarchal constitution under their princes. It is even said that they had a kind of ruler, called the "Head of the Captivity," or "Captain of the people;"[3] but this is very doubtful. So the chief of the fathers of Judah and Benjamin, with the priests and Levites, whose families are enumerated by Ezra, rose up to the work. Their neighbors made them liberal presents, beside freewill offerings for the Temple; and Cyrus caused his treasurer Mithredath to deliver the vessels of the Temple which Nebuchadnezzar had carried away, 5400 in number, to Sheshbazzar, or ZERUBBABEL, the prince of Judah, who was the leader of the migration. Thus, as the Israelites had gone forth from the first captivity laden with the spoils of Egypt, so now they returned from the second enriched with the freewill offerings of Assyria, to be consecrated to the service of Jehovah.[4]

But they carried back greater riches than all the treasures of Persia, in the moral gains of their captivity. Throughout the history of the monarchy we have never lost sight of the fact that that form of government was itself a departure from the will of God. The attempt to consolidate the nation violated the constitution of the Church. Though, on the great princi-

[1] At this point we at length obtain a sure chronological epoch, from the united testimony of the sacred and secular writers.

[2] Just as the removal of the turbulent and rebellious Jews, always disposed to side with Egypt, was a sound measure of policy for Babylon, so their restoration placed a people friendly to Persia on the frontier of Egypt.

[3] 2 Esdras v. 16; the Talmud.

[4] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23; Ezra i., ii.: the lxxxvth and cxxvith Psalms are referred to this occasion by their opening words.

ple of condescension and forbearance, God made this defection the occasion of His new covenant with David, the inherent vices of the monarchy broke out into that long course of idolatry and worldly pride, which was cut short by the captivities of both branches of the nation. After the captivity we hear no more of these forms of evil. Too soon, indeed, we find the commencement of other corruptions natural to fallen man, the spiritual pride and moral iniquity, which had utterly corrupted the people before the coming of Christ. But the seeds of those vices were as yet hidden in individual hearts. The people again presented, as in the wilderness, the outward aspect of the Church of the living God. Owing their revived political existence to the will of Persia, they could not at first establish a new monarchy; nor was the attempt ever made,[5] till the usurpation of an alien—Herod the Idumæan—seemed to challenge their true King, the CHRIST, to assert His rights. The people seem to have learned to wait for His kingdom, and their political dependence gave freer scope to their religious organization. Religion had shared the evils of the kingdom. Our admiration for the magnificence of Solomon's Temple is not unmingled with a misgiving of some loss of spirituality, and its destruction broke through a tradition which leaned toward an undue reliance upon ceremonies. The second Temple, so strikingly inferior in outward splendor,[6] nay, wanting even the visible sign of Jehovah's presence in the Shekinah, became the centre of a more spiritual worship.[7] While the great festivals, like the other Mosaic institutions, were for the first time punctually observed, the experience of the Captivity, and the examples of such men as Daniel, had taught the people that God might be worshiped not at Jerusalem only; and their local meetings in the SYNAGOGUES, which some suppose to have begun during the Captivity, became a regular institution. The Scriptures, collected into a "Canon" soon after the return, superseded the prophetic office; their regular reading in the synagogues prevented that ignorance which had been so fatal under the monarchy; and the "scribes," who devoted themselves to their exposition, shared the respect paid to the priests and Levites. *Prayer*, private as well as public, regained that supreme place in God's worship, which had been usurped by rites and ceremonies. The *Sab-*

[5] The assumption of the royal title by the Asmonæan princes was only an addition of dignity to the head of a confessedly theocratic constitution.

[6] See *Notes and Illustrations* (A.). The Temple of Zerubbabel.

[7] The return of only four out of the twenty-four courses of priests must have placed a great check on pomp in the Temple-service.

oath, which the prophets never cease to represent as the key-stone both of religion and of the charities of social life, was firmly established, after a sharp contest with worldly selfishness. Idolatry was henceforth unknown; and the attempt of the Syrian kings to impose its practice adorned the Jewish Church with a cloud of martyrs, whose constancy confirms the many other proofs that the people had attained to a more spiritual faith. The shades of this fair picture were as yet in the background, and the current of the history brings them into prominence soon enough. They are the vices which our corrupt nature distills from these very virtues; spiritual pride, perverting the uses of God's worship; oppression and immorality, excused by the privileges of God's people.

§ 2. The number of the people forming the first caravan, whom Ezra reckons, not only by their families, but by the cities of Judah and Benjamin, and other tribes, to which they belonged, with the priests and Levites, amounted in all to 42,360,[8] besides 7367 men-servants and maid-servants. They had 736 horses, 245 mules, 435 camels, and 6720 asses. These numbers may seem small, in contrast to the former population of Judæa; but they are large, as compared with the enumeration given above of the several captivities. They no doubt included many of the Ten Tribes, for Cyrus addressed his proclamation to all the servants of God throughout the empire; and it was responded to, not only by the fathers of Judah and Benjamin, but "by all whose spirit God had raised."[9] In fact, though the new nation are called *Jews*, the distinction of the tribes disappears (except in their pedigrees), and subsequent jealousies are religious and local, as those against Samaria and Nazareth. Those, however, who undertook the journey were doubtless a considerable minority of the captives, who, as directed by Jeremiah, had settled down quietly in the land of their captivity, built houses, and planted vineyards. Some followed at a later period. Others remained behind, forming what was called the "Dispersion:" and how numerous these were in all the provinces of the empire we see in the Book of Esther.

The little band of 50,000, so few and weak in comparison of the host that crossed the Jordan under Joshua, were led by ZERUBBABEL, prince of Judah, and grandson of Jehoiachin, who was appointed *Tirshatha*, or governor of Judæa.[10] With

[8] Ezra ii. 64, 65.

[9] Ezra i. 5. On the mixture of the Ten Tribes with the returned Jews see chap. xxiv. § 10.

[10] Ezra iii. 63.

him were associated the high-priest JESHUA,[11] and ten of the chief elders. We have no record of the journey; but the lxxxivth Psalm describes the triumph of their pious zeal to behold the house of God over all the hardships of the way[12] After visiting their desolate cities, they assembled in the seventh month (Tisri=Sept.-Oct.) at Jerusalem, to rebuild the altar and offer their first sacrifices at the Feast of Tabernacles. Though dreading the hostility of the surrounding nations, they prepared to build the Temple, hiring masons and carpenters with the money they had brought, and preparing provisions for the Tyrians and Sidonians, who had been commanded by Cyrus to bring cedar-trees from Lebanon by sea to Joppa, as Hiram had done for Solomon.[13]

In the second month of the following year (Jyar=Apr.-May, B.C. 535), the foundation of the Temple was laid with great solemnities, amid the sound of trumpets and the chorus of the sons of Asaph, "praising and giving thanks unto Jehovah, because he is good, for his mercy endureth forever toward Israel." But the shouts of the people were mingled with the weeping of the priests and elders who had seen the glory of the first house, so that the cries of joy could hardly be distinguished from those of sorrow.[14]

§ 3. The work was not long permitted to proceed in quiet. The descendants of the Cuthæan colonists whom Esar-haddon had settled in Samaria, and whose strange mixture of idolatry with the worship of Jehovah has already been related, were not slow to claim affinity with a people so favored by Cyrus. Their request to join in building the Temple was indignantly rejected by the Jews, who regarded them as idolaters and "adversaries;" and they used all their efforts to earn the latter title. By hired influence at the court, as well as by their opposition on the spot, the building of the Temple was hindered till the reign of Darius, the son of Hystaspes. The narrative of these transactions is somewhat perplexed by the different opinions held respecting the Persian kings whose names are mentioned in the books of Ezra, Esther, and Nehemiah. The following table exhibits the suc-

[11] It is remarkable that the high-priest, the supreme authority in the restored religious commonwealth, bore the name at once of the captain who at first led Israel into the Holy Land, and of the Messiah whose type he is made in the prophecies of Zechariah.

[12] Other Psalms which seem to belong to this period are lxxxvii., cvii., cxi., cxii., cxiii., cxiv., cxvi., cxvii., cxxv., cxxvii., cxxviii., cxxxiv.

[13] Ezra iii. 1–7.

[14] Ezra iii. 8–13. Though it was seventy years from the first beginning of the Captivity, it was only fifty since the destruction of Jerusalem.

cession of these kings by their ordinary Greek names, with the names which most probably correspond to them in Scripture.[15]

	Beginning of each reign, B.C.
1. CYAXARES, king of Media	634
Ahasuerus: Dan. ix. 1.	
2. ASTYAGES, his son, last king of Media	594
Darius the Mede.	
3. CYRUS, son of his daughter and Cambyses, a Persian noble, founder of the Persian Empire	559
Cyrus begins to reign at Babylon	Jan. 5, 538
4. CAMBYSES, his son	Jan. 3, 529
Ahasuerus: Ezra iv. 6.[16]	
5. GOMATES, a Magian usurper (about Jan. 1), who personated Smerdis, the younger son of Cyrus. (Reigns seven months)	522
Artaxerxes: Ezra iv. 7, etc.	
6. DARIUS, the son of Hystaspes. A Persian noble, raised to the throne on the overthrow of Gomates	Jan. 1, 521
Darius: Ezra iv. 5, 24, v., vi.	
7. XERXES, his son	Dec. 23, 486
Ahasuerus: Esther.	
8. ARTAXERXES LONGIMANUS, his son	Dec. 7, 465
Artaxerxes: Ezra vii., Nehemiah ... End of his reign,	Dec. 17, 423

The subsequent kings, Xerxes II. (Sogdianus), Darius II. (Nothus), Artaxerxes II. (Mnemon), Artaxerxes III. (Ochus), and Darius III. (Codomannus), are not named in Scripture.

Cyrus does not seem to have wavered in his Jewish policy, but his wars in Asia will account for the impediments permitted to delay the building of the Temple during the remainder of his reign.

His son, Cambyses, was too much occupied with his one great enterprise against Egypt to take any notice of the letter of accusation against the Jews which the "adversaries" sent to him at the beginning of his reign, B.C. 529.[17]

They were more successful with the usurper Gomates, to whom they artfully suggested a search in the records of the kingdom, to prove that Jerusalem had been destroyed for its continual rebellions. The answer was a rescript bidding the work to cease, armed with which, the officers of Samaria, Rehum, Shimshai, and their companions went up to Jerusalem, and put an end for the time to the building of the Temple, B.C. 522.[18]

The restoration of order under Darius, the son of Hystas-

[15] The dates of those of Clinton, *F. H.*, vol. ii. 312.

[16] The identifications of this Ahasuerus with Xerxes or Artaxerxes Longimanus, besides other objections, involve most violent transpositions; and the same remark applies to the identification of Artaxerxes in Ezra iv. 7 with Longimanus.

[17] Ezra iv. 6. Cambyses, who was named after his grandfather, would naturally assume the royal name of Axares or Cyaxares (Ahasuerus), and we have independent evidence that he bore that name (Xenophon, *Cyrop.* viii.).

[18] Ezra iv. 7–24.

pes, was the signal for new hopes and efforts. In the second year of his reign (B.C. 520), the prophets HAGGAI and ZECHARIAH, the son of Iddo, commenced the exhortations and promises, mingled with reproofs and warnings, which we read in their books.[19] The rebuilding of the Temple was resumed by Zerubbabel and Jeshua, who appear in the prophecies of Zechariah as types of the great Prince and Priest of the approaching reign of holiness. They had to deal, not with malignant adversaries, but with the just authorities of a settled government. Being called to account for their conduct by Tatnai, the Persian governor west of the Euphrates, they appealed to the edict of Cyrus, which was found among the records at Ecbatana, and the discovery brought a new edict from Darius, not only permitting the work, but bidding his officers to aid them with supplies, and threatening all who hindered them with the severest penalties. So the work went on and prospered, under the constant encouragement of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah; and the house was finished on the third of the twelfth month (Adar=Feb.–March) in the sixth year of Darius (B.C. 515), twenty-one years after its commencement.

The Feast of Dedication was kept with great joy. Besides the 700 victims offered for a burnt-offering, twelve goats were offered for a sin-offering "*for all Israel*," one for each tribe—a decisive proof that the returned "children of the captivity" regarded themselves as the representatives of all Israel. The courses of the priests and Levites were set in order, according to the law of Moses and the institutions of David. It was found that only four of the original courses of priests were represented; but, by the division of each into six, the number of twenty-four was restored, and the old names were adopted. The solemnities were concluded by the keeping of the Passover on the fourteenth day of the first month and of the seven days of the unleavened bread.[20]

§ 4. In B.C. 486 Darius was succeeded by XERXES, whose repulse from Greece fills so memorable a page in the history of Europe, but whose place in the annals of the Jews depends on his identification with the Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther. The story of the offense given to the king by the haughty Queen Vashti, which led to her divorce, and to the

[19] The reproofs of Haggai for the people's slowness in building the house of God, while making haste to build their own, are among the most impressive passages of the Hebrew prophets.

[20] Ezra vi. The following Psalms are supposed to refer to the dedication of the second temple: xlviii., lxxxi., and cxlvi.–cl.

choice of the Jewess, Hadassah, or Esther,[21] as his consort, four years afterward; the spite of Haman the Agagite, because Mordecai, the guardian of Esther, refused to do him reverence, and his plot to destroy all the Jews throughout the 127 provinces of the empire on one day; the self-devotion of Esther for her people; the rewards heaped on Mordecai for his ancient services to the kingdom, and the hanging of Haman on the gallows he had built for the hated Jews; the permission to the Jews to defend themselves, and the consequent slaughter of 75,000 of their enemies on the thirteenth of Adar (Feb.–March), besides 800 slain at the palace of Shushan (Susa) on that and the following day; and the appointment of the fourteenth and fifteenth of Adar, on which they rested from slaying their enemies, for the great *Feast of Purim*:[22] all these incidents are familiar to us in the beautiful narrative of the *Book of Esther;* and no scene of Scripture history is more often applied to a spiritual use, than her bold venture into the presence of the "king of kings,"[23] and his reaching out to her the golden sceptre as the sign of grace (B.C. 474).

A natural reluctance to identify this noble woman with Xerxes's cruel wife Amestris, whose name bears some resemblance to Esther, is the chief objection to the identification of Ahasuerus with Xerxes. But the former hypothesis is quite unfounded, as will presently appear. The description of the Persian Empire as containing 127 provinces, and reaching from India to Ethiopia,[24] can apply to no reign before that of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, who is therefore taken by Ussher and others for Ahasuerus. But *Darius* is a genuine royal name, as distinct from *Ahasuerus* as his character is from the capricious tyrant of the Book of Esther, and his two wives were the daughters of Cyrus and Otanes. Others fix on Artaxerxes Mnemon, whose name is, like Xerxes, the equivalent of Ahasuerus. But this hypothesis is negatived by the relations of Artaxerxes to the Jews, to whom he issues a favorable decree in the seventh year of his reign, while Ahasuerus, in his twelfth year, is so ignorant of the character of the nation as to be imposed upon by the calumnies of Haman; nor does the character of the latter agree with

[21] *Esther* is the Persian name which was given to her, derived from the planet Venus.

[22] That is, *Feast of Lots*, from the lots cast by Haman when he was planning the destruction of the Jews (Esth. iii. 7, ix. 24). For an account of this feast, see p. 269.

[23] Such is the proud title of the Persian monarchs on their own inscriptions; that, for instance, of Behistun.

[24] Esth. i. 1, viii. 9, ix. 30.

that of Artaxerxes. Any later king is out of the question. Being thus brought back to Xerxes, whose name is the Greek form of Ahasuerus, it only remains to compare the dates of the Book of Esther with the history of his reign, the leading events of which are, his accession in B.C. 486 (Dec. 23),[25] his expedition to Greece in his sixth year, B.C. 480, and his death at the end of his twenty-first year, B.C. 465 (Dec. 17).[26] Now the great feast of Ahasuerus, at which Vashti refused to appear, was in the third year of his reign, B.C. 483,[27] the very year in which Xerxes held a great assembly to arrange the Grecian war, and his marriage with Esther was in his seventh year, B.C. 479,[28] the year after the expedition to Greece, when Xerxes might naturally seek in his harem some consolation for his repulse. But Amestris, who was the daughter of Otanes, the uncle of Xerxes, had been his wife long before the expedition to Greece, in which her sons were old enough to accompany him, and the eldest of them, Darius, married at the very time of his father's marriage to Esther.[29] For all these reasons Esther can not be Amestris; and, considering the polygamy of the Persian kings, it is not surprising that Herodotus should mention only two of the wives of Xerxes, and the Book of Esther two others. The affairs of Xerxes after his flight from Greece are only noticed by the Greek historians as they affect the Hellenic race.[30]

§ 5. These events at the court, and the elevation of Mordecai to the post of prime minister, must have had a favorable influence on the affairs of the restored Jews; but we have no further details of their history till Ezra appears upon the scene, in the seventh year of Artaxerxes I. (Longimanus), B.C. 458. EZRA occupies a place toward the end of the history of the Old Covenant, resembling in many respects that of Moses at the beginning. He was a priest descended from the line of the later high-priests. His father Seraiah[31] was the grandson of Hilkiah, high-priest in the reign of Josiah. Ezra was especially distinguished for his knowledge of the Scriptures, "a ready scribe in the law of Moses."[32] Living at Babylon, he gained the favor of Artaxerxes, and obtained from him a commission to go up to Jerusalem. The restored Jews had

[25] Clinton, *F. H.*, vol. ii. p. 312. Hence B.C. 485 is his first year.

[26] Clinton, *l. c.*

[27] Esth. i. 3; Herod. vii. 7, foll.

[28] Esth. ii. 16.

[29] Herod. vii. 31, 69, 82.

[30] The expenditure caused by the Grecian war would very well account for the tribute which Ahasuerus laid "upon the land and the isles of the sea" (Esth. x. 1).

[31] He must be distinguished from Seraiah, who was high-priest when Jerusalem was destroyed.

[32] Ezra vii. 1–6.

already fallen into great declension, and Ezra's study in God's law had stirred him up to a work of reformation; "For Ezra had prepared his heart to seek the law of Jehovah, and to do it, and to teach in Israel statutes and judgments."[33] Every step he takes is marked by some devout acknowledgment of the help of God "according to the good hand of his God upon him."[34]

The king's commission invited all the Israelites and priests and Levites in the whole empire who so wished to go with Ezra, who was sent by the king and his seven councilors to inquire concerning Judah and Jerusalem; bearing offerings from the king and his councilors and freewill-offerings from the people, to buy sacrifices and to decorate the Temple, besides vessels for its service. All the treasures beyond the Euphrates were commanded to supply his wants, and the priests and ministers of the temple were exempted from taxation. Ezra was commanded to appoint and instruct magistrates and judges over the people beyond the river, with authority to punish, even to death, all who broke the law of God and the king.[35]

Ezra set out from Babylon with his companions, to the number of six thousand, including many children, on the first day of the first month (end of March, B.C. 458). The journey occupied exactly four months, including a halt for three days at Ahava,[36] where he collected his caravan, and obtained an accession of two hundred and twenty Nethinim from Iddo, the chief of the Levites at Casiphia. Ashamed to ask a guard from the king, whom he had assured of God's power to protect them, Ezra kept a fast at Ahava to pray for a prosperous journey; and this second caravan arrived safe at Jerusalem on the first day of the fifth month (end of July, B.C. 458). After resting three days the treasure and vessels were delivered to the priests, burnt sacrifices were offered by the returned exiles, and the king's commissions were delivered to all the satraps west of the Euphrates.[37]

On applying himself to the work of reformation, Ezra found the people already infected with the evil that had proved the root of all former mischief, intermarriage with the idolatrous nations around them. His first care was to impress them

[33] Ezra vii. 10.

[34] Ezra vii. 6, 9, 27, 28, viii. 22, 31.

[35] Ezra vii. The terms of this decree, advised no doubt by Ezra himself, seem to contemplate a religious jurisdiction as wide as the kingdom of David and Solomon.

[36] Probably the modern *Hit*, on the Euphrates, east of Damascus (Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 316, note). Casiphia is unknown.

[37] Ezra viii

with the enormity of the sin. The example of his public mourning and prayer led some of the chief persons to come forward, and at their suggestion the whole people were summoned to Jerusalem on penalty of forfeiture and expulsion from the congregation. They assembled on the twentieth day of the ninth month (December, B.C. 458) amid a storm of rain, and, having confessed their sin, they proceeded to the remedy with order and deliberation. All the strange wives were put away, including even those who had borne children, by the beginning of the new year (end of March, B.C. 457).[38] At this point the account of Ezra's proceedings ends abruptly with the book that bears his name, and he does not appear again till thirteen years later, as the associate of Nehemiah.[39] To the period of Ezra's reform should probably be referred the later prophecies of Zechariah, which relate to the declension, rejection, and ultimate restoration of the Jews, and to the glories of the kingdom of Christ.[40]

§ 6. In the twentieth year of Artaxerxes (B.C. 445) grievous tidings from Jerusalem reached the royal winter residence at Shushan. Whether Ezra had returned after executing his commission, or whether the instability of the Jews and the malice of their enemies had been too much for him, things were in a worse state than at any time since the Captivity. The people of Judæa were in affliction and reproach, the wall of Jerusalem was still broken down and the gates burned, as they had been left by Nebuchadnezzar. This news was brought by Hanani and other Jews of Judæa to NEHEMIAH, the son of Hachaliah, who appears to have belonged to the tribe of Judah, and who held the office of cup-bearer to Artaxerxes. Overwhelmed with the tidings, he fasted, and prayed God to incline the king's heart to grant his desire to help his brethren.[41] At the end of four months (Chisleu to Nisan, November to March, B.C. 444) an opportunity offered itself, on the king's observing his cup-bearer's sadness. Nehemiah explained its cause, and obtained leave of absence for a fixed time, with letters to the governors west of Euphrates to aid his journey, and to Asaph, the keeper of the king's forest, to supply him with timber. Already, before his arrival at Jerusalem, he became aware of the hostility of Sanballat the Horonite, and Tobiah the Ammonite, but he only resolved to do his work with the greater speed. After the usual three days of rest or purification he took a private view of the city

[38] Ezra ix., x.
[39] B.C. 444: Neh. viii. 1.
[40] Zech. ix.-xiv.
[41] Neh. i.

by night, and then summoned the rulers to the work.[42] Led on by the high-priest Eliashib, all of them, except the nobles of the Tekoites, labored heart and hand at their regularly appointed stations. The wall soon rose, and the gateways were rebuilt.[43]

But now Sanballat and Tobiah, who had at first scorned the idea of the feeble Jews fortifying their city, and had mocked at their wall as too weak for a fence against jackals, became seriously alarmed. A conspiracy was formed of the Arabians and Ammonites and the Philistines of Ashdod, for an attack upon Jerusalem before the fortification was complete. Warned by the Jews who dwelt among them, Nehemiah called the people to arms behind the half-finished bulwarks. This attitude of resistance disconcerted the plot; but henceforth half of the people remained under arms, while the other half labored at the work, girded with their swords. Nehemiah kept a trumpeter always by his side to sound the alarm, and neither he nor his guard put off their clothes except for washing.[44]

Amid all this anxiety, he found time for internal reform. The unsettled state of the nation, and the pressure of the king's tribute, had reduced the poorer citizens to destitution. They had mortgaged their lands and vineyards to their brethren, who moreover exacted usury from them contrary to the law, and many of them were sinking, with their families, into slavery through their debts. In a solemn assembly Nehemiah rebuked the unmerciful creditors and usurers, and bound them by an oath to release the persons and lands of their debtors. He himself set the example of disinterestedness; keeping a table for one hundred and fifty Jews, besides any who returned from exile from time to time, and yet declining to draw the allowance which had been paid to previous governors, during the whole twelve years of his rule (B.C. 445–433).[45]

When Sanballat, Tobiah, and Geshem saw that the walls were finished, the breaches repaired, and that only the gates remained to be hung, they began new plots. Unhappily they were aided by a party of the nobles of Judah, turbulent and rebellious as ever, with whom Tobiah and his son Johanan were connected by family alliances. Their scheme was to frighten Nehemiah with a charge of suspected treason. Having failed to entrap him by the proposal of a conference, they wrote to him four times, and the fifth time they sent an open

[42] Neh. ii. [43] Neh. iii. [44] Neh. iv. [45] Neh. v.

letter, that the charge might be made public, declaring that it was reported among the heathen nations round about that the Jews intended to rebel, and that Nehemiah was fortifying the city with the intention of making himself king. They charged him with appointing prophets to preach the news, "There is a king in Judah," and threatened to report the whole matter to the king unless Nehemiah would grant them a conference. The prophet Shemaiah was hired to frighten Nehemiah into a step for his own protection, which would have amounted to an act of treason. He contented himself with an indignant denial of the charge made in the letters, and with appealing to the judgment of God against Shemaiah, the prophetess Noadiah, and the others who tried to frighten him.[46]

The walls being finished and the gates hung, and the porters and singers and Levites appointed to their stations, Nehemiah committed the charge of the city to his brother Hanani and to Hananiah, the ruler of the palace. The gates were kept barred till the sun was hot, and the people were arranged in watches. Such care was the more needful, as the city was still much too large for its inhabitants, and few houses were yet built. By the seventh month (Tisri=September–October, B.C. 444), that is, the beginning of the civil new year, the people were settled in their city, and Nehemiah had completed the register of their genealogies.[47]

The ensuing month, the one especially allotted by Moses to joyful religious celebrations, was celebrated as an inauguration of the people into their new life. If not according to the calendar "the year of release," in which the law was to be read before all the people, it well deserved that title in their

[46] Lord Arthur Hervey, who follows Prideaux and Townsend in considering the Artaxerxes of Ezra iv. 7 as Artaxerxes Longimanus, connects the interruption of the building, related in Ezra iv. 7–23, with the plot of Sanballat and Tobiah, on the ground that the walls are especially mentioned (*Bib. Dict.* art. *Ezra*). But besides the general objection, already taken, to the transposition of the passage, it seems incredible that Nehemiah should not have mentioned the appeal to the king, and the consequent cessation of the works. On the contrary, he speaks of the opposition as unsuccessful, and the wall as finished in fifty-two days, on the 25th of Elul (Sept. B.C. 444). As to the question which is mixed up with this, of Nehemiah's return to Persia, and his second commission to Jerusalem, at a point between chap. vi. and vii. (or rather, as Townsend places it, between vii. 4, and vii. 5), there seems no clear proof that Nehemiah left Judæa till the close of the twelve years which he himself names as the duration of his commission (comp. v. 14 and xiii. 6), notwithstanding the contrary inference which might be drawn from chap. ii. 6. The time may have been lengthened at Nehemiah's request.

[47] Neh. vii.; comp. Ezra ii.

annals. Now, for the first time since the decree of Cyrus for their return, they could meet to worship God under the protection of their ramparts, with their new liberties, nay, their very existence as a nation, no longer at the mercy of their inveterate enemies. On the first day of the month the people were gathered as one man in the street before the water-gate, and Ezra again appears among them. At their desire he produced the *Book of the Law*, and having opened it amid marks of the deepest reverence from all the people, he read it to an audience wrapped in attention from morning to mid-day. The manner of reading was this: Ezra stood on a pulpit,[48] with six Scribes or Levites on his right hand and seven on his left, who seem to have relieved him in the reading; for it is said, "*they* read in the book in the law of God *distinctly*."[49]

The people stood in their ranks in front of the pulpit; and among them were thirteen other ministers, who, with the assistance of the Levites, "caused the people to understand the law." There can be little doubt that this phrase refers to a translation of what Ezra read in Hebrew into the mixed Chaldee dialect, which had become the vernacular tongue during the Captivity. The book which was thus read was probably not merely the Pentateuch, but the whole body of sacred writings, which had been collected into one volume by the care of Ezra, the first great Scribe, and which formed in substance what we call the Book of the Old Covenant.[50]

The reading produced an impression like that made on Josiah. All the people wept at what they heard; not only, we may well believe, with regret at the past glories of their nation, but at the recital of the sins for which that glory had departed, not unmixed with a penitent consciousness of their own guilt. But Nehemiah (who is now first mentioned in the transaction), supported by Ezra and the Levites, bade them cease their sorrow, and go home to "eat the fat, and drink the sweet, and send portions to those for whom nothing was prepared, for the day was holy to Jehovah." The people went away to make great mirth, because they understood the words that were declared unto them. When the reading was resumed on the following day, they came to the institution of the Feast of Tabernacles in this very month of Tisri. Their excited minds caught the signal for fresh rejoicing in Jehovah. They went forth into the mount to fetch

[48] Heb. A tower of wood.

[49] Neh. viii. 1-8: the last word seems to include the idea of a choral recitative, in which the thirteen accompanied Ezra.

[50] Or, erroneously, Testament.

branches of olive, and pine, and myrtle, and palm, and thick trees, and made booths on the roofs and in the courts of their houses, in the Temple court and along the streets to the city gates. Such a Feast of Tabernacles had not been kept since the days of Joshua. The reading of the law was continued for all the seven days of the feast, and the eighth was a solemn assembly, as Moses had commanded.[51]

After the burst of joy for God's mercy in restoring them, they turned to the solemn duty of humiliation and repentance for their sins. The Day of Atonement ought to have been kept on the tenth of this month.[52] It had probably been passed over, as requiring more solemn preparation and a more orderly arrangement of the Temple-service than was yet possible. In its place a fast was held two days after the Feast of Tabernacles, on the 24th day of Tisri. All who were of the seed of Israel, carefully separating themselves from the strangers, appeared in the deepest mourning, clad in sackcloth, and with earth upon their heads. The day seems to have been divided into four equal parts, only broken by the intervals necessary for refreshment. The first three hours were devoted to the reading of the law. The morning sacrifice fitly introduced the second quarter, which was spent in silent confession and prayer. When the hour of noon was past, the Levites, arranged on the steps of the Temple porch, or on a scaffold erected for the purpose, called upon the people to stand up and bless Jehovah. Then in a solemn hymn, the epitome of which is a fit model for all such services, they recited God's mercies from the first call of Abram; they confessed the sins of their forefathers, and God's forbearance in punishing without utterly consuming them: and they acknowledged his justice in their present state of humiliation and great distress, as servants to the kings set over them for their sins, to whom their land yielded its increase, and who had dominion over their bodies and cattle at their pleasure. Submissive to God's will, they ended by making a new covenant with Him; and before the sun set, it was recorded in writing, and sealed by the princes, priests, and Levites, whose names are recorded by Nehemiah, while the rest of the people bound themselves by a curse and an oath to walk in the law which God had given by Moses. The chief points of this covenant were: To make no intermarriages with the heathen; to abstain from traffic on the Sabbath, and to keep the sabbatic year, with its release of all debts; to pay a year

[51] Neh. viii. [52] Lev. xxiii. 26.

ly tax of a third of a shekel for the services of the sanctuary, which are carefully enumerated; to offer the first-fruits and first-born, and the tithes due to the Levites and the priests; and, in one final word, "We will not forsake the house of our God."[53] To most points of this covenant they remained faithful in the *letter*. The sins of the Jewish nation took henceforth a direction altogether different from the open rebellion and apostasy of their fathers. The more scrupulous their observance of the law, the more did they make it void by their traditions and pervert it to serve their selfishness.

Before the people departed to their homes, it was necessary to decide who of them should fix their abode at Jerusalem, which would have been left almost without inhabitants, had all taken up their residence on their old family allotments about the several cities and villages. It is a striking proof of the attachment of the Jews to their patrimonial possessions, that the safer residence behind the walls of Jerusalem should not have been the object of competition. But it was regarded as a sacrifice to live there; "And the people blessed all the men that willingly offered themselves to dwell at Jerusalem. The rulers took up their abode in the capital: and for the rest every tenth man was chosen by lot to live there."[54] The language of Nehemiah would almost seem to imply that those of the people who belonged to *Israel* (the Ten Tribes) had their possessions assigned in the cities of Judah, and that the inhabitants of Jerusalem were taken from the tribes of Judah and Benjamin. The priests and Levites were divided in due proportions between the city and the country.[55]

On the completion of all these arrangements a great festival was held for the *Dedication of the Wall* of Jerusalem. The priests and Levites, called together from all the cities of Judah, purified the walls and the people. The rulers were divided into two parts, which went round the walls in procession to the right and to the left, the one headed by Ezra and the other by Nehemiah, each with his train of priests and Levites, blowing the trumpets and singing thanks to God. The day was crowned with great sacrifices, and their shouts of joy sounded from the rock of Zion far and wide over the hills of Judah.[56] The only remaining records of Nehemiah's

[53] Neh. ix., x. [54] Neh. xi. 1, 2.
[55] Neh. xi., xii. 1–26.
[56] Neh. xii. 27–43. Townsend assumes this festival to have been held immediately after the completion of the wall; but ver. 27 proves that it was after the Levites had been distributed over the country, from which they had to be brought together again.

twelve years' government relate to the provision made for the priests and Levites and singers,[57] and the separation of the Ammonites and Moabites from the congregation, according to the sentence pronounced on them by Moses[58]—another indication of the reconstitution of the Church of Jehovah.

§ 7. In the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, B.C. 433, Nehemiah returned to the Persian court. After an interval, of what length we know not,[59] he obtained the king's permission to go and visit Jerusalem again, in order to reform serious abuses which had grown up through the weakness of the high-priest Eliashib and the rapacity of the princes. The former had not only yielded the claims of Tobiah, which Nehemiah had so firmly resisted, while his grandson had married a daughter of the other adversary, Sanballat,[60] but Eliashib had also prepared for Tobiah a large chamber in the court of the Temple, which had been used as a store-house for the sacred vessels, the meat-offerings, and frankincense, and the tithes of corn, wine, and oil for the Levites, all of which had been removed to make room for the furniture of Tobiah. Nehemiah cleared out the furniture, and caused the chambers of the Temple to be purified, and restored to their uses.[61] The Levites, defrauded of their tithes, had betaken themselves to the Levitical cities, so that the Temple was deserted. Nehemiah gathered them together again, compelled the rulers to do them justice, and the people to bring the tithes, and appointed faithful treasurers.[62] He most indignantly reproved the nobles for the profanation of the Sabbath, as the sin which had brought the wrath of God upon their fathers. In the cities of Judah wine-presses were trodden on the holy day, and the gates of Jerusalem were crowded with Tyrian and other merchants, who carried in the supplies of luxury for a great city.[63] Nehemiah had the city gates shut

[57] Neh. xii. 44–47.

[58] Neh. xiii. 13. The inference, that many of these two nations were mingled with the Jews, both in their captivity and return, is confirmed by their previous history.

[59] Neh. xiii. 6. "After the end of days," is the only note of the time; but the phrase "all this time," as well as the extent of the abuses, would seem to imply a considerable interval. The inference is still stronger from the allusion in xiii. 24 to the children of the mixed marriages. As ten years does not seem too long to satisfy these conditions, we are brought to the last year of Artaxerxes (B.C. 423) as a probable date of this visit. Prideaux allows five years, placing it in B.C. 428.

[60] Neh. xiii. 28. [61] Neh. xiii. 4–9.

[62] Neh. xiii. 10–14.

[63] Neh. xiii. 16. Besides the profanation of the Sabbath by the carrying of burdens, the passage implies a course of self-indulgent luxury on the part of the wealthy nobles, and an utter disregard of the law against kindling fire and preparing food on the Sabbath.

from dusk till the end of the Sabbath, and guarded by his servants. At first the merchants pitched their tents round the wall; but Nehemiah called the Levites to guard the gates, and the Sabbath trading was abolished. His last reform dealt with the old evil of the mixed marriages, which had again been contracted with women of Ammon, Moab, and Ashdod to such an extent that children were heard talking in a dialect half Jewish and half in the language of Ashdod.[64] By the most energetic measures, Nehemiah exacted an oath of the offenders to abstain from all such alliances; and he expelled from the priesthood a son of Joiada, the son of the high-priest Eliashib, for his marriage with the daughter of Sanballat the Horonite.[65]

Nehemiah's narrative of these reforms is interspersed with the frequent appeal, "Remember me, O my God, for good, and spare me according to the greatness of thy mercy; wipe not out my good deeds that I have done for the house of my God, and for the observances thereof."[66] His prayer has been answered ever since in the preservation of his book as a part of Holy Scripture:—the record of pure religious zeal, tempered with that prudence which is one of the highest duties of a governor, of unbending fidelity and self-denying liberality, all for the glory and in the fear of God.[67]

§ 8. We have no further information of Nehemiah's life; and, before returning to the important but uncertain questions relating to Ezra, a few words must be said of the Prophet, whose book ends the Scriptures of the Old Covenant, and who is thence called by the Jews "the *seal* of the prophets." MALACHI (the *angel* or *messenger of Jehovah*),[68] closes the canon of the Jewish Scriptures with words rendered doubly impressive by our entire ignorance of his personal history. Like the first prophet of the New Covenant, whose preaching is an echo of his warnings, he is simply "the *voice* of one cry-

[64] Neh. xiii. 23, 24. We can not be sure that this was the Philistine tongue, since Ashdod had been taken and perhaps colonized by Nebuchadnezzar.

[65] Neh. xiii. 23-29. It is not quite clear whether the title, "the high-priest," refers to Eliashib or Joiada.

[66] Neh. xiii. 14, 22, 31.

[67] His only infirmity seems to have been a hasty temper when provoked by iniquity, Neh. xiii. 25. "I contended with them, and reviled them, and smote certain of them, *and plucked off their hair.*" This is said to have been the one fault of Gustavus Adolphus, who once dragged a marauder from the ranks by the hair of his head and ordered him for execution, saying, "It is better that I should punish thee, than that God should punish thee and me and all of us on thy account."

[68] Contracted from *Malachijah*, like *Abi* from *Abijah*.

ing in the *wilderness*," and preaching repentance from flagrant sin as the one indispensable preliminary to the reception of the expected Messiah. In this view his prophecy links the Old Covenant with the New; and the connection is made closer by his prediction of the coming of John the Baptist, as the Elijah of the new dispensation, and the forerunner of the Angel-Jehovah, the messenger of the Covenant.[69] Already was the Jewish Church groaning under the dissolution of the first and most sacred bonds of social life; and the new Elijah was needed to "turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers," lest the expected Messiah should come only "to smite the earth with a curse." We have only to read the prophet's denunciation of rulers, priests, and people, to see that he is describing present evils, and not merely predicting some future declension. These descriptions serve to fix the date of the prophecy. They agree so exactly with the state of things which Nehemiah found on the occasion of his last visit to Jerusalem, that the prophecy may be safely referred either to that period, or to a second declension, which soon followed the reforms of Nehemiah. The latter is the more probable; for had Malachi labored, as some have suggested, in conjunction with Nehemiah, in the same way in which Isaiah supported the reforms of Hezekiah, Nehemiah would surely have referred to him, as he does to the snares of the false prophets and to the support of Ezra, and as Ezra himself mentions Haggai and Zechariah. In any case, the date of Malachi falls before the end of this century (B.C. 400); and it is not at all impossible that Ezra, if he was really the author of the Scripture Canon, may have lived long enough to include in it the Book of Malachi as well as that of Nehemiah.

§ 9. It is disappointing to confess that the question just started must be left without a satisfactory solution. Certain it is that we can not implicitly follow the Jewish traditions, either about Ezra's personal history or about his Biblical labors. Josephus, whose positive statements are too often adopted without inquiry, would have been generally believed when he says that Ezra died an old man,[70] and was buried magnificently at Jerusalem, had he not placed his death before the government of Nehemiah![71] Another very prevalent tradition places his death in Persia, some even going so far as to name the place where he died on his return from

[69] Mal. iii. 1, iv. 5, 6

[70] Some make him reach the age of 120.

[71] *Ant.* xi. 5, § 5.

Jerusalem to the court of Artaxerxes, and where his sepulchre might be seen.[72]

The works ascribed to him by Jewish tradition were: The foundation of the "Great Synagogue" of 120 members, the very mention of whose names proves the more than doubtful authenticity of the institution;[73] the establishment of Synagogues; the authorship of the Books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther; and the collection, editing, and arrangement of the whole Jewish Scriptures in one "Canon," under the threefold division of the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa.[74] In performing this work, he is assumed to have added those passages which can not have been written by the authors whose names the books bear; such as the allusion to kings of Israel in Gen. xxxvi. 31; the account of the death and burial of Moses in the last chapter of Deuteronomy; and the many references to the state of things "at this day." He is also said to have introduced the Chaldee character (in which Hebrew is still written) in place of the old Hebrew character which is retained in the Samaritan Pentateuch, and to have added the vowel points (handed down by tradition from Moses), the divisions of the *Pesukim*, or verses, and the emendations of the *Keri*. Many of these details are the mere expressions of a desire, natural in those who seek for the authority of Scripture rather in the structure of the whole book than in the vitality of its every member, to place under the sanction of one great name the changes which must have been made on many different occasions. But the main question is, whether the present Canon of the Old Testament was, in substance, the work of Ezra. It must be remembered that such a work involved much more than the collection into one volume of books already existing in a separate form; it included the selection from the whole number of those which bore, and were to bear forever, the stamp of divine authority: for no one imagines that the Scriptures of the Old Testament form a complete collection of the ancient Hebrew literature. That such a work, having such authority, had been completed be-

[72] Benjamin of Tudela: see *Bib. Dict.* art. *Ezra*.

[73] On the Great Synagogue, see *Notes and Illustrations* (B.).

[74] The word Canon (κανών) in classical Greek signifies properly a *straight rod*, as a carpenter's rule; and hence is applied metaphorically to a *testing rule* in ethics, or in art, or in language (the *Canons* of Grammar). As applied to Scripture, the word indicates the rule by which the contents of the Bible must be determined, and thus secondarily an index of the constituent books. The Canon of Scripture may be generally described as "the collection of books which forms the original and authoritative written rule of the faith and practice of the Church."

fore the Christian era, is clear from the allusions to the Holy Scriptures in the New Testament; and it was most probably accomplished during the Persian domination, which ended B.C. 323. There is every reason for its having been performed at as early a period as possible. Ezra's care to make the people well acquainted with the word of God is as conspicuous as his own knowledge of it. No man could be more qualified, as no time could be more fit, for a work which was most needful to establish the people in their faith. That the work must have been performed by an inspired man, is an axiom lying at the foundation of the whole question, unless we believe, on the one hand, that the Church is endowed in every age with power to decide what Scriptures are canonical, or unless, on the other hand, we give up a *canon*, in the proper sense of the word, and reduce the authority of Scripture to that which literary criticism can establish for its separate books. On this ground, none but Ezra can be the author of the Canon; for no one has ever thought of ascribing the work to Nehemiah, the civil governor and man of action; and the only claim made for Malachi is the addition of his own prophecy to the Canon already framed by Ezra, and even this supposition we have seen to be unnecessary, as Ezra may have been the survivor. The attempt to ascribe the work to some unknown inspired person later than Malachi is an example of the *argumentum ab ignorantiâ*, which has no weight against the evidence of what is known.

It is generally supposed that, in connection with the work of completing the Canon, Ezra composed or collected that wonderful series of meditations on the worth and power of the Word of God which are contained in the cxixth Psalm. The whole tenor of that Psalm is a powerful argument for the existence of a Canon of Scripture at the time of its composition. Some also ascribe the first Psalm to Ezra.

§ 10. While the restored Jews were thus completing the fabric of their religion, the irregular worship of the Samaritans assumed the form of an organized schism by the erection of a rival temple on Mount Gerizim. The circumstances under which this happened are so obscured by Josephus with fabulous details and chronological inconsistencies, that we can depend on him for little more than the existence of such a temple, a fact of which we have ample confirmatory evidence. He transposes to the reign of Darius Codomannus, the last king of Persia, transactions which seem to have arisen out of those recorded in the Book of Nehemiah. We have seen that the ruler's last act of reform was the expulsion of one of the

sons of Joiada, the son of Eliashib, who had married a daughter of Sanballat the Horonite; and here our information from the Scripture narrative ceases. Now Josephus is altogether silent about Sanballat, the great adversary of Nehemiah, but he gives a long account of another Sanballat, a governor of Samaria under Darius Codomannus, who had a daughter married to Manasseh, the brother of the high-priest Jaddua (grandson of Joiada). This Manasseh, he says, being expelled from the priesthood for his marriage, fled to his father-in-law, Sanballat, and, after negotiations with Darius and Alexander, they erected a temple on Mount Gerizim. Manasseh, who became the first high-priest, was joined by numerous priests and Levites, who had refused to put away their heathen wives, and a system of worship was organized on Mount Gerizim resembling that of the Jewish Temple.[75] The silence of Josephus about the Sanballat of Nehemiah's time, and the resemblance between the banishment of his Manasseh and that of the son of Joiada, added to the very improbable details with which he has embellished his story, make the conclusion almost irresistible that his Manasseh was the son of Joiada, and his Sanballat the contemporary of Nehemiah; but the time of the erection of the temple on Gerizim may still be an open question. This much is certain, that such a temple was built as an assertion of the religious independence of the Samaritans, and that this act of schism formed the climax to the hostility between them and the Jews. The temple was destroyed by John Hyrcanus (about B.C. 109).[76] It was to this sanctuary, as well as to the ancient sacrifices of the patriarchs at Shechem, that the Samaritan woman referred in the words —"Our fathers worshiped in this mountain."[77]

[75] Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 8, §§ 2–4. [76] Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 9, § 1.
[77] John iv. 20.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

(A.) TEMPLE OF ZERUBBABEL.

We have very few particulars regarding the Temple which the Jews erected after their return from the Captivity, and no description that would enable us to realize its appearance. But there are some dimensions given in the Bible and elsewhere which are extremely interesting, as affording points of comparison between it and the Temples of Solomon and Herod after it.

The first and most authentic are those given in the Book of Ezra (vi. 3), when quoting the decree of Cyrus, wherein it is said, "Let the house be builded, the place where they offered sacrifices, and let the foundations thereof be strongly laid; the height thereof threescore cubits, and the breadth thereof threescore cubits, with three rows of great stones and a row of new timber." Josephus quotes this passage almost literally (xi. 4, § 6), but, in doing so, enables us with certainty to translate the word here called *row* as "story" (*δόμος*)—as indeed the sense would lead us to infer—for it could only apply to the three stories of chambers that surrounded Solomon's, and afterward Herod's Temple, and with this again we come to the wooden Talar which surmounted the Temple, and formed a fourth story. It may be remarked, in passing, that this dimension of 60 cubits in height accords perfectly with the words which Josephus puts into the mouth of Herod (xv. 11, § 1) when he makes him say that the Temple built after the Captivity wanted 60 cubits of the height of that of Solomon. For as he had adopted, as we have seen above, the height of 120 cubits, as written in the Chronicles, for that Temple, this one remained only 60.

The other dimension, of 60 cubits in breadth, is 20 cubits in excess of that of Solomon's Temple, but there is no reason to doubt its correctness, for we find both from Josephus and the Talmud that it was the dimension adopted for the Temple when rebuilt or, rather, repaired by Herod. At the same time we have no authority for assuming that any increase was made in the dimensions of either the Holy Place or the Holy of Holies, since we find that these were retained in Herod's Temple. And as this Temple of Zerubbabel was still standing in Herod's time, and was, more strictly speaking, repaired than rebuilt by him, we can not conceive that any of its dimensions were then diminished. We are left, therefore, with the alternative of assuming that the porch and the chambers all round were 20 cubits in width, including the thickness of the walls, instead of 10 cubits, as in the earlier building. This may perhaps, to some extent, be accounted

for by the introduction of a passage between the Temple and the rooms of the priests' lodgings, instead of each being a thoroughfare, as must certainly have been the case in Solomon's Temple.

This alteration in the width of the Pteromata made the Temple 100 cubits in length by 60 in breadth, with a height, it is said, of 60 cubits, including the upper room, or Talar, though we can not help suspecting that this last dimension is somewhat in excess of the truth.

The only other description of this Temple is found in Hecatæus the Abderite, who wrote shortly after the death of Alexander the Great. As quoted by Josephus (*cont. Ap.* i. 22), he says, that "In Jerusalem toward the middle of the city is a stone walled enclosure about 500 feet in length (ὡς πεντάπλεθρος), and 100 cubits in width, with double gates," in which he describes the Temple as being situated.

The last dimension is exactly what is obtained by doubling the width of the tabernacle enclosure as applied to Solomon's Temple (see p. 485), and may therefore be accepted as tolerably certain, but the 500 feet in length exceeds any thing we have yet reached by 200 feet. It may be that at this age it was found necessary to add a court for the women or the Gentiles, a sort of Narthex, or Galilee, for those who could not enter the Temple. If this, or these together, were 100 cubits square, it would make up the "nearly 5 plethra" of our author. Hecatæus also mentions that the altar was 20 cubits square and 10 high. And although he mentions the Temple itself, he unfortunately does not supply us with any dimensions.

From these dimensions we gather, that if "the Priests and Levites and Elders of families were disconsolate at seeing how much more sumptuous the old Temple was than the one which on account of their poverty they had just been able to erect" (Ezr. iii. 12; Joseph *Ant.* xi. 4, § 2), it certainly was not because it was smaller, as almost every dimension had been increased one-third; but it may have been that the carving and the gold, and other ornaments of Solomon's Temple far surpassed this, and the pillars of the portico and the veils may all have been far more splendid, so also probably were the vessels; and all this is what a Jew would mourn over far more than mere architectural splendor.

(B.) THE GREAT SYNAGOGUE.

According to the traditions of Rabbinic writers, a great council was appointed on the return of the Jews from Babylon to reorganize the religious life of the people. It consisted of 120 members, who were known as the men of the Great Synagogue, the successors of the prophets—themselves, in their turn, succeeded by scribes prominent individually as teachers. Ezra was recognized as president. Among the other members, in part together, in part successively, were Joshua the high-priest, Zerubbabel, and their companions, Daniel and the three "children," the prophets Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, the rulers Nehemiah and Mordecai. Their aim was to restore again the *crown*, or *glory* of Israel, *i. e.*, to reinstate in its majesty the name of God as Great, Mighty, Terrible (Deut. vii. 21, x. 17; Neh. i. 5, ix. 32; Jer. xxxii. 18; Dan. ix. 4). To this end they collected all the sacred writings of former ages and their own, and so completed the Canon of the Old Testament. Their work included the revision of the text, and this was settled by the introduction of the vowel points, which have been handed down

to us by the Masoretic editors. They instituted the Feast of Purim. They organized the ritual of the synagogue. Their decrees were quoted afterward as those of the elders (the πρεσβύτεροι of Mark vii. 3, the ἀρχαῖοι of Matt. v. 21, 27, 33), the *Dibrê Sôphĕrîm* (= words of the scribes), which were of more authority than the law itself.

Much of this is evidently uncertain. The absence of any historical mention of such a body, not only in the Old Testament and the Apocrypha, but in Josephus and Philo, has led some critics to reject the whole statement as a Rabinic invention, resting on no other foundation than the existence, after the exile, of a Sanhedrim of 71 or 72 members, charged with supreme executive functions The narrative of Neh. viii. 13 clearly implies the existence of a body of men acting as councilors under the presidency of Ezra, and these may have been an assembly of delegates from all provincial synagogues — a synod (to use the terminology of a later time) of the National Church.

APPENDIX I.

THE BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

§ 1. Language of the Old Testament. § 2. Collection of the books of the Old Testament—Jewish arrangement under the three heads of the *Law*, the *Prophets*, and the *Hagiographa*. § 3. Names given to the collected books of the Old Testament. § 4. Arrangement of the books in the present Appendix.—I. THE PENTATEUCH. § 5. Name—Object—Authorship. § 6. The Book of GENESIS. § 7. The Book of EXODUS. § 8. The Book of LEVITICUS. § 9. The Book of NUMBERS. § 10. The Book of DEUTERONOMY.—II. THE HISTORICAL BOOKS. § 11. The Book of JOSHUA. § 12. Authorship of the Books of Judges, Ruth, Samuel, and Kings. § 13. Books of JUDGES and of RUTH. § 14. The Books of SAMUEL. § 15. The Books of KINGS. § 16. The Books of CHRONICLES. § 17. Relation of the Books of Chronicles to those of Kings. § 18. The Book of EZRA. § 19. The Book of NEHEMIAH. § 20. The Book of ESTHER.—III. THE PROPHETS. § 21. The Prophetic Order. (A.) The *Four Great Prophets*. § 22. ISAIAH. § 23. JEREMIAH. The Book of LAMENTATIONS. § 24. EZEKIEL. § 25. DANIEL. (B.) The *Twelve Minor Prophets*. § 26. HOSEA. § 27. JOEL. § 28. AMOS. § 29. OBADIAH. § 30. JONAH. § 31. MICAH. § 32. NAHUM. § 33. HABAKKUK. § 34. ZAPHANIAH. § 35. HAGGAI. § 36. ZECHARIAH. § 37. MALACHI. IV. THE POETICAL BOOKS. § 38. The Book of PSALMS. § 39. SONG OF SOLOMON, PROVERBS, ECCLESIASTES, JOB.

§ 1. WE have thus carried down the History of the Old Testament from the earliest times to the close of the Jewish Canon. But our task would be incomplete without giving a brief account of those books which form the chief and, during the greater period, the sole authority for this history.

All the books of the Old Testament are written in the Hebrew language, with the exception of the following passages—Daniel, ii. 4–vii., Ezra, iv. 8–vi. 18, and vii. 12–26, Jeremiah, x. 11—which are in Chaldee. Both Hebrew and Chaldee are sister dialects of a great family of languages, to which the name of Semitic is usually given, from the real or supposed descent of the people speaking them from the patriarch Shem. The dialects of this Semitic family may be divided into three main branches:—1. The *Northern*, or Aramæan, to which the Chaldee and Syriac belong. 2. The *Southern*, of which the Arabic is the most important, and which also includes the Ethiopic. 3. The *Central*, which comprises the Hebrew and the dialects spoken by the other inhabitants of Palestine, such as the Canaanites and Phœnicians.

§ 2. The collection of the books of the Old Testament into one body, and the formation of the Canon, probably by Ezra, after the return of the Jews from their captivity in Babylon, has been already narrated.[1] The arrangement of the books into the three classes, which was adopted by the later Jews, and is still retained in the printed Hebrew Bibles, is indicated even before the completion of the Old Testament Canon.[2] When the Canon was looked on as settled, in the period covered by the books of the Apocrypha, it took a more definite form. The Prologue to Ecclesiasticus mentions "the law and the prophets and the rest of the Books." In the New Testament there is the

[1] See p. 644 sq.

[2] Zech. vii. 12.

same kind of recognition. "The Law and the Prophets" is the shorter.[3] "the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms,"[4] the fuller statement of the division popularly recognized. The arrangement of the books of the Hebrew text under these three heads requires however a further notice.

i. The LAW, called *Torah* in the Hebrew, contained the Pentateuch, the five books of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. These titles are those of the LXX. In the Hebrew the titles are taken from the initial words, or prominent words in the initial verse.

ii. The PROPHETS, called *Nebiim* in Hebrew, were thus arranged:—

1. The former		Joshua. Judges. 1 and 2 Samuel. 1 and 2 Kings.
2. The latter	(i.) Greater	Isaiah. Jeremiah. Ezekiel.
	(ii.) Minor	The twelve Minor Prophets.

The Hebrew titles of these books correspond to those of the English Bibles.

The grounds on which books simply historical were classed under the same name as those which contained the teaching of prophets, in the stricter sense of the word, are not at first sight obvious, but the Old Testament presents some facts which may suggest an explanation. The Sons of the Prophets,[5] living together as a society, must have occupied a position as instructors of the people, even in the absence of the special calling which sent them as God's messengers to the people. A body of men so placed become naturally historians and annalists. The references in the historical books of the Old Testament show that they actually were so. Nathan the prophet, Gad, the seer of David,[6] Ahijah and Iddo,[7] Isaiah,[8] are cited as chroniclers. The greater antiquity of the earlier historical books, and perhaps the traditional belief that they had originated in this way, were likely to co-operate in raising them to a high place of honor in the arrangement of the Jewish Canon, and so they were looked on as having the prophetic character which was denied to the historical books of the Hagiographa. The greater extent of the prophecies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, no less than the prominent position which they occupied in the history of Israel, led naturally to their being recognized as the Greater Prophets. The exclusion of Daniel from this subdivision is perhaps to be explained on the ground that, though the utterer of predictions, he had not exercised, as the others had done, a prophet's office among the people.

iii. The HAGIOGRAPHA,[9] called in Hebrew *Cetubim* (from a Hebrew word, *to write*), included the remaining books of the Hebrew Canon, arranged in the following order, and with subordinate divisions:

(*a*.) Psalms, Proverbs, Job.

(*b*.) The Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, called the five *Megilloth*, or the five *rolls*, as being written for use in the synagogues on special festivals on five separate rolls.

(*c*.) Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, 1 and 2 Chronicles.

[3] Matt. xi. 13, xxii. 40; Acts xiii. 15, etc.
[4] Luke xxiv. 44.
[5] 1 Sam. x. 5; 2 K. v. 22, vi. 1.
[6] 1 Chron. xxix. 29.
[7] 2 Chron. ix. 29.
[8] 2 Chron. xxvi. 22, xxxii. 32.
[9] Ἁγιόγραφα.

The LXX. presents some striking variations in point of arrangement as well as in relation to the names of books. Both in this and in the insertion of the books which we now know as the Apocrypha among the other books. we trace the absence of that strong reverence for the Canon and its traditional order which distinguished the Jews of Palestine. The Law, it is true, stands first, but the distinction between the Greater and Lesser Prophets, between the Prophets and the Hagiographa, is no longer recognized. Daniel, with the Apocryphal additions, follows upon Ezekiel; the Apocryphal 1st or 3d Book of Esdras comes as a 2d, following on the Canonical Ezra. Tobit and Judith are placed after Nehemiah, Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus after Canticles, Baruch before and the Epistle of Jeremiah after Lamentations, the twelve Lesser Prophets before the four Greater, and the two Books of Maccabees come at the close of all. The Latin version follows nearly the same order, inverting the relative position of the Greater and Lesser Prophets. The separation of the doubtful books under the title of Apocrypha, in the Protestant versions of the Scriptures, left the others in the order in which we now have them.

§ 3. When the books of the Old Testament were formed into a Canon, it was natural to give a general name to the collection. The earliest instance of such a title occurs in Daniel, who refers to "the books"[10] in a manner which seems to mark the prophetic writings as already collected into one whole. The same word was applied by the Jews in Alexandria to the collected books of the Old Testament—*αἱ βίβλοι*, more frequently *τὰ βιβλία*—whence the word BIBLE, or *The Book*, has been given to the collected books of the Old and New Testaments. The writers of the New Testament call the books of the Old Testament either *The Scripture*,[11] or *The Scriptures*,[12] or *The Holy Scriptures*.[13] The use of the phrase *ἡ παλαιὰ διαθήκη*, in 2 Cor. iii. 14, for the law as read in the synagogues, led gradually to the extension of the word to include the other books of the Jewish Scriptures, and to the application of the latter as of the former to a book or collection of books. Of the Latin equivalents, which were adopted by different writers (*Instrumentum Testamentum*), the latter met with the most general acceptance, and perpetuated itself in the languages of modern Europe, whence the terms *Old Testament* and *New Testament*, though the Greek word properly signifies "Covenant" rather than "Testament."

§ 4. In the following account of the books of the Old Testament, instead of adopting the Jewish order, it will be more convenient to speak of—

I. The PENTATEUCH.

II. The HISTORICAL BOOKS, namely, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther.

III. The PROPHETS, comprising, (A.) The Four Great Prophets; (B.) The Twelve Minor Prophets.

IV. The POETICAL BOOKS, namely, the Psalms, the Writings of Solomon, and Job.

I. THE PENTATEUCH.

§ 5. The *Pentateuch* is the Greek name given to the five books—commonly

[10] Dan. ix. 2.

[11] ἡ γραφή, Acts viii. 32; Gal. iii. 22; 2 Tim. iii. 16.

[12] αἱ γραφαί, Matthew xxi. 42; Luke xxiv 27.

[13] τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα, 2 Tim. iii. 15.

called the Five Books of Moses.[14] In the time of Ezra and Nehemiah it was called "the Law of Moses,"[15] or "the Book of the Law of Moses,"[16] or simply "the Book of Moses."[17] This was beyond all reasonable doubt our existing Pentateuch. The book which was discovered in the Temple in the reign of Josiah, and which is entitled[18] "the Book of the Law of Jehovah by the hand of Moses," was substantially, it would seem, the same volume, though it may afterward have undergone some revision by Ezra. The present Jews, as we have already seen, usually call the whole by the name of *Torah*, i. e., "the Law," or *Torath Mosheh*, "the Law of Moses."

The division of the whole work into five parts was probably made by the Greek translators, for the titles of the several books are not of Hebrew but of Greek origin. The Hebrew names are merely taken from the first words of each book, and in the first instance only designated particular *sections*, and not whole books. The MSS. of the Pentateuch form a single roll or volume, and are divided, not into books, but into the larger and smaller sections, called *Pershiyoth* and *Sedarim*.

The Five Books of the Pentateuch form a consecutive whole. The work, beginning with the record of Creation and the history of the primitive world, passes on to deal more especially with the early history of the Jewish family. It gives at length the personal history of the three great fathers of the family: it then describes how the family grew into a nation in Egypt, tells us of its oppression and deliverance, of its forty years' wandering in the wilderness, of the giving of the Law, with all its enactments both civil and religious, of the construction of the tabernacle, of the numbering of the people, of the rights and duties of the priesthood, as well as of many important events which befell them before their entrance into the land of Canaan, and finally concludes with Moses's last discourses and his death. The unity of the work in its existing form is now generally recognized. It is not a mere collection of loose fragments carelessly put together at different times, but bears evident traces of design and purpose in its composition. Even those who discover different authors in the earlier books, and who deny that Deuteronomy was written by Moses, are still of opinion that the work in its present form is a connected whole, and was at least reduced to its present shape by a single reviser or editor.

Till the middle of last century it was the general opinion of both Jews and Christians that the whole of the Pentateuch was written by Moses, with the exception of a few manifestly later additions—such as the 34th chapter of Deuteronomy, which gives the account of Moses's death. The first attempt to call in question the popular belief was made by Astruc, doctor and professor of medicine in the Royal College at Paris, and court physician to Louis XIV.[19] He had observed that throughout the Book of Genesis, and as far as the 6th chapter of Exodus, traces were to be found of two original documents, each characterized by a distinct use of the names of GOD; the one by the name *Elohim*, and the other by the name *Jehovah*. Besides these two

[14] ἡ πεντάτευχος sc. βίβλος, Pentateuchus sc. liber, the fivefold book; from τεῦχος, which meaning originally "vessel, instrument," etc., came in Alexandrine Greek to mean "book."

[15] Ezra vii. 6.

[16] Neh. viii. 1

[17] Ezra vi. 18; Neh. xiii. 1; 2 Chron. xxv. 4, xxxv. 12.

[18] 2 Chron. xxxiv. 14. See p. 584.

[19] His work was published at Brussels in 1753 under the title of "Conjectures sur les Mémoires originaux, dont il paroît que Moyse s'est servi pour composer le Livre de Genèse."

principal documents, he supposed Moses to have made use of ten others in the composition of the earlier part of his work. The path traced by Astruc has been followed by numerous German writers; but it would be foreign to the purpose of this work, and would far exceed its limits, to enumerate and explain the various hypotheses which have been formed upon the subject. It is sufficient here to state that there is sufficient evidence for believing that the main bulk of the Pentateuch, at any rate, was written by Moses, though he probably availed himself of existing documents in the composition of the earlier part of the work. Some detached portions would appear to be of later origin; and when we remember how entirely, during some periods of Jewish history, the Law seems to have been forgotten, and again how necessary it would be after the seventy years of exile to explain some of its archaisms, and to add here and there short notes to make it more intelligible to the people, nothing can be more natural than to suppose that such later additions were made by Ezra and Nehemiah.[20]

We now pass on to a brief consideration of the separate books of which the Pentateuch is composed.

§ 6. The BOOK OF GENESIS[21] (with the first chapters of Exodus) describes the steps which led to the establishment of the Theocracy. In reading it, we must remember that two prominent ideas give a characteristic unity to the whole composition, viz., the people of God and the promised land. It has a character at once special and universal. It embraces the world; it speaks of God as the God of the whole human race. But as the introduction to Jewish history, it makes the universal interest subordinate to the national. Its design is to show how God revealed Himself to the first fathers of the Jewish race, in order that he might make to himself a nation who should be His witness in the midst of the earth. This is the inner principle of unity which pervades the book. In its external frame-work five principal persons are the pillars, so to speak, on which the whole superstructure rests—Adam, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

i. *Adam.*—The creation of the world, and the earliest history of mankind (ch. i.-iii.). As yet, no divergence of the different families of man.

ii. *Noah.*—The history of Adam's descendants to the death of Noah (iv.-ix.).—Here we have (1.) the line of Cain branching off while the history follows the fortunes of Seth, whose descendants are (2.) traced in genealogical succession, and in an unbroken line as far as Noah, and (3.) the history of Noah himself (vi.-ix.) continued to his death.

iii. *Abraham.*—Noah's posterity till the death of Abraham (x.-xxv. 18).—Here we have (1.) the peopling of the whole earth by the descendants of Noah's three sons (xi. 1-9). The history of two of these is then dropped, and (2.) the line of Shem only pursued (xi. 10-32) as far as Terah and Abraham, where the genealogical table breaks off. (3.) Abraham is now the prominent figure (xii.-xxv. 18). But as Terah had two other sons, Nahor and Harar (xi. 27), some notices respecting their families are added. Lot's migration with Abraham into the land of Canaan is mentioned, as well as the fact that he was the father of Moab and Ammon (xix. 37, 38), nations whose later history was intimately connected with that of the posterity of Abraham. Nahor remained in Mesopotamia, but his family is briefly enumerated (xxii. 20-24),

[20] For a full discussion of the authorship of the Pentateuch, see *Dict. of Bible*, art *Pentateuch.*

[21] Γένεσις in the LXX., that is, *Creation.*

chiefly no doubt for Rebekah's sake, who was afterward the wife of Isaac. Of Abraham's own children, there branches off first the line of Ishmael (xxi. 9, etc.), and next the children by Keturah; and the genealogical notices of these two branches of his posterity are apparently brought together (xxv. 1–6. and xxv. 12–18), in order that, being here severally dismissed at the end of Abraham's life, the main stream of the narrative may flow in the channel of Isaac's fortunes.

iv. *Isaac.*—Isaac's life (xxv. 19–xxxv. 29), a life in itself retiring and uneventful. But in his sons the final separation takes place, leaving the field clear for the great story of the chosen seed. Even when Nahor's family comes on the scene, as it does in ch. xxix., we hear only so much of it as is necessary to throw light on Jacob's history.

v. *Jacob.*—The history of Jacob and Joseph (xxxvi. 1). Here, after Isaac's death, we have (1.) the genealogy of Esau, xxxvi., who then drops out of the narrative, in order that (2.) the history of the Patriarchs may be carried on without intermission to the death of Joseph (xxxvii.–l.).

§ 7. The BOOK OF EXODUS[22] may be divided into two principal parts, I. Historical, i. 1–xviii. 27; and II. Legislative, xix. 1–xl. 38. The former of these may be subdivided into (1.) the preparation for the deliverance of Israel from their bondage in Egypt; (2.) the accomplishment of that deliverance.

i. (1.) The first section (i. 1–xii. 36) contains an account of the following particulars: The great increase of Jacob's posterity in the land of Egypt, and their oppression under a new dynasty, which occupied the throne after the death of Joseph (ch. i.); the birth, education, and flight of Moses (ii.); his solemn call to be the deliverer of his people (iii. 1–iv. 17), and his return to Egypt in consequence (iv. 18–31); his first ineffectual attempt to prevail upon Pharaoh to let the Israelites go, which only resulted in an increase of their burdens (v. 1–21); a further preparation of Moses and Aaron for their office, together with the account of their genealogies (v. 22–vii. 7); the successive signs and wonders, by means of which the deliverance of Israel from the land of bondage is at length accomplished, and the institution of the Passover (vii. 8–xii. 36).

(2.) A narrative of events from the departure out of Egypt to the arrival of the Israelites at Mount Sinai. We have in this section (*a.*) the departure and (mentioned in connection with it) the injunctions then given respecting the Passover and the sanctification of the first-born (xii. 37–xiii. 16); the march to the Red Sea, the passage through it, and the destruction of Pharaoh and his host in the midst of the sea, together with Moses's song of triumph upon the occasion (xiii. 17–xv. 21); (*b.*) the principal events on the journey from the Red Sea to Sinai, the bitter waters at Marah, the giving of quails and of the manna, the observance of the Sabbath, the miraculous supply of water from the rock at Rephidim, and the battle there with the Amalekites (xv. 22–xvii. 16); the arrival of Jethro in the Israelitish camp, and his advice as to the civil government of the people (xviii.).

ii. The solemn establishment of the Theocracy on Mount Sinai. The people are set apart to God as "a kingdom of priests and a holy nation" (xix. 6); the Ten Commandments are given, and the laws which are to regulate the social life of the people are enacted (xxi. 1–xxiii. 19); an angel is prom-

[22] In the LXX. Ἔξοδος, that is, *going out* (of Egypt).

ised as their guide to the promised land, and the covenant between God and Moses, Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and seventy elders, as the representatives of the people, is most solemnly ratified (xxiii. 20–xxiv. 18); instructions are given respecting the tabernacle, the ark, the mercy-seat, the altar of burnt-offering, the separation of Aaron and his sons for the priest's office, the vestments which they are to wear, the ceremonies to be observed at their consecration, the altar of incense, the laver, the holy oil, the selection of Bezaleel and Aholiab for the work of the tabernacle, the observance of the Sabbath and the delivery of the two tables of the Law into the hands of Moses (xxv. 1–xxxi. 18); the sin of the people in the matter of the golden calf, their rejection in consequence, and their restoration to God's favor at the intercession of Moses (xxxii. 1–xxxiv. 35); lastly, the construction of the tabernacle, and all pertaining to its service in accordance with the injunctions previously given (xxxv. 1-xl. 38).

This book, in short, gives a sketch of the early history of Israel as a nation, and the history has three clearly marked stages. First, we see a nation enslaved; next, a nation redeemed; lastly, a nation set apart, and, through the blending of its religious and political life, consecrated to the service of God.

§ 8. The BOOK OF LEVITICUS[23] consists of the following principal sections:

i. The laws touching sacrifices (chap. i.-vii.).

ii. A historical section, containing, first, the consecration of Aaron and his sons (chap. viii.); next, his first offering for himself and his people (chap. ix.); and lastly, the destruction of Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, for their presumptuous offense (chap. x.).

iii. The laws concerning purity and impurity, and the appropriate sacrifices and ordinances for putting away impurity (chap. xi.-xvi.).

iv. Laws chiefly intended to mark the separation between Israel and the heathen nations (chap. xvii.–xx.).

v. Laws concerning the priests (xxi., xxii.), and certain holy days and festivals (xxiii., xxv.), together with an episode (xxiv.). The section extends from chap. xxi. 1 to xxvi. 2.

vi. Promises and threats (xxvi. 2–46).

vii. An appendix containing the laws concerning vows (xxvii.).

The principles and details of this book are explained and illustrated in another part of the present work.[24]

§ 9. The BOOK OF NUMBERS[25] takes its name from the double numbering or census of the people, the first of which is given in chaps. i.–iv., and the second in chap. xxvi.

It contains generally the history of the Israelites from the time of their leaving Sinai, in the second year after the Exodus, till their arrival at the borders of the promised land, in the fortieth year of their journeyings. It consists of the following principal divisions:—

i. The preparations for the departure from Sinai (i. 1–x. 10).

ii. The journey from Sinai to the borders of Canaan (x. 11–xiv. 45).

iii. A brief notice of laws given and events which happened during the thirty-seven years' wandering in the wilderness (xv. 1–xix. 22).

[23] Λευϊτικόν in the LXX., because it relates principally to the Levites and priests.
[24] See appendix to book iii. p. 218 sq.
[25] Ἀριθμοί in the LXX., *Numeri* in the Vulgate, whence our "Numbers."

iv. The history of the last year, from the second arrival of the Israelites in Kadesh till they reach "the plains of Moab by Jordan near Jericho" (xx. 1–xxxvi. 13).

§ 10. The BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY[26] consists chiefly of three discourses delivered by Moses shortly before his death. They were spoken to all Israel in the plains of Moab, on the eastern side of the Jordan (i. 1), in the eleventh month of the last year of their wanderings, the fortieth year after their exodus from Egypt (i. 3). Subjoined to these discourses are the Song of Moses, the Blessing of Moses, and the story of his death.

An account of the contents of this book is given elsewhere.[27]

II. THE HISTORICAL BOOKS.

§ 11. The BOOK OF JOSHUA has been regarded by many critics as a part of the Pentateuch, forming with the latter one complete work; but there do not appear to be sufficient grounds for this opinion. The fact that the first sentence of Joshua begins with a conjunction does not show any closer connection between it and the Pentateuch than exists between Judges and it. The references in i. 8, viii. 31, xxiii. 6, xxiv. 26, to the "book of the law" rather show that that book was distinct from Joshua. Other references to events recorded in the Pentateuch tend in the same direction. No quotation (in the strict modern sense of the word) from the Pentateuch can be found in Joshua.

The book may be regarded as consisting of three parts: (1.) The conquest of Canaan; (2.) The partition of Canaan; (3.) Joshua's farewell.

i. The preparations for the war and the passage of the Jordan, ch. i.–v.; the capture of Jericho, vi.; the conquest of the south, vii.–x.; the conquest of the north, xi.; recapitulation, xii.

ii. Territory assigned to Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh, xiii.; the lot of Caleb and of the tribe of Judah, xiv., xv.; Ephraim and half Manasseh, xvi., xvii.; Benjamin, xviii.; Simeon, Zebulun, Issachar, Asher, Naphtali, and Dan, xix.; the appointment of six cities of refuge, xx.; the assignment of forty-eight cities to Levi, xxi.; the departure of the transjordanic tribes to their homes, xxii. This part of the book has been aptly compared to the Domesday-book of the Norman conquerors of England. The documents of which it consists were doubtless the abstract of such reports as were supplied by the men whom Joshua sent out[28] to describe the land. In the course of time it is probable that changes were introduced into their reports by transcribers adapting them to the actual state of the country in later times, when political divisions were modified, new towns sprang up, and old ones disappeared.[29]

iii. Joshua's convocation of the people and first address, xxiii.; his second address at Shechem, and his death, xxiv.

Nothing is really known as to the authorship of the book. Joshua himself is generally named as the author by the Jewish writers and the Christian fathers; but no contemporary assertion or sufficient historical proof of the fact exists, and it can not be maintained without qualification. The last verses (xxiv. 29–33) were obviously added at a later time. Some events, such as

[26] *Δευτερονόμιον* in the LXX., as being a repetition of the Law.

[27] See p. 210 sq.

[28] Josh. xviii. 8.

[29] Comp. the two lists of Levitical towns Josh. xxi. and 1 Chr. vi. 54, etc.

the capture of Hebron, of Debir (Josh. xv. 13-19, and Judg. i. 10-15), of Leshem (Josh. xix. 47, and Judg. xviii. 7), and the joint occupation of Jerusalem (Josh. xv. 63, and Judg. i. 21), probably did not occur till after Joshua's death.

§ 12. While the Book of Joshua seems to be an independent work, the books of Judges, Ruth, Samuel, and Kings present the appearance of one work, giving a continuous history of Israel from the times of Joshua to the death of Jehoiachin. It must suffice here to mention, in support of this assertion, the frequent allusion in the Book of Judges to the times of the kings of Israel (xvii. 6, xviii. 1, xix. 1, xxi. 25); the concurrent evidence of ch. ii. that the writer lived in an age when he could take a retrospect of the whole time during which the judges ruled (ver. 16-19), *i. e.*, that he lived after the monarchy had been established; the occurence in the Book of Judges, for the first time, of the phrase "the Spirit of Jehovah" (iii. 10), which is repeated often in the book (vi. 34, xi. 29, xiii. 25, xiv. 6, etc.), and is of frequent use in Samuel and Kings, (*e. g.*, 1 Sam. x. 6, xvi. 13, 14, xix. 9; 2 Sam. xxiii. 2; 1 K. xxii. 24; 2 K. ii. 16, etc.); the allusion in i. 21 to the capture of Jebus, and the continuance of a Jebusite population (see 2 Sam. xxiv. 16); the reference in xx. 27 to the removal of the ark of the covenant from Shiloh to Jerusalem, and the expression "in those days," pointing, as in xvii. 6, etc., to remote times; the distinct reference in xviii. 30 to the captivity of Israel by Shalmaneser, with the fact that the books of Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, form one unbroken narrative, similar in general character, which has no beginning except at Judg. i., while, it may be added, the Book of Judges is not a continuation of Joshua, but opens with a repetition of the same events with which Joshua closes. In like manner the Book of Ruth clearly forms part of those of Samuel, supplying, as it does, the essential point of David's genealogy and early family history, and is no less clearly connected with the Book of Judges by its opening verse, and the epoch to which the whole book relates. And generally the style of the narrative, ordinarily quiet and simple, but rising to great vigor and spirit when stirring deeds are described (as in Judg. iv., vii., xi., etc.; 1 Sam. iv., xvii., xxxi., etc.; 1 K. viii., xviii., xix., etc.), and the introduction of poetry or poetic style in the midst of the narrative (as in Judg. v., 1 Sam. ii., 2 Sam. i. 17, etc.; 1 K. xxii. 17, etc.), constitute such strong features of resemblance, as lead to the conclusion that these several books form but one work. If this conclusion is accepted, the final arrangement of the whole must have been after the thirty-seventh year of Jehoiachin's captivity, or B.C. 562,[30] and may be ascribed to the prophet Jeremiah, who was probably the compiler of the Books of Kings.[31] This, however, does not exclude the supposition that Judges, Samuel, and Kings may have been composed separately, and subsequently formed into one whole by Jeremiah.

§ 13. The BOOK OF JUDGES, of which the BOOK OF RUTH formed originally a part, contains the history from Joshua to Samson, and may be divided into two parts.

i. Ch. i.-xvi.—The subdivisions are—(*a.*) i-ii. 5, which may be considered as a first introduction, giving a summary of the results of the war carried on against the Canaanites by the several tribes on the west of Jordan after

[30] 2 K. xxv. 27.

[31] See p. 661, 662.

Joshua's death. (*b.*) ii. 6–iii. 6.—This is a second introduction, standing in nearer relation to the following history. It informs us that the people fell into idolatry after the death of Joshua and his generation, and that they were punished for it by being unable to drive out the remnant of the inhabitants of the land, and by falling under the hand of oppressors. (*c.*) iii. 7–xvi.—The words, "and the children of Israel did evil in the sight of the Lord," which had been already used in ii. 11, are employed to introduce the history of the thirteen judges comprised in this book. An account of six of these thirteen is given at greater or less length. The account of the remaining seven is very short, and is merely attached to the longer narratives. These narratives are as follows:—(1.) The deliverance of Israel by Othniel, iii. 7–11. (2.) The history of Ehud, and (in 31) that of Shamgar, iii. 12–31. (3.) The deliverance by Deborah and Barak, iv.–v. (4.) The whole passage in vi.–x. 5. The history of Gideon and his son Abimelech is contained in vi.–ix., and is followed by the notice of Tola, x. 1, 2, and Jair, x. 3–5. (5.) The history of Jephthah, x. 6–xii. 7; to which is added the history of Ibzan, xii. 8–10; Elon, 11, 12; and Abdon, 13–15. (6.) The mention of Samson, xiii.–xvi.

ii. Ch. xvii.–xxi.—This part has no formal connection with the preceding, and is often called an appendix. No mention of the judges occurs in it. It contains allusions to "the house of God," the ark, and the high-priest. The period to which the narrative relates is simply marked by the expression, "when there was no king in Israel" (xix. 1; cf. xviii. 1). It records (*a.*) the conquest of Laish by a portion of the tribe of Dan, and the establishment there of the idolatrous worship of Jehovah already instituted by Micah in Mount Ephraim. (*b.*) The almost total extinction of the tribe of Benjamin by the whole people of Israel, in consequence of their supporting the cause of the wicked men of Gibeah.

From the above account it will be observed that the history ceases with Samson, excluding Eli and Samuel; and then at this point two historical pieces are added, xvii.–xxi., and the Book of Ruth, independent of the general plan and of each other. This is sufficiently explained by the supposition mentioned above that the books from Judges to 2 Kings form one work. In this case the histories of Eli and Samuel, so closely united between themselves, are only deferred on account of their close connection with the rise of the monarchy. And Judg. xvii.–xxi. is inserted both as an illustration of the sin of Israel during the time of the judges, in which respect it agrees with i.–xvi., and as presenting a contrast with the better order prevailing in the time of the kings.

§ 14. The BOOKS OF SAMUEL are not separated from each other in the Hebrew MSS., and from a critical point of view must be regarded as one book. The present division was first made in the Septuagint translation, and was adopted in the Vulgate from the Septuagint.[32] The book was called by the Hebrews "Samuel," probably because the birth and life of Samuel were the subjects treated of in the beginning of the work.

The Books of Samuel commence with the history of Eli and Samuel and contain an account of the establishment of the Hebrew monarchy and of the reigns of Saul and David, with the exception of the last days of the latter

[32] It was not till the year 1518 that the division of the Septuagint was adopted in the Hebrew, in the edition of the Bible printed by the Bombergs at Venice.

monarch, which are related in the beginning of the Books of Kings, of which those of Samuel form the previous portion, as already explained. As the history of this period has been fully narrated in the present work, it is unnecessary to give any analysis of the contents of the books. With respect to the authorship, the common opinion is, that the first twenty-four chapters were written by the prophet himself, and the rest by the prophets Nathan and Gad. But this rests upon a mistranslation of an ambiguous passage in the First Book of Chronicles (xxix. 29), which ought to be rendered:—"Now the history of David first and last, behold it is written in the history of Samuel the seer, and in the history of Nathan the prophet, and in the history of Gad the seer"—which does not imply that the books were written by these persons. But although the authorship can not be ascertained with certainty, it appears clear that, in its present form, it must have been composed subsequent to the secession of the Ten Tribes. This results from the passage in 1 Sam. xxvii. 6, wherein it is said of David, "Then Achish gave him Ziklag that day: wherefore Ziklag pertaineth unto the kings of Judah to this day:" for neither Saul, David, nor Solomon is in a single instance called king of Judah simply. Before the secession, the designation of the kings was that they were kings of Israel (1 Sam. xiii. 1, xv. 1, xvi. 1; 2 Sam. v. 17, viii. 15; 1 K. ii. 11, iv. 1, vi. 1, xi. 42). On the other hand it would hardly have been written later than the reformation of Josiah, since it seems to have been composed at a time when the Pentateuch was not acted on as the rule of religious observances. According to the Mosaic law, sacrifices to Jehovah were not lawful anywhere but before the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, whether this was a permanent temple, as at Jerusalem, or otherwise (Deut. xii. 13, 14; Lev. xvii. 3, 4; but see Ex. xx. 24). But in the Book of Samuel, the offering of sacrifices or the erection of altars, which implies sacrifices, is mentioned at several places, such as Mizpeh, Ramah, Bethel, the threshing-place of Araunah the Jebusite, and elsewhere, not only without any disapprobation, apology, or explanation, but in a way which produces the impression that such sacrifices were pleasing to Jehovah (1 Sam. vii. 9, 10, 17, ix. 13, x. 3, xiv. 35; 2 Sam. xxiv. 18-25). Now we know that after the reformation of Josiah the worship upon high-places was abolished by the king's orders (2 K. xxii. 8, xxiii. 8, 13, 15, 19, 21).[33] All, therefore, that can be asserted with any certainty is, that the book, as a whole, can scarcely have been composed later than the reformation of Josiah, and that it could not have existed in its present form earlier than the reign of Rehoboam.

§ 15. The BOOKS OF KINGS, like the Books of Samuel, form only one book in the Hebrew MSS. They contain the history from David's death and Solomon's accession to the destruction of the kingdom of Judah and the desolation of Jerusalem, with a supplemental notice of an event that occurred after an interval of twenty-six years, viz., the liberation of Jehoiachin from his prison at Babylon, and a still further extension to Jehoiachin's death, the time of which is not known, but which was probably not long after his liberation. The history therefore comprehends the whole time of the Israelitish monarchy, exclusive of the reigns of Saul and David.

As regards the authorship of the books, but little difficulty presents itself. The Jewish tradition which ascribes them to Jeremiah, is borne out by the

[33] See also p. 580.

strongest internal evidence, in addition to that of the language. The last chapter, especially as compared with the last chapter of the Chronicles, bears distinct traces of having been written by one who did not go into captivity, but remained in Judæa after the destruction of the Temple. This suits Jeremiah. The events singled out for mention in the concise narrative are precisely those of which he had personal knowledge, and in which he took special interest. The writer in Kings has nothing more to tell us concerning the Jews or Chaldees in the land of Judah, which exactly agrees with the hypothesis that he is Jeremiah, who we know was carried down to Egypt with the fugitives. In fact, the date of the writing and the position of the writer seem as clearly marked by the termination of the narrative at v. 26, as in the case of the Acts of the Apostles. But though the general unity and continuity of plan lead us to assign the whole history in a certain sense to one author, yet it must be borne in mind that the authorship of those parts of the history of which Jeremiah was not an eye-witness, that is, of all before the reign of Josiah, would have consisted merely in selecting, arranging, inserting the connecting phrases, and, when necessary, slightly modernizing the old histories which had been drawn up by contemporary prophets through the whole period of time. See, *e. g.*, 1 K. xiii. 32. For, as regards the sources of information, it may truly be said that we have the narrative of contemporary writers throughout. There was a regular series of state-annals both for the kingdom of Judah and for that of Israel, which embraced the whole time comprehended in the Books of Kings, or at least to the end of the reign of Jehoiakim (2 K. xxiv. 5). These annals are constantly cited by name as "the Book of the Acts of Solomon," 1 K. xi. 41; and, after Solomon, "the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah, *or* Israel," *e. g.*, 1 K. xiv. 29, xv. 7, xvi. 5, 14, 20; 2 K. x. 34, xxiv. 5, etc., and it is manifest that the author of Kings had them both before him while he drew up his history, in which the reigns of the two kingdoms are harmonized, and these annals constantly appealed to. But in addition to these national annals, there were also extant, at the time that the Books of Kings were compiled, separate works of the several prophets who had lived in Judah and Israel. Thus the acts of Uzziah, written by Isaiah, were very likely identical with the history of his reign in the national chronicles; and part of the history of Hezekiah we know is identical in the chronicles and in the prophet. The chapter in Jeremiah relating to the destruction of the Temple (lii.) is identical with that in 2 K. xxiv., xxv.

§ 16. The BOOKS OF CHRONICLES are so called as being the record made by the appointed historiographers in the kingdoms of Israel and Judah.[34] The constant tradition of the Jews, in which they have been followed by the great mass of Christian commentators, is that these books were for the most part compiled by Ezra. In fact, the internal evidence as to the time when the Book of Chronicles was compiled seems to tally remarkably with the tradition concerning its authorship. As regards the plan of the book, of which the Book of Ezra is a continuation, forming one work, it becomes apparent immediately we consider it as the compilation of Ezra, or some one nearly con-

[34] In the LXX. these books are called Παραλειπομένων πρῶτον and δεύτερον, which is understood, after Jerome's explanation, as meaning that they are supplementary to the Books of Kings. The Vulgate retains both the Hebrew and Greek name in Latin characters, Dibre jammim, or hajamim, and Paralipomenon.

temporary with him. One of the greatest difficulties connected with the captivity and the return must have been the maintenance of that genealogical distribution of the lands which yet was a vital point of the Jewish economy. Another difficulty, intimately connected with the former, was the maintenance of the Temple-services at Jerusalem. This could only be effected by the residence of the priests and Levites in Jerusalem in the order of their courses; and this residence was only practicable in case of the payment of the appointed tithes, first-fruits, and other offerings. But then again the registers of the Levitical genealogies were necessary, in order that it might be known who were entitled to such and such allowances, as porters, as singers, as priests, and so on, because all these offices went by families; and again the payment of the tithes, first-fruits, etc., was dependent upon the different families of Israel being established each in his inheritance. Obviously, therefore, one of the most pressing wants of the Jewish community after their return from Babylon would be trusty genealogical records. But further, not only had Zerubbabel, and after him Ezra and Nehemiah, labored most earnestly to restore the Temple and the public worship of God there to the condition it had been in under the kings of Judah, but it appears clearly from their policy, and from the language of the contemporary prophets, Haggai and Zechariah, that they had it much at heart to re-infuse something of national life and spirit into the heart of the people, and to make them feel that they were still the inheritors of God's covenanted mercies, and that the captivity had only temporarily interrupted, not dried up, the stream of God's favor to their nation. Now nothing could more effectually aid these pious and patriotic designs than setting before the people a compendious history of the kingdom of David, which should embrace a full account of its prosperity, should trace the sins which led to its overthrow, but should carry the thread through the period of the captivity, and continue it, as it were, unbroken on the other side; and those passages in their former history would be especially important which exhibited their greatest and best kings as engaged in building or restoring the Temple, in reforming all corruptions in religion, and zealously regulating the services of the house of God. As regards the kingdom of Israel or Samaria, seeing it had utterly and hopelessly passed away, and that the existing inhabitants were among the bitterest "adversaries of Judah and Benjamin," it would naturally engage very little of the compiler's attention. These considerations explain exactly the plan and scope of that historical work, which consists of the two Books of Chronicles and the Book of Ezra. For after having in the first eight chapters given the genealogical divisions and settlements of the various tribes, the compiler marks distinctly his own age and his own purpose by informing us, in ch. ix. 1, of the disturbance of those settlements by the Babylonish captivity, and, in the following verses, of the partial restoration of them at the return from Babylon (2-34); and that this list refers to the families who had returned from Babylon is clear, not only from the context, but from its re-insertion (Neh. xi. 3-22),[35] with additional matter evidently extracted from the public archives, and relating to times subsequent to the return from Babylon, extending to Neh. xii. 27, where Nehemiah's narrative is again resumed in continuance with Neh. xi. 2. Having thus shown the re-establishment of the returned families, each in their own

[35] Compare also 1 Chron. ix. 19, with Ezra ii. 42; Neh. vii. 45.

inheritance according to the houses of their fathers, the compiler proceeds to the other part of his plan, which is to give a continuous history of the kingdom of Judah from David to his own times, introduced by the closing scene of Saul's life (ch. x.), which introduction is itself prefaced by a genealogy of the house of Saul (ix. 35-44).

As regards the *materials* used by Ezra, they are not difficult to discover. The genealogies are obviously transcribed from some register, in which were preserved the genealogies of the tribes and families drawn up at different times; while the history is mainly drawn from the same documents as those used in the Books of Kings. As regards the *language* of these books, as of Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, and the later prophets, it has a marked Chaldee coloring, and Gesenius says of them, that "as literary works, they are decidedly inferior to those of older date."

§ 17. *Relation of the Books of Kings to those of Chronicles.*—It is manifest, and is universally admitted, that the former is by far the older work. The language, which is quite free from the Persicisms of the Chronicles and their late orthography, and is not at all more Aramaic than the language of Jeremiah, clearly points out its relative superiority in regard to age. Its subject also, embracing the kingdom of Israel as well as Judah, is another indication of its composition before the kingdom of Israel was forgotten, and before the Jewish enmity to Samaria (which is apparent in such passages as 2 Chr. xx. 37, xxv., and in those chapters of Ezra [i.-vi.] which belong to Chronicles) was brought to maturity. While the Books of Chronicles therefore were written especially for the Jews after their return from Babylon, the Book of Kings was written for the whole of Israel before their common national existence was hopelessly quenched.

Another comparison of considerable interest between the two histories may be drawn in respect to the main design, that design having a marked relation both to the individual station of the supposed writers, and the peculiar circumstances of their country at the times of their writing.

Jeremiah was himself a prophet. He lived while the prophetic office was in full vigor, in his own person, in Ezekiel and Daniel, and many others both true and false. In his eyes, as in truth, the main cause of the fearful calamities of his countrymen was their rejection and contempt of the Word of God in his mouth and that of the other prophets; and the one hope of deliverance lay in their hearkening to the prophets who still continued to speak to them in the name of the Lord. Accordingly we find in the Books of Kings great prominence given to the prophetic office.

Ezra, on the contrary, was only a priest. In his days the prophetic office had wholly fallen into abeyance. That evidence of the Jews being the people of God, which consisted in the presence of prophets among them, was no more. But to the men of his generation, the distinctive mark of the continuance of God's favor to their race was the rebuilding of the Temple at Jerusalem, the restoration of the daily sacrifice and the Levitical worship, and the wonderful and providential renewal of the Mosaic institutions. The chief instrument, too, for preserving the Jewish remnant from absorption into the mass of heathenism, and for maintaining their national life till the coming of Messiah, was the maintenance of the Temple, its ministers, and its services. Hence we see at once that the chief care of a good and enlightened Jew of the age of Ezra, and all the more if he were himself a priest, would

naturally be to enhance the value of the Levitical ritual, and the dignity of the Levitical caste. And in compiling a history of the past glories of his race, he would as naturally select such passages as especially bore upon the sanctity of the priestly office, and show the deep concern taken by their ancestors in all that related to the honor of God's house, and the support of His ministering servants. Hence the Levitical character of the Books of Chronicles, and the presence of several detailed narratives not found in the Books of Kings, and the more frequent reference to the Mosaic institutions, may most naturally and simply be accounted for, without resorting to the absurd hypothesis that the ceremonial law was an invention subsequent to the Captivity.[36] Moreover, upon the principle that the sacred writers were influenced by natural feelings in their selection of their materials, it seems most appropriate that while the prophetical writer in Kings deals very fully with the kingdom of Israel, in which the prophets were much more illustrious than in Judah, the Levitical writer, on the contrary, should concentrate all his thoughts round Jerusalem, where alone the Levitical caste had all its power and functions, and should dwell upon all the instances preserved in existing muniments of the deeds and even the minutest ministrations of the priests and Levites, as well as of their faithfulness and sufferings in the cause of truth.

From the comparison of parallel narratives in the two books, it appears that the results are precisely what would naturally arise from the circumstances of the case. The writer of Chronicles, having the Books of Kings before him, and to a great extent making those books the basis of his own, but also having his own personal views, predilections, and motives in writing, composing for a different age, and for people under very different circumstances, and, moreover, having before him the original authorities from which the Books of Kings were compiled, as well as some others, naturally rearranged the older narrative as suited his purpose and his tastes, gave in full passages which the other had abridged, inserted what had been wholly omitted, omitted some things which the other had inserted, including nearly every thing relating to the kingdom of Israel, and showed the color of his own mind, not only in the nature of the passages which he selected from the ancient documents, but in the reflections which he frequently adds upon the events which he relates, and possibly also in the turn given to some of the speeches which he records.

§ 18. The BOOK OF EZRA is, as already remarked, manifestly a continuation of the Books of Chronicles. Like these books, it consists of the contemporary historical journals kept from time to time, which were afterward strung together, and either abridged or added to, as the case required, by a later hand. That later hand in the Book of Ezra was doubtless Ezra's own, as appears by the four last chapters, as well as by other matter inserted in the previous chapters. The chief portion of the last chapter of 2 Chron. and Ezra i. was probably written by Daniel.[37] As regards Ezra ii., and as far as

[36] 2 Chron. xxix., xxx., xxxi., compared with 2 K. xviii., is perhaps as good a specimen as can be selected of the distinctive spirit of the Chronicles. See also 2 Chron. xxiv. 16–21; comp. with 2 K. xv. 5; 2 Chron. xi. 13–17, xiii. 9–20, xv. 1–15, xxiii. 2–8; comp. with 2 K. xi. 5–9, and vers. 18, 19; comp. with ver. 18, and many other passages.

[37] The evidences of this as to Ezra i. may be briefly stated. Daniel passes over in utter silence the *first* year of Cyrus, to which pointed allusion is made in Dan. i. 21, and proceeds in chap. x. to the *third* year of Cyrus. But Ezra i., if placed between Dan. ix. and x., exactly fills up the gap, and records *the* event of the first year of Cyrus, in which Daniel was so deeply interested. And not

iii. 1, it is found (with the exception of clerical errors) in the seventh chapter of Nehemiah, where it belongs, beyond a shadow of doubt. The next portion extends from iii. 2 to the end of ch. vi. With the exception of one large explanatory addition by Ezra, extending from iv. 6 to 23, this portion is the work of a writer contemporary with Zerubbabel and Jeshua, and an eye-witness of the rebuilding of the Temple in the beginning of the reign of Darius Hystaspis. That it was the prophet Haggai, becomes tolerably sure when we observe further the remarkable coincidence in style. Ezra iv. 6–23 is a parenthetic addition by a much later hand, and, as the passage most clearly shows, made in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus. The compiler who inserted ch. ii., a document drawn up in the reign of Artaxerxes to illustrate the return of the captives under Zerubbabel, here inserts a notice of two historical facts—of which one occurred in the reign of Xerxes, and the other in the reign of Artaxerxes—to illustrate the opposition offered by the heathen to the rebuilding of the Temple in the reign of Cyrus and Cambyses. The last four chapters, beginning with ch. vii., are Ezra's own, and continue the history after a gap of fifty-eight years—from the sixth of Darius to the seventh of Artaxerxes.

The book is written partly in Hebrew and partly in Chaldee. The Chaldee begins at iv. 8, and continues to the end of vi. 18. The letter or decree of Artaxerxes vii. 12–26 is also given in the original Chaldee.

§ 19. The BOOK OF NEHEMIAH, like the preceding one of Ezra, is clearly and certainly not all by the same hand. By far the principal portion, indeed, is the work of Nehemiah; but other portions are either extracts from various chronicles and registers, or supplementary narratives and reflections, some apparently by Ezra, others, perhaps, the work of the same person who inserted the latest genealogical extracts from the public chronicles. The main history contained in the book covers about 12 years, viz., from the 20th to the 32d year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, *i. e.*, from B.C. 445 to 433. The whole narrative gives us a graphic and interesting account of the state of Jerusalem and the returned captives in the writer's times, and, incidentally, of the nature of the Persian government and the condition of its remote provinces. The documents appended to it also give some further information as to the times of Zerubbabel on the one hand, and as to the continuation of the genealogical registers and the succession of the high-priesthood to the close of the Persian Empire on the other. The view given of the rise of two factions among the Jews—the one the strict religious party, the other the gentilizing party, sets before us the germ of much that we meet with in a more developed state in later Jewish history. Again, in this history as well as in the Book of Ezra, we see the bitter enmity between the Jews and Samaritans acquiring strength and definitive form on both religious and political grounds. The book also throws much light upon the domestic institutions of the Jews.

§ 20. The BOOK OF ESTHER is one of the latest of the canonical books of the Old Testament, having been probably written late in the reign of Xerxes, with whom Ahasuerus may be identified.[38] The author is not known,

only so, but the *manner* of the record is exactly Daniel's. The giving the text of the decree, vers. 2–4 (cf. Dan. iv.), the mention of the name of "Mithredath the treasurer," ver. 8 (cf. Dan. i. 3, 11), the allusion to the sacred vessels placed by Nebuchadnezzar in the house of his god, ver. 7 (cf. Dan. i. 2), the giving the Chaldee name of Zerubbabel, vers. 8, 11 (cf. Dan. i. 7), and the whole *locus standi* of the narrator, who evidently wrote at Babylon, not at Jerusalem, are all circumstances which in a marked manner point to Daniel as the writer of Ezra i.

[38] See pp. 63?–4.

but may very probably have been Mordecai himself. Those who ascribe it to Ezra, or the men of the Great Synagogue, may have merely meant that Ezra edited and added it to the canon of Scripture, which he probably did. The Book of Esther appears in a different form in the LXX., and the translations therefrom, from that in which it is found in the Hebrew Bible. In speaking of it, we shall first speak of the canonical book found in Hebrew, to which also the above observations refer, and next of the Greek book, with its apocryphal additions. The canonical ESTHER, then, is placed among the hagiographa by the Jews, and in that first portion of them which they call "the five rolls." It is sometimes emphatically called *Megillah* ("roll"), without other distinction, and is read through by the Jews in their synagogues at the Feast of Purim. It has often been remarked, as a peculiarity of this book, that the name of God does not once occur in it. The Hebrew is very like that of Ezra and parts of the Chronicles; generally pure, but mixed with some words of Persian origin, and some of Chaldee affinity. In short, it is just what one would expect to find in a work of the age to which the Book of Esther professes to belong. As regards the LXX. version of the book, it consists of the canonical Esther with various interpolations prefixed, interspersed, and added at the close. Though, however, the interpolations of the Greek copy are thus manifest, they make a consistent and intelligible story. But the Apocryphal additions, as they are inserted in some editions of the Latin Vulgate, and in the English Bible, are incomprehensible, the history of which is this:—When Jerome translated the Book of Esther, he first gave the version of the Hebrew alone, as being alone authentic. He then added at the end a version in Latin of those several passages which he found in the LXX., and which were not in the Hebrew, stating where each passage came in, and marking them all with an obelus. Having annexed this conclusion, he then gives the *Procemium*, which he says forms the beginning of the Greek Vulgate, beginning with what is now verse 2 of chapter xi., and so proceeds with the other passages. But in subsequent editions, all Jerome's explanatory matter has been swept away, and the disjointed portions have been printed as chapters xi., xii., xiii., xiv., xv., xvi., as if they formed a narrative in continuance of the canonical book.

III. THE PROPHETS.

§ 21. The Old Testament contains the writings of sixteen Prophets, of which four are usually called the *Great Prophets*, namely, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel, and twelve the *Minor Prophets*, namely, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi.

An account of the prophetic order and the schools of the Prophets has been already given (pp. 425, 426); but to belong to the prophetic order and to possess the prophetic gift are not convertible terms. There might be members of the prophetic order to whom the gift of prophecy was not vouchsafed. There might be inspired prophets who did not belong to the prophetic order. Generally, the inspired prophet came from the College of the Prophets, and belonged to the prophetic order, but this was not always the case. In the instance of the Prophet Amos, the rule and the exception are both manifested. When Amaziah, the idolatrous Israelitish priest, threatens the proph

et, and desires him to "flee away into the land of Judah, and there eat bread and prophesy there, but not to prophesy again any more at Bethel," Amos in reply says, "I was no prophet, neither was I a prophet's son; but I was a herdman, and a gatherer of sycamore-fruit; and the Lord took me as I followed the flock, and the Lord said unto me, Go prophesy unto my people Israel" (vii. 14). That is, though called to the prophetic *office*, he did not belong to the prophetic *order*, and had not been trained in the prophetical colleges; and this, he indicates, was an unusual occurrence.

The sixteen prophets whose books are in the Canon have therefore that place of honor, because they were endowed with the *prophetic gift*, as well as ordinarily (so far as we know) belonging to the *prophetic order*. There were hundreds of prophets contemporary with these sixteen prophets; and no doubt numberless compositions in sacred poetry and numberless moral exhortations were issued from the several schools, but only sixteen books find their place in the Canon. Why is this? Because these sixteen had what their brother-collegians had not, the Divine call to the office of prophet, and the Divine illumination to enlighten them. It was not sufficient to have been taught and trained in preparation for a future call. Teaching and training served as a preparation only. When the school-master's work was done, then, if the instrument was worthy, God's work began. Moses had an external call at the burning bush (Ex. iii. 2). The Lord called Samuel, so that Eli perceived, and Samuel learned, that it was the Lord who called him (1 Sam. iii. 10). Isaiah (vi. 8), Jeremiah (i. 5), Ezekiel (ii. 4), Amos (vii. 15), declare their special mission. Nor was it sufficient for this call to have been made once for all. Each prophetical utterance is the result of a communication of the Divine to the human spirit, received either by "vision" (Is. vi. 1) or by "the word of the Lord" (Jer. ii. 1). What then are the characteristics of the sixteen prophets, thus called and commissioned, and intrusted with the messages of God to his people?

1. They were the national poets of Judæa. Music and poetry, chants and hymns, were a main part of the studies of the class from which, generally speaking, they were derived. As is natural, we find not only the songs previously specified, but the rest of their compositions, poetical or breathing the spirit of poetry.

2. They were annalists and historians. A great portion of Isaiah, of Jeremiah, of Daniel, of Jonah, of Haggai, is direct or indirect history.

3. They were preachers of patriotism, their patriotism being founded on the religious motive. To the subject of the Theocracy the enemy of his nation was the enemy of God, the traitor to the public weal was a traitor to his God; a denunciation of an enemy was a denunciation of a representative of evil, an exhortation in behalf of Jerusalem was an exhortation in behalf of God's kingdom on earth, "the city of our God, the mountain of holiness, beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth, the city of the great King" (Ps. xlviii. 1, 2).

4. They were preachers of morals and of spiritual religion. The symbolical teaching of the Law had lost much of its effect. Instead of learning the necessity of purity by the legal washings, the majority came to rest in the outward act as in itself sufficient. It was the work, then, of the prophets to hold up before the eyes of their countrymen a high and pure morality, not veiled in symbols and acts, but such as none could profess to misunderstand.

5. They were extraordinary, but yet authorized, exponents of the Law. As an instance of this, we may take Isaiah's description of a true fast (lviii. 3–7); Ezekiel's explanation of the sins of the fathers being visited on the children (ch. xviii.); Micah's preference of "doing justly, loving mercy, and walking humbly with God," to "thousands of rams and ten thousands of rivers of oil" (vi. 6–8). In these as in other similar cases (cf. Hos. vi. 6; Amos v. 21), it was the task of the prophets to restore the balance which had been overthrown by the Jews and their teachers dwelling on one side or on the outer covering of a truth or of a duty, and leaving the other side or the inner meaning out of sight.

6. They were a political power in the state. Strong in the safeguard of their religious character, they were able to serve as a counterpoise to the royal authority when wielded even by an Ahab.

7. But the prophets were something more than national poets and annalists, preachers of patriotism, moral teachers, exponents of the Law, pastors, and politicians. Their most essential characteristic is, that they were instruments of revealing God's will to man, as in other ways, so, specially, by predicting future events, and, in particular, by foretelling the incarnation of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the redemption effected by Him.

The sixteen Prophets may be divided into four groups: the prophets of the Northern Kingdom—Hosea, Amos, Jonah; the Prophets of the Southern Kingdom—Joel, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Obadiah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah; the Prophets of the Captivity—Ezekiel and Daniel; the Prophets of the Return—Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi.

They may be arranged in the following chronological order: namely, Joel, Jonah, Hosea, Amos, Isaiah, Micah, Nahum, Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Obadiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi. But it will be more convenient to take them in the order in which they stand in the Old Testament, speaking first of the Four Great Prophets, and then of the Twelve Minor Prophets.

A. THE FOUR GREAT PROPHETS.

§ 22. ISAIAH,[39] who is the principal prophet in the first or Assyrian period of prophecy, was the son of Amoz, and prophesied concerning Judah and Jerusalem in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah (Is. i. 1). Isaiah must have been an old man at the close of Hezekiah's reign. The ordinary chronology gives 758 B.C. for the date of Jotham's accession, and 698 for that of Hezekiah's death. This gives us a period of sixty years. And since his ministry commenced before Uzziah's death (how long we know not), supposing him to have been no more than twenty years old when he began to prophesy, he would have been eighty or ninety at Manasseh's accession.[40]

Chs. i.–v. contain Isaiah's prophecies in the reigns of Uzziah and Jotham. Ch. i. is very general in its contents. The seer stands (perhaps) in the Court of the Israelites, denouncing to nobles and people, then assembling for di-

[39] The name, of which the fuller form is Jesaiah, Jeshaiah, signifies *Salvation of Jahu* (a shortened form of *Jehovah*). Reference is plainly made by the prophet himself (Is. viii. 18) to the significance of his own name as well as of those of his two sons.

[40] As to the tradition respecting the death of Isaiah, see p. 581, *note*.

vine worship, the whole estimate of their character formed by Jehovah, and his approaching chastisements. Chs. ii.–iv. are one prophesying, the leading thought of which is that the present prosperity of Judah should be destroyed for her sins, to make room for the real glory of piety and virtue; while ch. v. forms a distinct discourse, whose main purport is that Israel, God's vineyard, shall be brought to desolation.

Ch. vi. describes an ecstatic vision that fell upon the prophet in the year of Uzziah's death.

Chs. vi., vii., delivered in the reign of Ahaz, when he was threatened by the forces of Pekah, king of Israel, and Rezin, king of Syria.[41] Under Jehovah's direction Isaiah goes forth to meet Ahaz, taking with him the child whose name, Shearjashub (that is, *Remnant shall return*), was so full of mystical promise, to add greater emphasis to his message. As a sign that Judah was not yet to perish, he announces the birth of the child Immanuel, who should not yet "know to refuse the evil and choose the good," before the land of the two hostile kings should be left desolate.

Ch. viii.–ix. 7.—As the Assyrian Empire began more and more to threaten the Hebrew commonwealth with utter overthrow, the prediction of the Messiah, the Restorer of Israel, becomes more positive and clear. The king was bent upon an alliance with Assyria. This Isaiah steadfastly opposes (x. 20). The court was for Assyria, and indeed formed an alliance with Tiglath-pileser; but a popular party was for the Syro-Ephraimitic connection formed to resist Assyria. "Fear none but Jehovah only! fear Him, trust Him; He will be your safety."

Ch. ix. 8–x. 4 is a prophecy delivered at this time against the kingdom of Israel (ix. 8–x. 4.) As Isaiah's message was only to Judah, we may infer that the object of this utterance was to check the disposition shown by many to connect Judah with the policy of the sister kingdom.

Ch. x. 5–xii. 6 is one of the most highly-wrought passages in the whole book, and was probably one single prophecy. It stands wholly disconnected with the preceding in the circumstances which it presupposes; and to what period to assign it is not easy to determine.

Chs. xiii.–xxiii. contain chiefly a collection of utterances, each of which is styled a "burden." (*a.*) The first (xiii. 1–xiv. 27) is against Babylon. The ode of triumph (xiv. 3–23) in this burden is among the most poetical passages in all literature. (*b.*) The short and pregnant "burden" against Philistia (xiv. 29–32) in the year that Ahaz died was occasioned by the revolt of the Philistines from Judah, and their successful inroad recorded in 2 Chr. xxviii. 18. (*c.*) The "burden of Moab" (xv., xvi.) is remarkable for the elegiac strain in which the prophet bewails the disasters of Moab, and for the dramatic character of xvi. 1–6. (*d.*) Chs. xvii., xviii. This prophecy is headed "the burden of Damascus;" and yet after ver. 3 the attention is withdrawn from Damascus and turned to Israel, and then to Ethiopia. (*e.*) In the "burden of Egypt" (xix.) the prophet prophesies the utter helplessness of Egypt under God's judgments, probably to counteract the tendency which led both Judah and Israel to look toward Egypt for succor against Assyria. (*f.*) In the midst of these "burdens" stands a passage which presents Isaiah in a new aspect, an aspect in which he appears in this in-

[41] See p. 559.

stance only. The more emphatically to enforce the warning already conveyed in the "burden of Egypt," Isaiah was commanded to appear in the streets and Temple of Jerusalem stripped of his sackcloth mantle, and wearing his vest only, with his feet also bare. (*g.*) In "the burden of the desert of the sea," a poetical designation of Babylonia (xxi. 1–10), the images in which the fall of Babylon is indicated are sketched with Æschylean grandeur. (*h.*) "The burden of Dumah" and "of Arabia" (xxi. 11–17) relate apparently to some Assyrian invasion. (*i.*) In "the burden of *the valley of vision*" (xxii. 1–14) it is doubtless Jerusalem that is thus designated. The scene presented is that of Jerusalem during an invasion. (*k.*) The passage in xxii. 15–25 is singular in Isaiah as a prophesying against an individual. Shebna was one of the king's highest functionaries, and seems to have been leader of a party opposed to Jehovah (ver. 25). (*l.*) The last "burden" is against Tyre (xxiii.). Her utter destruction is not predicted by Isaiah as it afterward was by Ezekiel.

Chs. xxiv.–xxvii. form one prophecy, essentially connected with the preceding ten "burdens" (xiii.–xxiii.), of which it is in effect a general summary. In xxv., after commemorating the destruction of *all* oppressors, the prophet gives us in vers. 6–9 a most glowing description of Messianic blessings. In xxvi., vers. 12–18 describe the new, happy state of God's people as God's work wholly. In xxvii. 1, "Leviathan the fleeing serpent, and Leviathan the twisting serpent, and the dragon in the sea," are perhaps Nineveh and Babylon—two phases of the same Asshur—and Egypt (comp. ver. 13); all, however, symbolizing adverse powers of evil.

Chs. xxiii.–xxxv. predict the Assyrian invasion. The prophet protests against the policy of courting the help of Egypt against Assyria (xxx. 1–17, xxxi. 1–3).

Chs. xxxvii.–xxxix. At length the season so often, though no doubt obscurely foretold, arrived. The Assyrian was near, with forces apparently irresistible. In the universal consternation which ensued, all the hope of the state centred upon Isaiah; the highest functionaries of the state—Shebna too—wait upon him in the name of their sovereign. The short answer which Jehovah gave through him was, that the Assyrian king should hear intelligence which should send him back to his own land, there to perish How the deliverance was to be effected Isaiah was not commissioned to tell, but the very next night (2 K. xix. 35) brought the appalling fulfillment. A divine interposition so marvelous, so evidently miraculous, was in its magnificence worthy of being the kernel of Isaiah's whole book.

The last 27 chapters are supposed by many critics to have been written in the time of the Babylonian captivity, and are therefore ascribed to a "later Isaiah." It is evident that the point of time and situation from which the prophet here speaks is that of the captivity in Babylon (comp., *e. g.*, lxiv. 10, 11), but this may be adopted on a principle which appears to characterize "vision," viz., that the prophet sees the future as if present. This second part falls into three sections, each, as it happens, consisting of nine chapters; the two first end with the *refrain*, "There is no peace, saith Jehovah (*or* "my God"), to the wicked;" and the third with the same thought amplified. (1.) The first section (xl.–xlviii.) has for its main topic the comforting assurance of the deliverance from Babylon by Koresh (Cyrus), who is even named twice (xli. 2, 3, 25, xliv. 28, xlv. 1–4, 13, xlvi. 11, xlviii. 14, 15).

It is characteristic of sacred prophecy in general that the "vision" of a great deliverance leads the seer to glance at the great deliverance to come through Jesus Christ. This principle of association prevails in the second part, taken as a whole; but in the first section, taken apart, it appears as yet imperfectly. (2.) The second section (xlix.-lvii.) is distinguished from the first by several features. The person of Cyrus as well as his name, and the specification of Babylon, disappear altogether. Return from exile is indeed spoken of repeatedly and at length (xlix. 9-26, li. 9-lii. 12, lv. 12, 13, lvii. 14), but in such general terms as admit of being applied to the spiritual and Messianic, as well as to the literal restoration. (3.) In the third section (lviii.-lxvi.), as Cyrus nowhere appears, so neither does "Jehovah's servant" occur so frequently to view as in the second. The only delineation of the latter is in lxi. 1-3, and in lxiii. 1-6, 9. He no longer appears as suffering, but only as saving and avenging Zion. The section is mainly occupied with various practical exhortations founded upon the views of the future already set forth.

§ 23. JEREMIAH, who is the principal prophet in the second or Babylonian period of prophecy, lived in the reigns of Josiah, Shallum, Jehoiakim, Jeconiah, and Zedekiah. His long career began in the thirteenth year of the reign of Josiah (B.C. 629), and continued till the eleventh year of Zedekiah (B.C. 586), when Jerusalem was taken by Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. i. 2, 3), though he continued to prophesy even after that event. He is described as "the son of Hilkiah, of the priests that were in Anathoth," a town not three miles distant from Jerusalem. His personal history is closely united with that of the times in which he lived, and has been already related.[42] After the destruction of Jerusalem, he continued for a time in the city; but he was afterward carried, against his will, into Egypt, along with his faithful friend and amanuensis, Baruch.[43] There, in the city of Tahpanhes, we have the last clear glimpses of the prophet's life. After this all is uncertain. If we could assume that lii. 31 was written by Jeremiah himself, it would show that he reached an extreme old age, but this is so doubtful that we are left to other sources. On the one hand there is the Christian tradition, resting doubtless on some earlier belief, that the Jews at Tahpanhes, irritated by his rebukes, at last stoned him to death. On the other side there is the Jewish statement that on the conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar, he, with Baruch, made his escape to Babylon or Judæa, and died in peace.

The absence of any chronological order in the present structure of the collection of Jeremiah's prophecies is obvious at the first glance. In the present order, we have two great divisions:—(1.) Chs. i.-xlv. Prophecies delivered at various times, directed mainly to Judah, or connected with Jeremiah's personal history. (2.) Chs. xlvi.-li. Prophecies connected with other nations. Ch. lii., taken largely, though not entirely, from 2 K. xxv., may be taken either as a supplement to the prophecy, or as an introduction to the Lamentations. Looking more closely into each of these divisions, we have the following sections:—

1. Chs. i.-xxi.—Containing probably the substance of "the book" of xxxvi. 32, and including prophecies from the thirteenth year of Josiah to the fourth of Jehoiakim: i. 3, however, indicates a later revision, and the

[42] See pp. 568-608.

[43] See p. 607.

whole of ch. i. may possibly have been added on the prophet's retrospect of his whole work from this its first beginning; ch. xxi. belongs to a later period, but has probably found its place here as connected, by the recurrence of the name Pashur, with ch. xx.

2. Chs. xxii. - xxv. — Shorter prophecies, delivered at different times, against the kings of Judah and the false prophets; xxv. 13, 14, evidently marks the conclusion of a series of prophecies; and that which follows, xxv. 15–38, the germ of the fuller predictions in xlvi.–xlix., has been placed here as a kind of completion to the prophecy of the Seventy Years and the subsequent fall of Babylon.

3. Chs. xxvi.–xxviii.—The two great prophecies of the fall of Jerusalem, and the history connected with them. Ch. xxvi. belongs to the earlier, ch. xxvii. and xxviii. to the later period of the prophet's work. Jehoiakim, in xxvii. 1, is evidently (comp. ver. 3) a mistake for Zedekiah.

4. Chs. xxix.–xxxi.—The message of comfort for the exiles in Babylon.

5. Chs. xxxii.–xliv.—The history of the last two years before the capture of Jerusalem, and of Jeremiah's work in them and in the period that followed. The position of ch. xlv., unconnected with any thing before or after it, may be accounted for on the hypothesis that Baruch desired to place on record so memorable a passage in his own life, and inserted it where the direct narrative of his master's life ended. The same explanation applies in part to ch. xxxvi.

6. Chs. xlvi.–li.—The prophecies against foreign nations, ending with the great prediction against Babylon.

7. The supplementary narrative of ch. lii.

The BOOK OF LAMENTATIONS contains the utterance of Jeremiah's sorrow upon the capture of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple. It consists of five chapters, each of which, however, is a separate poem, complete in itself, and having a distinct subject, but brought at the same time under a plan which includes them all. The book has supplied thousands with the fullest utterance for their sorrows in the critical periods of national or individual suffering. We may well believe that it soothed the weary years of the Babylonian exile. On the ninth day of the month of Ab (July–August), the Lamentations of Jeremiah were read, year by year, with fasting and weeping, to commemorate the misery out of which the people had been delivered. It enters largely into the order of the Latin Church for the services of Passion-week.

§ 24. EZEKIEL, the son of Buzi, the great prophet during the Babylonian captivity, was, like his predecessor Jeremiah, a priest. One tradition makes Ezekiel the servant of Jeremiah. He was taken captive in the captivity of Jehoiachin, eleven years before the destruction of Jerusalem. He was a member of a community of Jewish exiles who settled on the banks of the Chebar, a "river" or stream of Babylonia. It was by this river "in the land of the Chaldæans" that God's message first reached him (i. 3). His call took place "in tho fifth year of King Jehoiachin's captivity," B.C. 595 (i. 2), "in the thirtieth year, in the fourth month."[44] We learn from an in-

[44] This is probably the 30th year from the new era of Nabopolassar, father of Nebuchadnezzar, who began to reign B.C. 625. The use of this *Chaldee* epoch is the more appropriate as the prophet wrote in Babylonia, and he gives a Jewish chronology in ver. 2. The decision of the question is the less important, because in all other places Ezekiel dates from the year of Jehoiachin's captivity (xxix. 17, xxx. 20, et passim).

cidental allusion (xxiv. 18)—the only reference which he makes to his personal history—that he was married, and had a house (viii. 1) in his place of exile, and lost his wife by a sudden and unforeseen stroke. He lived in the highest consideration among his companions in exile, and their elders consulted him on all occasions (viii. 1, xi. 25, xiv. 1, xx. 1, etc.). The last date he mentions is the 27th year of the Captivity (xxix. 17), so that his mission extended over twenty-two years, during part of which period Daniel was probably living, and already famous (Ez. xiv. 14, xxviii. 3). He is said to have been murdered in Babylon by some Jewish prince whom he had convicted of idolatry, and to have been buried in the tomb of Shem and Arphaxad, on the banks of the Euphrates.

The predictions of Ezekiel are marvelously varied. He has instances of visions (viii.-xi.), symbolical actions (as iv. 8), similitudes (xii., xv.), parables (as xvii.), proverbs (as xii. 22, xviii. 1 sq.), poems (as xix.), allegories (as xxiii., xxiv.), open prophecies (as vi , vii., xx., etc.). The depth of his *matter*, and the marvelous nature of his visions, make him occasionally obscure. Hence his prophecy was placed by the Jews among the "treasures," those portions of Scripture which (like the early part of Genesis, and the Canticles) were not allowed to be read till the age of thirty.

The book is divided into two great parts—of which the destruction of Jerusalem is the turning-point: chapters i.-xxiv. contain predictions delivered before that event, and xxv.-xlviii. after it, as we see from xxvi. 2. Again, chapters i.-xxxii. are mainly occupied with correction, denunciation, and reproof, while the remainder deal chiefly in consolation and promise. A parenthetical section in the middle of the book (xxv.-xxxii.) contains a group of prophecies against *seven* foreign nations, the septenary arrangement being apparently (as elsewhere in Scripture) intentional. The book may further be divided into nine sections, distinguished by their superscriptions, as follows:—1. Ezekiel's call, i.-iii. 15. 2. The *general* carrying out of the commission, iii. 16-vii. 3. The rejection of the people, because of their idolatrous worship, viii.-xi. 4. The sins of the age rebuked in detail, xii.-xix. 5. The nature of the judgment, and the guilt which caused it, xx.-xxiii. 6. The meaning of the now commencing punishment, xxiv. 7. God's judgment denounced on seven heathen nations (Ammon, xxv. 1-7; Moab, 8-11; Edom, 12-14; the Philistines, 15-17; Tyre, xxvi.-xxviii. 19; Sidon, 20-24; Egypt, xxix.-xxxii.). 8. Prophecies, after the destruction of Jerusalem, concerning the future condition of Israel, xxxiii.-xxxix. 9. The glorious consummation, xl.-xlviii.

Chronological order is followed throughout (the date of the prediction being constantly referred to), except in the section devoted to prophecies against heathen nations (xxix.-xxxii.), where it is several times abandoned (xxix. 17; cf. xxvi. 1, xxix. 1), so that in the prediction against Egypt, one uttered in the twenty-seventh year of the Captivity is inserted between two uttered in the tenth and eleventh years.

§ 25. DANIEL.—The personal history of Daniel is related in the 26th chapter of this work, which also contains a summary of his visions, dreams, and prophecies.[45] It is only necessary here to allude to the assaults made in modern times upon the prophetic worth of the book. A large number of

[45] See p. 692.

modern critics reject the book as the work of an impostor who lived in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. Externally it is as well attested as any book of Scripture; but it brings the belief in miracle and prediction, in the divine power and foreknowledge as active among men, to a startling test, and according to the character of this belief in the individual must be his judgment upon the book.

The Greek translations of Daniel, like that of Esther, contain several pieces which are not found in the original text. The most important of these additions are contained in the Apocrypha of the English Bible, under the titles of *The Song of the three Holy Children*, *The History of Susannah*, and *The History of Bel and the Dragon.*

The first of these pieces is incorporated into the narrative of Daniel. After the three confessors were thrown into the furnace (Dan. iii. 23), Azarias is represented as praying to God for deliverance (*Song of Three Children*, 3-22); and in answer the angel of the Lord shields them from the fire which consumes their enemies (23-27), whereupon "the three, as out of one mouth," raise a triumphant song (29-68), of which a chief part (35-66) has been used as a hymn (*Benedicite*) in the Christian Church since the fourth century.

The two other pieces appear more distinctly as appendices, and offer no semblance of forming part of the original text. *The History of Susannah* (or *The judgment of Daniel*) is generally found at the beginning of the book, though it also occurs after the 12th chapter. *The History of Bel and the Dragon* is placed at the end of the book. The character of these additions indicates the hand of an Alexandrine writer; and it is not unlikely that the translator of Daniel wrought up traditions which were already current, and appended them to his work.

B. THE TWELVE MINOR PROPHETS.

§ 26. HOSEA is the first of the Minor Prophets, as they appear in our version, but more probably the third in order of time. He is described as the son of Beeri, but we know nothing of his life. The title of the book gives for the beginning of his ministry the reign of Uzziah, king of Judah, but limits this vague definition by reference to Jeroboam II. king of Israel; it therefore yields a date not later than B.C. 783. The pictures of social and political life which Hosea draws so forcibly are rather applicable to the interregnum which followed the death of Jeroboam (B.C. 782-772), and to the reign of the succeeding kings. It seems almost certain that very few of his prophecies were written until after the death of Jeroboam (B.C. 783), and probably the life, or rather the prophetic career of Hosea, extended from B.C. 784 to 725, a period of fifty-nine years.

There seems to be a general consent among commentators that the prophecies of Hosea were delivered in the kingdom of Israel.

It is easy to recognize two great divisions in the book:—(1.) chap. i. to iii.; (2.) iv. to the end. The subdivision of these several parts is a work of greater difficulty. (1.) The first division should probably be subdivided into three separate poems, each originating in a distinct aim, and each after its own fashion attempting to express the idolatry of Israel by imagery borrowed from the matrimonial relation. The first, and therefore the least elaborate of these, is contained in chap. iii., the second in i. 2-11, the third in i. 2-9, and

ii. 1-23. These three are progressively elaborate developments of the same reiterated idea. Chap. i. 2-9 is common to the second and third poems, but not repeated with each severally. (2.) Attempts have been made to subdivide the second part of the book. These divisions are made either according to the reigns of contemporary kings, or according to the subject-matter of the poem. The prophecies were probably collected by Hosea himself toward the end of his career.[46] Hosea is referred to in the following passages of the New Testament:—Matt. ix. 13, xii. 7, Hos. vi. 6; Luke xxiii. 30, Rev. vi. 16, Hos. x. 8; Matt. ii. 15, Hos. xi. 1; Rom. ix. 25, 26, 1 Pet. ii. 10, Hos. i. 10, ii. 23; 1 Cor. xv. 4, Hos. vi. 2; Heb. xiii. 15, Hos. xiv. 2.

§ 27. JOEL, of whom we only know for certain that he was the son of Pethuel. It is most likely that he lived in Judah, for his commission was to Judah, and he makes frequent mention of Judah and Jerusalem. He probably lived in the reign of Uzziah, thus being contemporary with Hosea and Amos. We find, what we should expect on the supposition of Joel being the first prophet to Judah, only a grand outline of the whole terrible scene, which was to be depicted more and more in detail by subsequent prophets. The scope, therefore, is not any particular invasion, but the whole day of the Lord. The proximate event to which the prophecy related was a public calamity, then impending on Judah, of a twofold character: want of water, and a plague of locusts continuing for several years. The prophet exhorts the people to turn to God with penitence, fasting, and prayer, and then (he says) the plague shall cease, and the rain descend in its season, and the land yield her accustomed fruit. Nay, the time will be a most joyful one; for God, by the outpouring of His Spirit, will impart to His worshipers increased knowledge of Himself (comp. Acts ii. 16, foll.), and after the excision of the enemies of His people, will extend through them the blessings of true religion to heathen lands. This is the simple argument of the book; only that it is beautified and enriched with a great variety of ornament and pictorial description.

§ 28. AMOS was a native of Tekoa, in Judah, about six miles south of Bethlehem, originally a shepherd and dresser of sycamore-trees, who was called by God's Spirit to be a prophet, although not trained in any of the regular prophetic schools (i. 1, vii. 14, 15). He traveled from Judah into the northern kingdom of Israel, or "Ephraim," and there exercised his ministry, apparently not for any long time. His date can not be later than the 15th year of Uzziah's reign (B.C. 808); for he tells us that he prophesied "in the reigns of Uzziah, king of Judah, and Jeroboam, the son of Joash, king of Israel, two years before the earthquake." This earthquake (also mentioned Zech. xiv. 5, can not have occurred after the 17th year of Uzziah, since Jeroboam II. died in the 15th of that king's reign, which therefore is the latest year fulfilling the three chronological indications furnished by the prophet himself. But his ministry probably took place at an earlier period of Jeroboam's reign, perhaps about the middle of it, for on the one hand Amos speaks of the conquests of this warlike king as completed (vi. 13; cf. 2 K. xiv. 25), and on the other the Assyrians, who toward the end of his reign were approaching Palestine (Hos. x. 6, xi. 5), do not seem as yet to have caused any alarm in the country. Amos predicts indeed that Israel and

[46] See also pp. 555, 556.

other neighboring nations will be punished by certain wild conquerors from the North (i. 5, v. 27. vi. 14), but he does not name them, as if they were still unknown or unheeded. In this prophet's time Israel was at the height of pow er, wealth, and security, but infected by the crimes to which such a state is liable. The source of these evils was idolatry, that of the golden calves. Amos went to rebuke this at Bethel itself, but was compelled to return to Judah by the high-priest Amaziah, who procured from Jeroboam an order for his expulsion from the northern kingdom. The book of the prophecies of Amos seems divided into four principal portions closely connected together. (1.) From i. 1 to ii. 3 he denounces the sins of the nations bordering on Israel and Judah, as a preparation for (2.), in which, from ii. 4 to vi. 14, he de scribes the state of those two kingdoms, especially the former. This is followed by (3.) vii. 1–ix. 10, in which, after reflecting on the previous prophecy, he relates his visit to Bethel, and sketches the impending punishment of Israel which he predicted to Amaziah. After this in (4.) he rises to a loftier and more evangelical strain, looking forward to the time when the hope of the Messiah's kingdom will be fulfilled, and His people forgiven and established in the enjoyment of God's blessings to all eternity. The chief peculiarity of the style consists in the number of allusions to natural objects and agricultural occupations, as might be expected from the early life of the author.[47]

§ 29. OBADIAH has been spoken of already (p. 605). It is unnecessary to discuss the view which assigns to him an earlier date.

§ 30. Of JONAH, who was probably the earliest in point of time of the Minor Prophets, and of his prophecies, we have already spoken in the body of the work.[48]

§ 31. MICAH is distinguished from Micaiah, the son of Imlah, the contemporary of Elijah, by the epithet the Morasthite, that is, a native of Moresheth, or some place of similar name.[49] The period during which Micah exercised the prophetical office is stated, in the superscription to his prophecies, to have extended over the reigns of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah, giving thus a maximum limit of fifty-nine years (B.C. 756-697), from the accession of Jotham to the death of Hezekiah, and a minimum limit of 16 years (B.C. 742-726), from the death of Jotham to the accession of Hezekiah. In either case he would be contemporary with Hosea and Amos during part of their ministry in Israel, and with Isaiah in Judah. With respect to one of his prophecies (iii. 12), it is distinctly assigned to the reign of Hezekiah (Jer. xxvi. 18), and was probably delivered before the great passover which inaugurated the reformation in Judah. The date of the others must be determined, if at all, by internal evidence, and the periods to which they are assigned are therefore necessarily conjectural.

The following arrangement may be adopted:—ch. i. was delivered in the contemporary reigns of Jotham, king of Judah, and of Pekah, king of Israel; ii. 1–iv. 8 in those of Ahaz, Pekah, and Hoshea; iii. 12 being assigned to the last year of Ahaz, and the remainder of the book to the reign of Hezekiah. But at whatever time the several prophecies were first delivered, they appear in their present form as an organic whole, marked by a certain regu-

[47] See Amos i. 3, ii. 13, iii. 4, 5, iv. 2, 7, 9, v. 8, 19, vi. 12, vii. 1, ix. 3, 9, 13, 14.

[48] See pp. 551–553.

[49] Jerome and Eusebius call this place Morasthi, and identify it with a small village near Eleutheropolis to the east, where formerly the prophet's tomb was shown, though in the days of Jerome it had been succeeded by a church.

larity of development. Three sections, omitting the superscription, are introduced by the same phrase, "hear ye," and represent three natural divisions of the prophecy — i.-ii.—iii.-v.—vi.-vii.— each commencing with rebukes and threatenings, and closing with a promise.

The predictions uttered by Micah relate to the invasions of Shalmaneser (i. 6-8; 2 K. xvii. 4, 6) and Sennacherib (i. 9-16; 2 K. xviii. 13), the destruction of Jerusalem (iii. 12, vii. 13), the captivity in Babylon (iv. 10), the return (iv. 1-8, vii. 11), the establishment of a theocratic kingdom in Jerusalem (iv. 8), and the Ruler who should spring from Bethlehem (v. 2).

The language of Micah is quoted in Matt. ii. 5, 6, and his prophecies are alluded to in Matt. x. 35, 36; Mark xiii. 12; Luke xii. 53; John vii. 42.

§ 32. NAHUM, "the Elkoshite."—His personal history is quite unknown. The site of Elkosh, his native place, is disputed, some placing it in Galilee, others in Assyria. Those who maintain the latter view assume that the prophet's parents were carried into captivity by Tiglath-pileser, and that the prophet was born at the village of Alkush, on the east bank of the Tigris, two miles north of Mosul. But there is nothing in the prophecy of Nahum to indicate that it was written in the immediate neighborhood of Nineveh, and in full view of the scenes which are depicted, nor is the language that of an exile in an enemy's country. No allusion is made to the captivity; while, on the other hand, the imagery is such as would be natural to an inhabitant of Palestine (i. 4), to whom the rich pastures of Bashan, the vineyards of Carmel, and the blossom of Lebanon, were emblems of all that was luxuriant and fertile. The language employed in i. 15, ii. 2, is appropriate to one who wrote for his countrymen in their native land. In fact, the sole origin of the theory that Nahum flourished in Assyria is the name of the village Alkush, which contains his supposed tomb, and, from its similarity to Elkosh, was apparently selected by mediæval tradition as a shrine for pilgrims. The date of Nahum's prophecy can be determined with as little precision as his birthplace. It is, however, certain that the prophecy was written before the final downfall of Nineveh, and its capture by the Medes and Chaldæans (cir. B.C. 625). The allusions to the Assyrian power imply that it was still unbroken (i. 12, ii. 13, 14, iii. 15-17). It is most probable that Nahum flourished in the latter half of the reign of Hezekiah, and wrote his prophecy either in Jerusalem or its neighborhood. The subject of the prophecy is, in accordance with the superscription, "the burden of Nineveh," the destruction of which he predicts.

§ 33. HABAKKUK perhaps delivered his prophecy about the 12th or 13th year of Josiah (B.C. 630-629), though the date is only conjectural, and of his personal history nothing is known. The prophet foretells the doom of the Chaldæans, and the announcement is followed by a series of denunciations pronounced upon them by the nations who had suffered from their oppression (ii. 6-20). The strophical arrangement of these "woes" is a remarkable feature of the prophecy. The whole concludes with the magnificent psalm in ch. iii.

§ 34. ZEPHANIAH also lived in the reign of Josiah, as we learn from the superscription to the book, where the prophet traces his pedigree to his fourth ancestor, Hezekiah, supposed to be the celebrated king of that name. In chap. i. the utter desolation of Judah is predicted as a judgment for idolatry and neglect of the Lord, the luxury of the princes, and the violence and de-

ceit of their dependents (3-9). The prosperity, security, and insolence of the people is contrasted with the horrors of the day of wrath (10–18). Ch. ii. contains a call to repentance (1–3), with a prediction of the ruin of the cities of the Philistines and the restoration of the house of Judah after the visitation (4-7) Other enemies of Judah, Moab, and Ammon are threatened with perpetual destruction (8–15). In ch. iii. the prophet addresses Jerusalem, which he reproves sharply for vice and disobedience (1-7). He then concludes with a series of promises (8-20). The general tone of the last portion is Messianic, but without any specific reference to the person of our Lord.

§ 35. HAGGAI is the first of the Minor Prophets who prophesied after the Captivity. With regard to his tribe and parentage, both history and tradition are alike silent. In the absence of any direct evidence on the point, it is more than probable that he was one of the exiles who returned with Zerubbabel and Jeshua. The rebuilding of the Temple, which was commenced in the reign of Cyrus (B.C. 535), was suspended during the reigns of his successors, Cambyses and the Pseudo-Smerdis, in consequence of the determined hostility of the Samaritans. On the accession of Darius Hystaspis (B.C. 521), the prophets Haggai and Zechariah urged the renewal of the undertaking, and obtained the permission and assistance of the king (Ezra v. 1, vi. 14).

The style of his writing is generally tame and prosaic, though at times it rises to the dignity of severe invective, when the prophet rebukes his countrymen for their selfish indolence and neglect of God's house. The prophecies were delivered in the second year of Darius Hystaspis (B.C. 520), at intervals from the first day of the 6th month to the 24th day of the 9th month in the same year. The closing prediction, addressed to Zerubbabel, prince of Judah, the representative of the royal family of David, and, as such, the lineal ancestor of the Messiah, foreshadows the establishment of the Messianic kingdom upon the overthrow of the thrones of the nations (ii. 20–23).

§ 36. ZECHARIAH is called in his prophecy the son of Berechiah, and the grandson of Iddo, whereas in the Book of Ezra (v. 1, vi. 14) he is said to have been the son of Iddo. It is natural to suppose, as the prophet himself mentions his father's name, whereas the Book of Ezra mentions only Iddo, that Berechiah had died early, and that there was now no intervening link between the grandfather and the grandson. Zechariah, like Jeremiah and Ezekiel before him, was priest as well as prophet. He seems to have entered upon his office while yet young (Zech. ii. 4), and must have been born in Babylon, whence he returned with the first caravan of exiles under Zerubbabel and Jeshua. It was in the eighth month, in the second year of Darius, that he first publicly discharged his office. In this he acted in concert with Haggai. Both prophets had the same great object before them: both directed all their energies to the building of the Second Temple. To their influence we find the rebuilding of the Temple in a great measure ascribed. "And the elders of the Jews builded," it is said, "and they prospered through the prophesying of Haggai the prophet, and Zechariah, the son of Iddo" (Ezra vi. 14). If the later Jewish accounts may be trusted, Zechariah as well as Haggai was a member of the Great Synagogue.

The Book of Zechariah, in its existing form, consists of three principal parts, chaps. i.–viii., chaps. ix.–xi., chaps. xii.–xiv. I. The first of these di-

visions is allowed by all critics to be the genuine work of Zechariah, the son of Iddo. It consists, first, of a short introduction or preface, in which the prophet announces his commission; then of a series of visions, descriptive of all those hopes and anticipations of which the building of the Temple was the pledge and sure foundation; and finally of a discourse, delivered two years later, in reply to questions respecting the observance of certain established fasts.

II. The remainder of the book consists of two sections of about equal length, ix.–xi. and xii.–xiv., each of which has an inscription. 1. In the first section he threatens Damascus and the sea-coast of Palestine with misfortune, but declares that Jerusalem shall be protected. The Jews who are still in captivity shall return to their land. 2. The second section, xii.–xiv., is entitled "the burden of the word of Jehovah for Israel." But *Israel* is here used of the nation at large, not of Israel as distinct from Judah. Indeed the prophecy which follows concerns Judah and Jerusalem. In this the prophet beholds the near approach of troublous times, when Jerusalem should be hard pressed by enemies. But in that day Jehovah shall come to save them, and all the nations which gather themselves against Jerusalem shall be destroyed. Many modern critics maintain that the later chapters, from the ixth to the xivth, were written by some other prophet, who lived before the exile. The arguments both for and against the genuineness of the later chapters are set forth fully in the "Dictionary of the Bible,"[50] to which we must refer the reader.

§ 37. MALACHI (that is, *the angel* or *messenger of Jehovah*) is the last, and is therefore called "the seal" of the prophets, and his prophecies constitute the closing book of the Canon. Of his personal history nothing is known. That Malachi was contemporary with Nehemiah is rendered probable by a comparison of ii. 8 with Neh. xiii. 15; ii. 10–16 with Neh. xiii. 23, etc.; and iii. 7-12 with Neh. xiii. 10, etc. That he prophesied after the times of Haggai and Zechariah is inferred from his omitting to mention the restoration of the Temple, and from no allusion being made to him by Ezra. The Captivity was already a thing of the long past, and is not referred to. The existence of the Temple-service is presupposed in i. 10, iii. 1, 10. The Jewish nation had still a political chief (i. 8), distinguished by the same title as that borne by Nehemiah (Neh. xii. 26). Hence we may conclude that Malachi delivered his prophecies after the second return of Nehemiah from Persia (Neh. xiii. 6), and subsequently to the 32d year of Artaxerxes Longimanus (B.C. 420). From the striking parallelism between the state of things indicated in Malachi's prophecies and that actually existing on Nehemiah's return from the court of Artaxerxes, it is on all accounts highly probable that the efforts of the secular governor were on this occasion seconded by the preaching of "Jehovah's messenger," and that Malachi occupied the same position with regard to the reformation under Nehemiah which Isaiah held in the time of Hezekiah, and Jeremiah in that of Josiah. The last chapter of canonical Jewish history is the key to the last chapter of its prophecy. The whole prophecy naturally divides itself into three sections, in the first of which Jehovah is represented as the loving father and ruler of His people (i. 2–ii. 9); in the second, as the supreme God and father of all (ii. 10–16);

[50] Art. *Zechariah.*

and in the third, as their righteous and final judge (ii. 17–end). The prophecy of Malachi is alluded to in the N. T. (comp. Mark i. 2, ix. 11, 12; Luke i. 17; Rom. ix. 13).

IV. THE POETICAL BOOKS.

§ 38. The Book of Psalms[51] contains 150 separate Psalms, and may be parted into five great divisions or books, which were formed at different periods. There is a remarkable difference between the several books in their use of the divine names Jehovah and Elohim, to designate Almighty God. In Book I. (Pss. i.–xli.) the former name prevails; it is found 272 times, while Elohim occurs but 15 times.[52] In Book II. (Pss. xlii.–lxxii.), Elohim is found more than five times as often as Jehovah. In Book III. (Pss. lxxiii.–lxxxix.), the preponderance of Elohim in the earlier is balanced by that of Jehovah in the latter psalms of the book. In Book IV. (Pss. xc.–cvi.) the name Jehovah is exclusively employed; and so also, virtually, in Book V. (Pss. cvii.–cl.), Elohim being there found only in two passages incorporated from earlier psalms. We find the several groups of psalms which form the respective five books distinguished, in great measure, by their superscriptions from each other.

Book I. is, by the superscriptions, entirely Davidic; nor do we find in it a trace of any but David's authorship. We may well believe that the compilation of the book was also David's work.

Book II. appears by the date of its latest psalm, Ps. xlvi., to have been compiled in the reign of King Hezekiah. It would naturally comprise, 1st, several or most of the Levitical psalms anterior to that date; and 2dly, the remainder of the psalms of David previously uncompiled. To these latter the collector, after properly appending the single psalm of Solomon, has affixed the notice that "the prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended" (Ps. lxxii. 20); evidently implying, at least on the *primâ facie* view, that no more compositions of the royal psalmist remained. How then do we find, in the later Books III., IV., V., further psalms yet marked with David's name? The name David is used to denote, in other parts of Scripture, after the original David's death, the then head of the Davidic family; and so, in prophecy, the Messiah of the seed of David, who was to sit on David's throne (1 K. xii. 16; Hos. iii. 5; Is. lv. 3; Jer. xxx. 9; Ez. xxxiv. 23–24). And thus then we may explain the meaning of the later Davidic superscriptions in the Psalter. The psalms to which they belong were written by Hezekiah, by Josiah, by Zerubbabel, or others of David's posterity. The above explanation removes all serious difficulty respecting the history of the later books of the Psalter.

Book III., the interest of which centres in the times of Hezekiah, stretches out, by its last two psalms, to the reign of Manasseh: it was probably compiled in the reign of Josiah.

[51] The present Hebrew name of the book is *Tehillîm*, "Praises." But in the actual superscriptions of the Psalms the word *Tehillâh* is applied only to one, Ps. cxlv., which is indeed emphatically a praise-hymn. The LXX. entitled them Ψαλμοί, or "Psalms." The Christian Church obviously received the Psalter from the Jews not only as a constituent portion of the sacred volume of Holy Scripture, but also as the liturgical hymn-book which the Jewish Church had regularly used in the Temple.

[52] We here take no account of the superscriptions or doxology, nor yet of the occurrences of Elohim when inflected with a possessive suffix.

Book IV. contains the remainder of the psalms up to the date of the Captivity; Book V., the Psalms of the Return. There is nothing to distinguish these two books from each other in respect of outward decoration or arrangement, and they may have been compiled together in the days of Nehemiah.

It would manifestly be impossible, in the compass of the present work, to exhibit in detail the divergent views which have been taken of the dates of particular psalms. The time at which most of David's Psalms were composed has been already mentioned in connection with his personal history.[53] For a time the single psalm of Solomon remained the only addition to those of David. If, however, religious psalmody were to revive, somewhat might be not unreasonably anticipated from the great assembly of King Asa (2 Chr. xv.); and Ps. l. suits so exactly with the circumstances of that occasion that it may well be assigned to it. The great prophetical ode, Ps. xlv., connects itself most readily with the splendors of Jehoshaphat's reign. And after that psalmody had thus definitely revived, there would be no reason why it should not thenceforward manifest itself in seasons of anxiety, as well as of festivity and thanksgiving. Hence Ps. xlix. Yet the psalms of this period flow but sparingly. Pss. xlii.-xliv., lxxiv., are best assigned to the reign of Ahaz. The reign of Hezekiah is naturally rich in psalmody. Pss. xlvi., lxxiii., lxxv., lxxvi., connect themselves with the resistance to the supremacy of the Assyrians and the divine destruction of their host. We are now brought to a series of psalms of peculiar interest, springing out of the political and religious history of the separated ten tribes. In date of actual composition they commence before the times of Hezekiah. The earliest is probably Ps. lxxx., a supplication for the Israelitish people at the time of the Syrian oppression. All these psalms (lxxx.-lxxxiii.) are referred by their superscriptions to the Levite singers, and thus bear witness to the efforts of the Levites to reconcile the two branches of the chosen nation. The captivity of Manasseh himself proved to be but temporary; but the sentence which his sins had provoked upon Judah and Jerusalem still remained to be executed, and precluded the hope that God's salvation could be revealed till after such an outpouring of His judgments as the nation never yet had known. Labor and sorrow must be the lot of the present generation; through these mercy might occasionally gleam, but the glory which was eventually to be manifested must be for their posterity alone. The psalms of Book IV. bear generally the impress of this feeling. We pass to Book V. Ps. cvii. is the opening psalm of the Return, sung probably at the first Feast of Tabernacles (Ezra iii.). The ensuing Davidic psalms may well be ascribed to Zerubbabel. We here pass over the questions connected with Ps. cxix.; but a directly historical character belongs to Pss. cxx.-cxxxiv., styled in our A. V. "Songs of Degrees."[54] Internal evidence refers these to the period when the Jews under Nehemiah were, in the very face of the enemy, repairing the walls of Jerusalem, and the title may well signify "Songs of goings up upon the walls," the psalms being, from their brevity, well adapted to be sung by the workmen and guards while engaged in their respective duties. Of somewhat earlier date, it may be, are Pss. cxxxvii. and the ensuing Davidic psalms. Of these, Ps. cxxxix. is a psalm of the new birth of Israel, from the womb of the Babylonish captivity, to a life of righteousness; Pss. cxl.-

[53] See especially pp. 420–422, 436. 437, 444, 445, 451, 463, 468.

[54] Of these, Ps. cxxxii. may perhaps be ascribed to David's removal of the ark. See p 436

cxliii. may be a picture of the trials to which the unrestored exiles were still exposed in the realms of the Gentiles. Henceforward, as we approach the close of the Psalter, its strains rise in cheerfulness; and it fittingly terminates with Pss. cxlvii.-cl., which were probably sung on the occasion of the thanksgiving procession of Neh. xii., after the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem had been completed.

§ 39. The writings of Solomon, namely, the SONG OF SOLOMON, PROVERBS, and ECCLESIASTES, and the BOOK OF JOB, have been already spoken of in the body of the work.[55]

[55] See pp. 500–502 for the writings of Solomon, and pp. 129–133 for the Book of Job.

APPENDIX II.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES OF OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY.

FOR the PATRIARCHAL PERIOD we have no certain chronological data. The Genealogies, which form the only basis for computation, and the results founded upon them in the "Received Chronology" of Archbishop Ussher, have been given in the text. (See especially the Note on *Scripture Chronology*, pp. 38-40, and the note on the *Chronology of the Period of the Judges*, pp. 336, foll.) The period of the Hebrew monarchy, though still beset with difficulties, is settled with sufficient probability to be reduced to a tabular form. The dates are those of the Received Chronology, except where a correction is indicated.

TABLE I.—THE UNDIVIDED MONARCHY.[1]

B.C.	SCRIPTURE HISTORY.	YRS. OF REIGN.	SYNCHRONISMS.
1095	SAUL chosen king	40	
[1075?]	*Samuel* dies during his reign.		
1055	Death of Saul and Jonathan.		
	DAVID king at Hebron	7½	
	The Ten Tribes resist under Abner.		
1050?	Ishbosheth king at Mahanaim.	2	
1048	DAVID king over all Israel	32½ / 40 in all.	TYRE flourishes under Hiram. Syrian Kingdoms of ZOBAH and HAMATH.
	He takes Jebus (Jerusalem).		
1042	Removal of the Ark.		
1040	Victories over the Philistines, Moabites, and Syrians.		
1023	Revolt of Absalom.		The 21st (Tanite) Dynasty in Egypt.
1015	Death of David.		
1015	Accession of Solomon	40	
1012	*Foundation of the Temple.*		
1005	Dedication of the Temple.		The 22d (Bubastite) Dynasty in Egypt.
975	Death of Solomon.		Syrian Kingdom of DAMASCUS founded by Rezon.
	Revolt of Jeroboam.		

[1] Kings' names in small capitals. Prophets' names in italics; which also denote some important events.

TABLE II.—THE DIVIDED KINGDOMS.

B.C.	JUDAH.	YRS.	B.C.	ISRAEL.	YRS.	SYNCHRONISMS.
	(Only one Dynasty.)			*(First Dynasty.)*		
975	i. REHOBOAM	17	975	i. JEROBOAM I........	22	SHISHAK (Sheshonk I.), king of Egypt.
	Shemaiah forbids war.			Idolatry of the Calves.		
970	Invasion of Shishak.					
				Ahijah prophesies.		
957	ii. ABIJAH............	3		18th year.		TABRIMMON, king of Damascus.
	Defeats Jeroboam.			War with Judah.		
955	iii. ASA...............	41	955	20th year.		
954	2d year.		954	ii. NADAB..........	2	
	Reformation.					
				(Second Dynasty.)		
953	3d year.		953	iii. BAASHA..........	24	
941?	Defeats Zerah the Cushite.			Removes from Shechem to Tirzah.		ZERAH = Osorkon I., son of Shishak?
	Azariah prophesies.			Fortifies Ramah.		BENHADAD I., king of Damascus.
	Alliance with Syria.			War with Judah.		
	Hanani prophesies.			*Jehu*, son of Hanani.		
930	26th year.		930	iv. ELAH.............	2	
929	27th "		929	v. ZIMRI.............	[7 d's.]	
				Civil War.		
				Omri and Tibni.		
				(Third Dynasty.)		
925	31st "		925	vi. OMRI.............	6	
				Builds Samaria ..	or 12 fr' 930	
918	38th "		918	vii. AHAB............	22	ETHBAAL (Ithobal), king of Tyre and Sidon.
	Consults magicians.			Marries Jezebel, dau. of Eth-baal.		
914	iv. JEHOSHAPHAT......	25	914	4th year.		
	Reformation.			Baal-worship.		
	Cities of Judah fortified.		910?	Mission of *Elijah*.		BENHADAD II., king of Damascus.
				Three years' famine.		
	Judges appointed.		901-900	Successful war with Syria.		
	Moab and Philistines tributary.					
897	Alliance with Ahab.		897	New war with Syria.		
	Jehoshaphat at Ramoth-gilead.			*Micaiah*, son of Imla.		
				Death of Ahab.		
	The prophet *Jehu*.					
	17th year.			viii. AHAZIAH.......	2	
	Naval enterprise.			Consults Baal-zebub.		
	Eliezer, son of Dodavah.		896	Ascent of *Elijah*.		
	18th year.			ix. JEHORAM.........	12	
	Defeat of Ammon and Moab.			Mission of *Elisha*.		
				Naaman the Syrian.		
892	Associates JEHORAM.	8				
889	v. JEHORAM alone.		889	8th year.		
886	" with Ahaziah.		886	11th "		
885	vi. AHAZIAH alone.	1	885	12th "		HAZAEL murders and succeeds Benhadad.
	Alliance with Israel.			War with Syria.		
884	Slain by Jehu.		884	Slain by Jehu.		
	Extinction of Ahab's house in both kingdoms.					The *Older Dynasty* is reigning in ASSYRIA:—
				(Fourth Dynasty.)		
	vii. ATHALIAH (usurper).........	6		x. JEHU.............	28	SHALMANESER.
	Murders all the royal house except Joash.			Slays Jezebel and the Baalites.		Jehu's name on the "black obelisk," as tributary to Assyria.
878	viii. JOASH...........	40	878	7th year.		
	Jehoiada regent.......			Worships the golden calves.		
	Great reformation.					PYGMALION at Tyre.

TABLE II.—THE DIVIDED KINGDOMS—*continued.*

B.C.	JUDAH.	YRS.	B.C.	ISRAEL.	YRS.	SYNCHRONISMS.
853	Repairs of Temple finished.			Hazael gains the country east of Jordan.		Carthage founded 143 years after the Temple of Solomon; about B.C. 870 (Josephus).
	23d year.		856	xi. JEHOAHAZ........	17	
850?	Death of Jehoiada. Worship of Baal. *Zechariah* stoned. Hazael threatens Jerusalem.			Hard pressed by Syria. [The last two years of his reign are the first two of his son's.]		
841	37th year.		841	xii. JEHOASH.........	16	
839	Death of Joash.		839	Death of Jehoahaz.		BENHADAD III., king of Damascus.
	ix. AMAZIAH..........	29		2d year of Jehoash.		
	Victory over Edom.		838	Death of Elisha.		
	Worships gods of Edom.			Victories over Benhadad.		
826	Defeated by Jehoash.		826	Takes Jerusalem.		
825	15th year. Declension and misfortune during the rest of his reign. Slain by his servants.		825	xiii. JEROBOAM II.... Victories over Syria, Ammon, and Moab. Acme of Kingdom of Israel. *Jonah* prophesies.	41	
810	x. UZZIAH.............	52	810	27th year.		
	Zechariah (as tutor).		808?	*Amos* and *Hosea*.		
800?	*Joel*.		784	[Interregnum?]......	11	776. Era of the Olympiads. *Greek History begins.*
773	38th year. Great prosperity of Judah.		773	xiv. ZACHARIAH...... *End of Jehu's Dynasty.*)	[6 ms.]	
772	39th year.		772	xv. SHALLUM........ (*Fifth Dynasty.*)	[1 m]	PUL (Vul-lush, or Iva-lush?), the first Assyrian king named in Scripture.
765?	His sacrilege and leprosy.			xvi. MENAHEM....... Tributary to Assyria.	10	
761	50th year.		761	xvii. PEKAHIAH...... (*Sixth Dynasty*).	2	He takes Damascus
759	52d "		759	xviii. PEKAH.........	20	
758	xi. JOTHAM...........	16	758	2d year.		753. Era of the foundation of Rome.
747	10th year. *Micah* prophesies.		747	12th "		747. LATER ASSYRIAN EMPIRE, founded by TIGLATH-PILESER; and Kingdom of BABYLON by NABONASSAR.
742	xii. AHAZ............. Worst king of Judah. *Isaiah*, chap. vii.	16	742	17th " Alliance with Rezin. Invasion of Judah.		
741	Defeat of Ahaz. 200,000 captives carried to Samaria, and many to Damascus.		741	Second invasion. Jewish captives released through the prophet *Oded*.		Era of *Nabonassar*.
740	Calls in Tiglath-pileser. Syrian altar in Temple. Sacred vessels sent to Assyria.		740	Tributary to Assyria. Captivity of the 2½ tribes east of Jordan, and partly of the northern Israelites.		REZIN, king of Damascus, cir. 742. Syrian kingdom of Damascus destroyed by Tiglath-pileser, 740.
			739	Pekah slain by Hoshea. [Second interregnum?] (*Seventh Dynasty.*)	9	
730	12th year.		730	xix. HOSHEA.........	9	SHALMANESER, king of Assyria.
726	xiii. HEZEKIAH........ Religious reformation. Great Passover.	29		3d year. Hezekiah's messengers influence Israel.		He attacks ELULÆUS, king of Tyre.

TABLE II.—THE DIVIDED KINGDOMS—*continued.*

B.C.	JUDAH.	YRS.	B.C.	ISRAEL.	YRS.	SYNCHRONISMS.
725	Revolts from Assyria. Defeats the Philistines. *Micah* and *Isaiah* continue to prophesy under Hezekiah.		725	League with Egypt, and revolt from Assyria.		725. SABACO I. (the So of SS.), of the 25th dynasty, king of Egypt.
			723	Imprisoned by Shalmaneser. Samaria besieged.		
			721	Samaria taken; its people carried captive. End of the Kingdom of Israel.		721. SARGON, king of Assyria. MERODACH - BALADAN, king of Babylon. War of Sargon with Egypt.
			[678	Colonization of Samaria by Esar-haddon.]		

TABLE III.—LATER KINGDOM OF JUDAH.

B.C	JUDAH.	YRS.	ASSYRIA AND BABYLON.	EGYPT.	OTHER NATIONS.
720	7th year of HEZEKIAH.		Sargon besieges Tyre.		
715		...		Sabaco II?	Date assigned to NUMA POMPILIUS.
713	Illness of Hezekiah.		Embassy of Merodach-baladan.		
710			Sargon takes Ashdod.		
709			Expels Merodach-baladan.		
702			SENNACHERIB again expels Merodach, and sets up Belibus at Babylon. Flight from Judah to Nineveh.		
700	Invasion of Judah — submission of Hezekiah.				
do. or 698?	Second attack and destruction of the Assyrian army.				
698	xiv. MANASSEH. Anti-religious re-action and idolatries.	55	Assyrian viceroys and much confusion at Babylon till	690. TIRHAKAH.	
680 abo't	Carried prisoner to Esar-haddon at Babylon.		680. ESAR-HADDON, becoming king of Assyria, reigns in person *at Babylon* till about 667.	671? DODECHARCHY. 664. PSAMMETICHUS I.	
678	Colonization of Samaria. Manasseh's repentance.				
			660. ASSHUR-BANI-PAL (Sardanapalus).		Scythian Invasion of W. Asia.
642	xv. AMON.	2			
639[1]	xvi. JOSIAH. Great reformation.	31	SARACUS, last king of Assyria.		633. Median Empire founded by CYAXARES (the Ahasuerus of Dan. ix. 1).
629	*Jeremiah* prophesies.				
625	15th year. *Nahum*, *Habakkuk*, and *Zephaniah*.		NABO-POLASSAR founds the Babylonian Empire, & with Cyaxares, takes Nineveh.		ALYATTES, king of Lydia.
616					TARQUINIUS PRISCUS.

[1] The correction of the received chronology, referred to at p. 589, is introduced at this point.

TABLE III.—LATER KINGDOM OF JUDAH—*continued.*

B.C.	JUDAH.	YRS.	ASSYRIA AND BABYLON.	EGYPT.	OTHER NATIONS.
615					Media and Lydia. War of Cyaxares, and Alyattes: ended by the mediation of Nabopolassar.
610				NEKO (or PHARAOH-NECHO) marches against Babylonia. Takes Carchemish. Deposes Jehoahaz. Defeated by Nebuchadnezzar at Carchemish.	Eclipse of Thales: probably in B.C. 610.
608	Killed in battle with Necho.				
	xvii. JEHOAHAZ....	3 m.	BABYLON.		
	xviii. JEHOIAKIM.	11			
605	*Jeremiah's* prophecy of the 70 years' captivity.		Nebuchadnezzar sent against Necho. Takes Jerusalem. Sacred vessels carried to Babylon.		
	First Captivity.				
604	Jeremiah's roll read.		Jan. 21. NEBUCHADNEZZAR.		
603			603. *Daniel*, etc., at Babylon.		
602	Revolts from Babylon.				
			598. Nebuchadnezzar besieges Tyre and marches against Jerusalem.		Cyaxares aids Nebuchadnezzar.
597	Jerusalem taken.				
	xix. JEHOIACHIN. Rebels and is deposed.	3 m.			
			Resumes siege of Tyre and thence returns to Jerusalem.		
	Great Captivity.		*Ezekiel* carried to Babylon with Jehoiachin.		594. Solon, legislator at Athens.
	xx. ZEDEKIAH.	11			
593	*Jeremiah's* prophecy against Babylon.		Ezekiel's vision of the Temple.	593. PSAMMETICHUS II.	593. ASTYAGES, king of Media.
588	Jerusalem besieged.		Marches against Jerusalem and Egypt.	PHARAOH HOPHRA (Apries) takes Gaza, but retreats before Nebuchadnezzar.	
587	Hope of relief from Egypt.				
586	Jerusalem taken and destroyed. *End of Kingdom of Judah.*		Zedekiah carried to Babylon, where he dies.		
	GEDALIAH, governor of the remnant. Murdered by Ishmael.		585. Nebuchadnezzar takes Tyre,		The "Seven Wise Men" flourish in Greece.
	Johanan carries Jeremiah and others into Egypt.				
582	Further Captivity by Nebuzar-adan.		581. and overruns Egypt.	Apries defeated by Nebuchadnezzar.	Epoch of the settlement of the Hellenic States.
			570. Second invasion of Egypt.		
			569. Madness of Nebuchadnezzar?	569. AMASIS.	
					568. CRŒSUS, king of Lydia.
561	[Jehoiachin, at Babylon, released.]		EVIL-MERODACH.		
			559. NERIGLISSAR.		560. Epoch of the Greek tyrants. Pisistratus at Athens.

TABLE III.—LATER KINGDOM OF JUDAH.—*continued.*

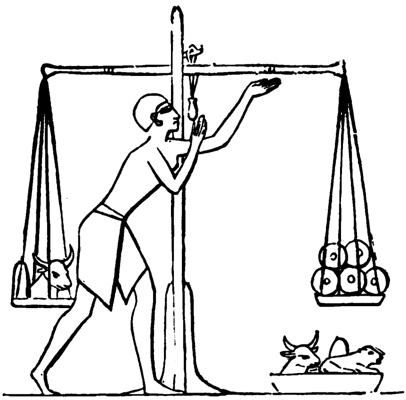
B.C.	JUDAH.	YRS.	BABYLON.	EGYPT.	OTHER NATIONS.
					558. CYRUS deposes Astyages.
556			LABOROSOARCHOD.		
555			NABONEDUS.	Alliance of Babylon	Egypt, and Lydia.
554					554. Cyrus conquers Lydia.
539	[Daniel's Dream of the Four Beasts.]		[539. Associates Belshazzar.] Surrenders to Cyrus. Babylon taken, and Belshazzar slain.		Cyrus defeats Nabonedus.
538	[Daniel's Vision, at Shushan, of the Ram and He-goat.] [Prophecy of the 70 weeks.]		538. DARIUS, the MEDIAN (probably Astyages). Daniel governor.		
536	Return of the Jews.		CYRUS alone.		

TABLE IV.—THE RESTORED COMMONWEALTH.

B.C.	JUDÆA.	PERSIA AND EGYPT.	GREECE.	ROME.
536	Return of the first caravan under Zerubbabel and Jeshua.	1st year of CYRUS. Edict for the return of the Jews.		
535	Rebuilding of the Temple.		Thespis first exhibits its tragedy.	
534	Opposition of Samaritans.	*Daniel* x.-xii.		TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS.
529	Letter to the Persian king from the adversaries.	CAMBYSES (the Ahasuerus of Ezra iv. 6. Artaxerxes in Ezra iv. 7).	527. Death of Pisistratus.	
525		Conquest of Egypt.		
522	The building stopped by a royal decree.	The PSEUDO-SMERDIS (the Magian Gomates.)	Death of Polycrates of Samos.	
521	*Haggai* and *Zechariah.*	DARIUS I., son of Hystaspes, confirms the edict of Cyrus.		
520	Building resumed.			
515	Temple dedicated.			
		Attacks India and European Scythia.	514. Hipparchus slain.	
		499. Ionian revolt.	510. Hippias expelled. *Republic of Athens.*	510. Kings expelled, *Republic of Rome.* 495. Patricians oppress Plebeians. 494. Secession to the Sacred Mt.
			490. Marathon.	
486		XERXES (the Ahasuerus of Esther.)	480. Salamis. 479. Platæa and Mycale. 476. Cimon.	Tribunes and Ædiles of Plebs. Wars with Italians.
474		Esther & Mordecai.		
465		ARTAXERXES I. LONGIMANUS.	466. Battles of the Eurymedon.	

TABLE IV.—THE RESTORED COMMONWEALTH.—*continued.*

B.C.	JUDÆA.	PERSIA AND EGYPT.	GREECE.	ROME.
		460. Revolt of Inaros in Egypt.	430. Athenians in Egypt.	
458	Commission of *Ezra.*			
457	Great reformation.			
		454. Egypt conquered.	454. Pericles.	454. Patricians yield to Plebs.
				451. Laws of the XII. Tables.
				449. Decemvirs deposed.
				445. Tribuni Militum.
444 to 433	Commission of *Nehemiah.* The walls rebuilt. Reading of the Law. Opposition of Sanballat.		444. Herodotus.	
			431. Peloponnesian war.	
428 or 423	Second commission of Nehemiah.	425. XERXES II. SOGDIANUS.		426. War with Veii.
424		DARIUS II.: Nothus.		
		405. ARTAXERXES II.: Mnemon.	404. End of ditto.	
		401. Expedition of Cyrus the younger.		
400 about	*Malachi.* *O. T. Canon fixed.*		400. Xenophon. Retreat of the 10,000.	
			399. Death of Socrates.	396. Camillus takes Veii.
				390. *Gauls take Rome.*



Egyptian weighing Rings for Money.

From Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Abth. iii. Bl. 39, No. 3. See also Wilkinson's *Anc. Eg.* ii 10 for weights in the form of a crouching antelope; and comp. Layard's *Nin. and Bab.* pp. 600–602.

APPENDIX III.

TABLES OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

A. HEBREW WEIGHTS.

THE chief Unit was the SHEKEL (i. e., *weight*), called also the *Holy Shekel* or *Shekel of the Sanctuary;* subdivided into the *Beka* (i. e., *half*) or *half-shekel*,[1] and the *Gerah* (i. e., a *grain* or *bean*).

The chief multiple, or higher unit, was the *Kikkar* (i. e., *circle* or *globe*, probably for an *aggregate sum*), translated in our Version, after the LXX. TALENT; subdivided into the *Maneh* (i. e., *part*, *portion*, or *number*), a word used in Babylonian and in the Greek μνᾶ, or *Mina*.

1. The relations of these weights, as usually employed for *the standard of weighing silver*, and their absolute values, determined from the extant silver coins, and confirmed from other sources, were as follows, in grains exactly, and in avoirdupois weight approximately:[2]

[1] A quarter-shekel is mentioned in one passage (1 Sam. ix. 8).

[2] These approximate values are given as most generally useful. They are obtained by taking the ounce avoirdupois at 440 grains instead of 437·5, its actual value.

TABLE I.

Silver Weights.					Grains.	Lbs.	Oz.	Correction.
Gerah					11	...	$\frac{1}{40}$	+·06 gr. nearly.
10	Beka				110	...	$\frac{1}{4}$	+·6 gr.
20	2	Shekel			220	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	+1·75 gr.
1,200	120	60	Maneh		13,200	2	...	—2 oz. nearly.
60,000	6,000	3,000	50	Talent (Kikkar)	660,000	100	...	—6 lb. nearly.

2. For *Gold* a different SHEKEL was used, probably of foreign introduction. Its value has been calculated at from 129 to 132 grains. The former value assimilates it to the Persian *Daric* of the *Babylonian* standard. The *Talent* of this system was just double that of the silver standard; it was divided into 100 *manehs*, and each *maneh* into 100 shekels, as follows:[3]—

TABLE II.

Gold Weights.			Grains.	Lbs.	Oz.	Correction
Shekel			132		·3	+.75 gr.
100	Maneh		13,200	2	...	—2 oz. nearly.
10,000	100	Talent (Kikkar)	1,320,000	200	...	—12 lb. nearly.

3. There appears to have been a third standard for *Copper*, namely:—a shekel four times as heavy as the Gold Shekel (or 528 grains), 1500 of which made up the Copper Talent of 792.000 grains. It seems to have been subdivided, in the coinage, into *halves* (of 264 grains), *quarters* (of 132 grains), and *sixths* (of 88 grains).[4]

B. HEBREW MONEY.

1. We have no evidence of the use of *coined money* before the return from the Babylonian captivity; but *silver* was used for money, in quantities determined by *weight*, at least as early as the time of Abraham; and its earliest mention is in the generic sense of the *price* paid for a slave (Gen. xvii. 13). The 1000 *pieces of silver* paid by Abimelech to Abraham (Gen. xx. 16), and the 20 *pieces of silver* for which Joseph was sold to the Ishmaelites (Gen. xxxvii. 28) were probably *rings* such as we see on the Egyptian monuments in the act of being weighed.[5] This circumstance seems to prove that they were not of a sufficiently determinate value to pass by number merely; though, on the other hand, the mention of *so many pieces* for definite sums

[3] The *maneh* is alike in both systems.

[4] For the *data* on which the calculations are based, and for further information on the whole subject, see *Dict. of Bible*, art. *Weights and Measures.*

[5] See cut as delineated on the preceding page. The gold rings found in Celtic countries are also supposed to have been used for money.

implies a unit by which they could be counted. The history of Joseph and the famine seems to shew that the Canaanites and Egyptians had a similar currency; and it clearly proves that *barter* was only resorted to when the stock of money was exhausted.

In the first recorded transaction of commerce, the cave of Machpelah is purchased by Abraham for 400 *shekels* of silver, and it was this *just weight* that was recognized as *current with the merchant* ("money" is not in the original: Gen. xxiii. 15, 16).[6] The *shekel weight of silver* was the unit of value through the whole age of Hebrew history down to the Babylonian captivity. In only one place is there a mention of so many *shekels of gold* as a sum of money (1 Chr. xxi. 25), and even here, in the older parallel passage, *silver* only is mentioned (2 Sam. xxiv. 9). In the transaction between Naaman and Gehazi, the "six thousand of gold" (2 K. v. 5, where *pieces* is not in the original) probably denotes *shekels*, like the "six hundred of gold" in 1 K. x. 16.

2. After the Captivity we have the earliest mention of *coined money*, in allusion, as might have been expected, to the Persian coinage, the gold *Daric* (Heb. *darkmon*, LXX. δραχμή and χρυσοῦς, Vulg. *drachma* and *solidus*, A.V. *dram:* Ezra ii. 69, viii. 27; Neh. vii. 70, 71, 72). The actual weight of these Darics, about 128 grains, corresponds nearly enough to the *gold shekel* of 132 grains.[7]

No native Jewish coinage appears to have existed till Antiochus VII. Sidetes granted Simon Maccabæus the license to coin money (B.C. 140); and it is now generally agreed that the oldest Jewish *silver coins* belong to this period. They are *shekels* and *half-shekels*, of the weights, as already stated, of 220 and 110 grains. With this silver there was associated a *copper* coinage, some pieces of which have been supposed to reach as high as Judas Maccabæus; but probably none are really older than John Hyrcanus (B.C. 135), from whom the series is continued, almost without interruption, to the end of the Asmonæan house. Most of them are marked as the *half* or *quarter* (doubtless of the *shekel*), their average weights being 235½ and 132 grains; and there is a third piece of about 82 grains, which seems to be the sixth of a shekel.

The abundant money of *Herod the Great*, which is of a thoroughly Greek character, and of *copper* only, seems to have been a continuation of the copper coinage of the Maccabees, with some adaptation to the Roman standard. It appears to be of three denominations; the *smallest* being a piece of brass (χαλκοῦς), of which the next was the *double* (δίχαλκος), and the third the treble (τρίχαλκος). The first and commonest of these, some specimens of

[6] In the second transaction another term is used: Jacob purchases a field at Shalem, near Shechem, for 100 *kesitahs*, a word which seems to be connected with an Arabic root signifying *equal division*. Were we to accept the older interpretation, *lambs*, it would be explained not of money coined with that figure, but of weights made in that shape; for we have numerous pictures and specimens of Egyptian and Assyrian weights in the forms of lions, bulls, antelopes, geese, and ducks; and it may have been through a similar step that *pecunia* was derived from *pecus*.

[7] The mention of what is doubtless also the *daric* (*adarkon*) in 1 Chron. xxix. 7, is an interesting confirmation of Ezra's authorship of the Chronicles. Here it seems to signify a *weight*, namely, the shekel; but in the passages of Ezra and Nehemiah *gold coins* are evidently meant. The common derivation of the *Daric* (στατὴρ Δαρεικός), from Darius, the son of Hystaspes, is very doubtful: and the form *darkmon* (used in all the passages except that from the Chronicles) suggests an affinity with *drachma*, in the cognate Persic and Greek. The coins may be referred to the same standard, the Persian Daric being the equivalent of the Lydian and Attic gold *stater*, and equal in weight to the Attic silver *didrachm*.

which are much like the abundant copper coinage of Alexander Jannæus, seems to have been connected, on the one hand, with the *quarter-shekel* of the old coinage, and on the other with the *farthing* (*quadrans*) of the New Testament.

3. In the money of the *New Testament* we see the *native copper coinage* side by side with the Græco-Roman copper, silver, and gold. An interesting illustration occurs in our Lord's first commission to the Apostles. St. Matthew (x. 9), with comprehensive generality, mentions all the three metals: "Provide neither *gold*, nor *silver*, nor *brass*, in your girdles."[8] St. Mark (vi. 8) names only the *copper* (*χαλκόν*) which formed the common native currency. St. Luke (ix. 3) uses the general word for *money* (*ἀργύριον*).

a. Copper or brass money.—The word *Farthing* is used in our Version for two different coins:—(1.) The *Assarius Nummus* (*ἀσσάριον*), or Roman *As*, as the Vulgate correctly renders it (Matt. x. 29). In Luke xii. 6, the Vulgate translates *ἀσσαρίων δύο* by *dipondio*, *i. e.*, the coin which was originally two pounds of copper, or the double *As*. But, by the successive reductions of the Roman copper coinage, the *As* had come to signify merely the 16th part of the reduced *denarius* of the early imperial age, or less than a halfpenny (see below).

(2.) The other *farthing* (*κοδράντης*, Vulg. *quadrans*) is defined as *two mites* (*λεπτά*, Vulg. *minuta*, Mark xii. 42; Luke xxi. 2). Both these are foreign names; but they are used to describe the native copper coinage. The proper *λεπτόν* was a small Attic copper coin, seven of which went to the *χαλκοῦς*, and was worth about one-tenth of our farthing; and the Roman *quadrans* or *teruncius* was the *quarter As*—originally a piece of three *unciæ*, worth about half a farthing. But at this time there were no Roman coins current in Palestine of a smaller value than the *As*; and this *farthing* and *mite* are doubtless to be referred to the Maccabæan and Herodian copper coinage. The *mite* may have been that smallest copper coin, which is supposed to have been the sixth of a shekel, and the *farthing* was probably the smallest Herodian coin, reduced from the Asmonæan quarter-shekel, the current specimens of which would pass at the value fixed by Herod. The name of *quadrans*, Hellenized into *κοδράντης* (*farthing*, *i. e.*, fourth part), may have referred both to the origin of the coin, as the *fourth part of the shekel*, and to its current value, as the *fourth part of the Roman As*.

Both pieces were probably supplied by the abundant coinage of Alexander Jannæus, besides Herod's farthings. The use of the *mite* among the poorest sort of the people is indicated by the affecting circumstance, that the poor widow cast *two* such pieces into the treasury, to make up the insignificant sum of a farthing; nor, we may observe in passing, did she yield to the temptation of giving only *one*. If the *farthing* was the quarter of the *As*, its value would be about half a farthing, or one-eighth of a penny, and the *mite* a quarter of a farthing, or one-sixteenth of a penny.

b. Of *Silver money*, two standards are mentioned in the New Testament, one *Hellenistic* and the other *Roman*.

(1.) At the time when the Maccabees coined their silver *shekels*, the ordinary Greek silver was the *drachma*[9] and its multiples, the *didrachm* (2 dr.)

[8] *χρυσόν, ἄργυρον, χαλκόν*; not the *moneys*, *χρύσιον, ἀργύριον, χαλκοῦν*.

[9] In the Greek systems of weight and money, the *drachma* was the one-hundredth part of the *Mina*, and the six-thousandth of the *Talent*.

and the *tetradrachm* (4 dr.). But these were of two different standards, the *Attic*, which was universal in Europe and general in Asia Minor; and the *Ptolemaic*, which prevailed in the commercial cities of Egypt and Phœnicia. That the *tetradrachm*, *didrachm*, and *drachma* of this latter scale were equivalent to the Jewish *shekel*, *half-shekel*, and *quarter-shekel*, may be inferred from the fact that the LXX. translate the *half-shekel*, which was the poll-tax for the Temple-service, as a *didrachm*. At the time of Jesus Christ the didrachms had fallen into disuse, though the name was still preserved as money of account, and the *tetradrachm* was the *stater* (*i. e.*, *standard coin*) of the Greek imperial silver. Such a tetradrachm was the *stater* (στατήρ, Vulg. *stater*, A. V. *piece of money*), which St. Peter was directed by our Lord to take out of the fish's mouth, and to pay "the receivers of didrachms" for *Jesus and himself*, as equal to two half-shekels (Matt. xvii. 24-27). The simple *drachma* occurs in the Maccabæan history (2 Macc. iv. 19, x. 20, xii. 43); and once in the Gospels, in the parable of the lost "piece of silver" (Luke xv. 8; δραχμὰς δέκα, δραχμὴν μίαν, Vulg. *drachmas decem*, *drachmam unam*). In this passage it probably denotes the *denarius*, to which the Greek *drachmæ* of this period were regarded as equivalent.

(2.) The ordinary silver currency of Palestine was the Roman *denarius*, (δηνάριον), the "*penny*" so frequently mentioned in the Gospels. Originally, as its name implies, it was a silver piece equal to *ten Ases;* but, with the successive reductions of the *As*, it had become, after the time of Augustus, equal to sixteen *Ases*.

Under Augustus eighty-four *denarii* were coined from the Roman pound of silver, *i.e.*, seven from the Roman ounce (which only fell short of the ounce avoirdupois by about seven grains); and the denarius weighed a little over sixty grains.[10]

The "penny," bearing "Cæsar's image and superscription," which was brought to Christ on his demand to see the tribute-money, was a denarius of Tiberius (Matt. xxii. 15-21; Mark xiii. 15-17; Luke xx. 19-25). From the parable of the laborers in the vineyard, it would seem that the rate of wages was a *denarius* a day (Matt. xx. 2, 9, 13). In Rev. vi. 6, a prophecy of famine gives the prices of "a *chœnix* (or *quart*) of wheat for a penny, and three chœnices of barley for a penny."[11] Other passages in which the *denarius* is mentioned are Matt. xviii. 28; Mark vi. 37, xiv. 5; Luke vii. 41, x. 35; John vi. 7, xii. 5. As the *drachma* was reckoned the equivalent of the *denarius*, the latter was considered the fourth part of the silver *stater* or tetradrachm, which, in its turn, was considered the equivalent of the *shekel*.

The "thirty pieces of silver" (ἀργύρια), promised to Judas as the price of his treachery (Matt. xxvi. 15, xxvii. 3-6, 9), in all probability denote *shekels*, as in those passages of the O. T. where numerals are given without specific values, like the "thirty of silver" in Zechariah's prophecy of this very

[10] Nero reduced the denarius to about 52½ grains, coining 96 from the pound, or 8 from the ounce. The *value* of the old *denarii* is usually reckoned at 8½*d.*, that of the later at 7½*d.*; value, that is, as compared with the present worth of silver, a computation which requires elaborate corrections with reference to the comparative prices of the precious metals and of commodities, before it can become any measure of wealth. If, however, we take the *maximum*, instead of the average, of existing *denarii* (for it was not the practice of the Romans to strike their money too heavy, and coins lose, but do not gain weight in course of time), the worth of the older *denarii* would be about 9*d.* This therefore is the value of the "*penny*" of the New Testament.

[11] Taking the reduced denarius of Nero, this would make the wheat about a guinea a bushel, or 84 shillings a quarter.

transaction (Zech. xi. 12, 13). It can scarcely be a mere coincidence that *thirty shekels* was the price of blood in the case of a slave accidentally killed (Ex. xxi. 32). As we have no reason to suppose that the old Maccabæan shekels were still in circulation, we must understand their equivalent, the current staters.

Now to obtain the approximate values of these varieties of money (in the sense explained above), we may, at the one end of the scale, calculate the value of a shekel's weight of silver, and, at the other end, the value of the existing *denarii*. The latter method gives us, as we have seen, 9*d.* for the Augustan *denarius;* and as this was the quarter of the *stater* or *tetradrachm*, the latter would be just 3*s.* (the value of a Prussian *thaler*); and this, again, was regarded as the equivalent of the old shekel. On the other method, the mint price of standard silver, 5*s.* 6*d.* per ounce troy of 480 grains, gives us the value of rather more than 2*s.* 6*d.* (an English half-crown) for the shekel of 220 grains. But as three parts out of forty of *standard silver* are alloy, the worth of a shekel of *pure silver* will be raised to just 2*s.* 9*d.*; and the difference of 3*d.* between this and the later value, as computed from the *denarii*, may be further reduced by an allowance for loss of weight in the Maccabæan shekels, of which also, it should be remembered, 220 grains is the *average*, not the maximum. On the whole, therefore, we can not be far in excess of the true values, if we take 3*s.* as the *approximate* value of the shekel.

On this basis, then, the following tables are calculated:—

TABLE III.—OLD HEBREW MONEY. (By weight.)

i. Of Silver.				£	s.	d.
Half-Shekel (Poll-tax for the Temple)				0	1	6
2	Shekel			0	3	0
120	60	Manch		9	0	0
6000	3000	50	Talent	450	0	0

ii. Of Gold (at £4 per oz. troy).			£	s.	d.
Shekel			1	2	0
100	Maneh		110	0	0
10,000	100	Talent	11,000	0	0

NOTE.—As the Gold Talent was twice the weight of the silver, and the ratio of gold to silver was rather more than 12 to 1, these results agree closely enough.

TABLE IV.—MONEY OF THE ASMONÆAN PERIOD.

Copper, Silver, and Gold.				£	s.	d.
? Sixth (of Shekel)—Copper				0	0	6
1½	Quarter (of Shekel)—Copper			0	0	9
3	2	Half (of Shekel)—Copper and Silver		0	1	6
6	4	2	Shekel—Silver	0	3	0
Daric—Gold				1	2	0
NOTE.—Herod's three Copper Pieces:—						
(1) Probably equal to the Quarter-shekel				0	0	9
(2) " Half "				0	1	6
(3) " three times the first				0	2	3

TABLE V.—CURRENCY IN THE TIME OF CHRIST.

i. Jewish and Roman Copper.			£	s.	d.
Lepton (Mite)			0	0	0 1/16
2	Quadrans (Farthing)		0	0	0⅛
8	4	Assarion or As (Penny)	0	0	0½

ii. Roman and Greek Silver.			£	s.	d.
Denarius (Penny), 16 times the As=Drachma			0	0	9
2	Didrachm (of account)=Half-shekel		0	1	6
4	2	Stater or Tetradrachm=Shekel	0	3	0

GOLD MONEY is referred to in the New Testament, without reference to specific values. The following were the pieces in circulation:—

	£	s.
(1.) The Imperial AUREUS, worth about	1	1
(2.) Greek STATERS, of probably about the same standard as the Persian Daric	1	2

The TALENT is often mentioned in the New Testament, but in a manner which leaves it quite undetermined whether the word is a translation of the old Hebrew *kikkar*, or whether it refers to the Greek or other systems which prevailed throughout the East. Of these systems the most general was:—

(1.) The ATTIC TALENT OF SILVER, worth about £243 15*s.*, or approximately......£250

But there were also—

(2.) The EUBOIC TALENT, worth £338 10*s.* 10*d.*, or nearly......................£340
(3.) The ÆGINETAN, worth £406 5*s.*, or approximately.......................£410

In all cases the *Talent* signifies *money of account*, the largest *coins* being the *staters;* and it must be taken to denote a *talent of silver*, unless *gold* is specified.

C. HEBREW MEASURES OF LENGTH.

In the Hebrew, as in every other system, these measures are of two classes; *length*, in the ordinary sense, for objects whose size we wish to determine, and *distance*, or *itinerary* measures; and the two are connected by some definite relation, more or less simple, between their units.

1. The measures of the former class have been universally derived, in the first instance, from the *parts of the human body;* but it is remarkable that, in the Hebrew system, the only part used for this purpose is the *hand and fore-arm*, to the exclusion of the *foot*, which was the chief unit of the Western nations. Hence arises the difficulty of determining the ratio of the *foot* to the CUBIT, which appears as the chief Oriental unit from the very building of Noah's ark (Gen. vi. 15, 16, vii. 20).

The Hebrew lesser measures were the *etsba* (*δάκτυλος*, *digitus*), or *finger's breadth* (Jer. lii. 21, only); the *tephach* (*παλαιστή*, *palmus*), *palm* or *hand-breadth* (Ex. xxv. 25; 1 K. vii. 26; 2 Chr. iv. 5, used metaphorically in Ps. xxxix. 5). The *zereth* (*σπιθαμή*, *palmus major*, or *span*), *i. e.*, the full stretch between the tips of the thumb and the little finger (Ex. xxviii. 16; 1 Sam. xvii. 4; Ez. xliii. 13, and figuratively Is. xl. 12).[12]

It is not merely that all such measures require more exact determination than the human frame, with its great varieties of length, can furnish, but that the word *cubit* itself has naturally three different senses, namely, the length of the *fore-arm* by itself *from the elbow to the wrist*, or the full length *from the elbow to the tip of the outstretched middle finger*, or the intermediate length (or lengths) *from the elbow to one of the knuckles*, especially the middle knuckle of the hand; and cubits of all three standards appear to have been actually in use. Two of them at all events were in common use, and are distinguished by Herodotus as the *moderate* or of the *ordinary measure*, *common* or *Asiatic* (*μέτριος ἰδιωτικός*, *κοινός*), which was the same as the Samian or Egyptian, and equal to 24 *digits* (about 18¼ inches), and the *royal* or *Persian* (*βασιλήιος*), which was three digits longer, or 27 digits (about 20½ inches). So in the O. T., Ezekiel mentions a *great cubit*, or a *cubit to the knuckles* (though the latter word may mean *edge* or *tip*), as equal to a *cubit and a hand-breath* (xl. 5, xli. 8, the passages, however, besides being prophetic, are confessedly difficult). This *great* or *long* cubit is that which he uses in measuring the temple of his vision; and reverence would scarcely permit him to use any other than the old *Mosaic* or *legal* standard, after which the Tabernacle and the Temple were constructed, and to which the measure-

[12] The Latin *cubitus* (from *cubitum*, the *elbow*, so called because it supported a person in the *recumbent* posture common at meals) is in Greek *πῆχυς*, *i. e.*, probably *παχύς*, the *thick* part of the arm. The three senses in which it was used as a measure are seen in the Greek *πυγμή*, *πυγών*, (names derived from the fist), and *πῆχυς*, which are respectively 1⅛, 1¼, and 1½ of the Greek foot, or a little more than 1ft. 1½ in., 1 ft. 3 in., and 1 f. 6 in. English. In a person of full stature (*i. e.*, whose outstretched arms measure 6 ft. from tip to tip of the middle finger), the measures are about 1 ft. 1–2 in., 1 ft. 3–4 in., and 1 ft. 8–9 in. The Hebrew word for the cubit (*ammah*) appears to have been of Egyptian origin, as some of the measures of capacity (the *hin* and *ephah*) certainly were. (The Greek *ἅμμα* was a land-measure of 40 cubits, or 60 feet.) The *rod* (*gômed*) named as the measure of Eglon's dirk, was perhaps only another name for the cubit (Judg. iii. 16).

ments of the Ark are referred. If so, the other cubit, which it exceeded by a hand-breadth, would naturally be the ordinary Chaldæan measure of the country in which the prophet dwelt. This *legal cubit* is distinguished in the time of Moses himself from *the cubit of a man*, in which the measures of the giant Og's bedstead are given (Deut. iii. 11), and which we may infer to have been in common use among the Canaanites, and therefore to have been of the Chaldæan standard, or the *lesser cubit* of Ezekiel. Again, as the dimensions of the Temple were "after the *first* (or *older*) measure" (2 Chr. iii. 3), there would seem to have been another, or *new cubit*, in use under Solomon; and the question arises whether this was different from both the others. The *data* for determining the actual length of the Mosaic cubit involve peculiar difficulties; and absolute certainty seems unattainable. The following, however, seem the most probable conclusions:—first. that three cubits were used in the times of the Hebrew monarchy; namely:—

(1.) The *cubit of a man*, or the *common cubit* of Canaan (in contradistinction to the Mosaic cubit) of the Chaldæan standard:

(2.) The *old Mosaic* or *legal cubit*, a hand-breadth larger than the first, and agreeing with the smaller Egyptian cubit:

(3.) The *new cubit*, which was still larger, and agreed with the larger Egyptian cubit, of about 20·6 inches, used in the Nilometer:

And, secondly, that the ordinary cubit of the Bible did not come up to the full length of the cubit of other countries. The *reed* (*kâneh*) for measuring buildings (like the Roman *decempeda*) was equal to 6 cubits. It only occurs in Ezekiel (xl. 5–8, xli. 8, xlii. 16–19).[13] The values given in the following table (from Thenius) are to be accepted with reservation, for want of greater certainty:—

TABLE VI.

HEBREW MEASURES OF LENGTH.					INCHES.	APPROXIMATE	
						FEET.	INCHES.
Digit........					·7938	..	·8 or $\frac{13}{16}$
4	Palm........				3·1752	..	$3\frac{3}{16}$
12	3	Span........			9·5257	..	$9\frac{1}{4}$
24	6	2	Cubit........		19·0515	1	7
144	36	12	6	Reed........	114·3090	9	6

Some authorities add—

	Ft.	In.
The Arabian *Pole* of 8 cubits........	12	6
The *Measuring Line* of flax (or Schœnus), of Ezek. xl. 3, of 80 cubits...	125	0

NOTE.—According to the more common view, which makes the cubit nearly 22 inches, all these measures would have to be increased in proportion.

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[13] The *golden reed* (κάλαμος χρυσοῦς) by which St. John measures the New Jerusalem (Rev. xxi. 15) is, of course, like the other features of the vision, the counterpart of Ezekiel's *reed:* but it is worth noticing that the Greek system had also a *reed* (κάλαμος, ἄκαινα, δεκάπους), and the Romans a *decempeda* or *pertica*, equal, in each case, to ten *feet*, the Greek being 10 ft. 1·85 in., and the Roman, 9 ft. 8·496 in.

II. Of *Measures of distance* the smallest is the *pace* (*tsa'ad*), and the largest the *day's journey:* besides which, the *Cibrath hâârets* (A. V. "a little way," or "a little piece of ground" seems to denote some definite measure (Gen. xxxv. 16, xlviii. 7; 2 K. v. 19).

(*a.*) As to the last, the LXX. retain the Hebrew word in the form Χαβραθά, as though it were the name of a place, adding, in Gen. xlviii. 7, the words κατὰ τὸν ἱππόδρομον, which is thus a second translation of the expression. If a certain distance was intended by this translation, it would be either the ordinary length of a race-course, or such a distance as a horse could travel without being over-fatigued; in other words, a stage. But it probably means a locality, either a race-course itself, as in 3 Macc. iv. 11, or the space outside the town walls where the race-course was usually to be found. The LXX. gives it again, in Gen. xlviii. 7, as the equivalent for Ephrath. The Syriac and Persian versions render *cibrath* by *parasang*, a well-known Persian measure, generally estimated at 30 stades (Herod. ii. 6, v. 53), or from 3½ to 4 English miles, but sometimes at a larger amount, even up to 60 stades (Strab. xi. 518). The only conclusion to be drawn from the Bible is that the *cibrath* did not exceed, and probably equaled the distance between Bethlehem and Rachel's burial-place, which is traditionally identified with a spot one and a half miles north of the town.

(*b.*) The *Pace* (2 Sam. vi. 13), whether it be *single*, like our *pace*, or *double*, like the Latin *passus*, is defined by nature within certain limits, its usual length being about thirty inches for the former, and five feet for the latter. In the Roman system, which was founded on the march of soldiers, the pace was exactly defined, to bring it into harmony with the ordinary measures of length; but this does not appear to have been done by the Jews.[14] There is some reason to suppose that even before the Roman measurement of the roads of Palestine, the Jews had a *Mile* of 1000 paces, denoted in the Talmud by the Roman name, מיל, and alluded to in Matt. v. 41. It is said to have been single or double, according to the length of the pace; and hence the peculiar force of our Lord's saying:—"Whosoever shall press thee as a courier for *one mile*, go with him *twain:*" put the most liberal construction on the demand.

(*c.*) The *derec yôm*, or *mahâlac yôm*, a *Day's Journey*, was the most usual method of calculating distances in traveling (Gen. xxx. 36, xxxi. 23; Ex. iii. 18, v. 3; Num. x. 33, xi. 31, xxxiii. 8; Deut. i. 2; 1 K. xix. 4; 2 K. iii. 9; Jon. iii. 3; 1 Macc. v. 24, 28, vii. 45; Tob. vi. 1), though but one instance of it occurs in the New Testament (Luke ii. 44). The distance indicated by it was naturally fluctuating according to the circumstances of the traveler or of the country through which he passed. Herodotus variously estimates it at 200 and 150 stades (iv. 101, v. 53); Marinus (*ap. Ptol.* i. 11) at 150 and 172 stades: Pausanias (x. 33, § 2) at 150 stades; Strabo (i. 35) at from 250 to 300 stades; and Vegetius (*De Re Mil.* i. 11) at from 20 to 24 miles for the Roman army. The ordinary day's journey among the Jews was 30 miles; but when they traveled in companies, only 10 miles. Neapolis formed the first stage out of Jerusalem, according to the former, and Beeroth, according to the latter computation (Lightfoot, *Exerc. in Luc.* ii. 44). It is impossible

[14] The *pace* of the Talmudists is the Roman *passus*, and their *foot* the Roman *pes*, 5 of which make up the passus. They make 625 feet=125 paces=1 *stadium*, which was one-eighth of the Roman mile of 1000 paces.

to assign any distinct length to the day's journey. Jahn's estimate of 33 miles, 172 yards, and 4 feet, is based upon the false assumption that it bore some fixed ratio to the other measures of length.

(*d.*) The *Sabbath-day's Journey* of 2000 cubits (Σαββάτου ὁδός, Acts i. 12) is peculiar to the New Testament, and arose from a Rabbinical restriction which, as we may infer from one case at least,[15] did not exist in olden times. It was founded on a universal application of the prohibition given by Moses for a special occasion:—"Let no man go out of his place on the seventh day" (Ex. xvi. 29). An exception was allowed for the purpose of worshiping at the Tabernacle; and as 2000 cubits was the prescribed space to be kept between the Ark and the people, as well as the extent of the suburbs of the Levitical cities on every side (Numb. xxxv. 5), this was taken for the length of a Sabbath-day's journey, measured *from the wall of the city* in which the traveler lived. Computed from the value given above for the cubit, the Sabbath-day's journey would be just *six-tenths of a mile.* The larger value, usually taken for the cubit, gives *seven-tenths* of a mile.

(*e.*) After the Captivity, the relations of the Jews to the Persians, Greeks, and Romans caused the use, probably of the *parasang*, and certainly of the *stadium* and the *mile.* Though the first is not mentioned in the Bible, it is well to exhibit the ratios of the three. The universal Greek standard, the *stadium* of 600 Greek feet, which was the length of the race-course at Olympia, occurs first in the *Maccabees*, and is common in the New Testament. Our version renders it *furlong;* it being, in fact, the eighth part of the Roman mile, as the furlong is of ours[16] (2 Macc. xi. 5, xii. 9, 17, 29; Luke xxiv. 13; John vi. 19, xi. 18; Rev. xiv. 20, xxi. 16). The Roman *mile*, though there is only one doubtful mention of it (Matt. v. 41, see above), was applied to the roads of Palestine under the empire, and the results are not only recorded in the *Antonine* and *Jerusalem Itineraries*, but in some cases the milestones are still to be seen.

One measure remains to be mentioned. The *fathom*, used in sounding by the Alexandrian mariners in St. Paul's voyage, is the Greek ὀργυία, *i. e.*, the *full stretch* of the two arms from tip to tip of the middle finger, which is about equal to the height, and in a man of full stature is six feet. For the sake of completeness, the values of the Greek and Roman foot are shown in the following table:—

[15] 2 K. iv. 23, where it seems that Elisha lived farther than a Sabbath-day's journey from Shunem. The cases of David's flight from Saul, and Elijah's from Jezebel, may perhaps be considered as exceptional, on the ground of necessity.

[16] By an approximation so close as to leave no doubt that it is more than accidental, the Greek and Roman systems are related to the sexagesimal measure of the earth's circumference (the *only natural standard of measures of distance*) by these simple proportions:—

1 degree=60 geographical miles=600 stadia=75 Roman miles.
1 minute=1 geographical mile=10 stadia =6000 Greek ft.
1 second=100 Greek ft.

TABLE VII.—FOREIGN MEASURES OF LENGTH AND DISTANCE.

							MILES.	FEET.	INCHES.
Roman Foot (Pes)=·96 of Greek foot							..	..	11·6496
$1\frac{1}{24}$	Greek Foot (πους)						..	1	0·135
5	$4\frac{2}{5}$	Roman Pace (*passus*)					..	4	10·248
6	6	$1\frac{1}{4}$	Greek Fathom (οργυία)				..	6	0·81
625	600	125	100	Furlong (στάδιον)			..	606	9
5,000	4,800	1000	800	8	Roman Mile		·9193	=4854	..
18,750	18,000	3750	3000	30	$3\frac{1}{4}$	Persian Parasang	$3\frac{1}{4}$ nearly.	..	..

For estimating *Area*, and especially *Land*, there is no evidence that the Jews used any special system of *Square Measures*, but they were content to express the *length* and *breadth* of the surface to be measured by the *cubit* (Num. xxxv. 4, 5; Ez. xl. 27) or by the *reed* (Ez. xlii. 20, xliii. 17, xlv. 2, xlviii. 20; Rev. xxi. 16). For a discussion of the difficulties arising from this mode of measurement, see *Dict. of Bible*, vol. iii. p. 1739, b.

D. MEASURES OF CAPACITY.

1. The measures of capacity for *Liquids* were:—(*a*) The *log* (Lev. xiv. 10, etc.), the name originally signifying a "basin." (*b*) The *hin*, a name of Egyptian origin, frequently noticed in the Bible (Ex. xxix. 40, xxx. 24; Num. xv. 4, 7, 9; Ez. iv. 11, etc.). (*c*) The *bath*, the name meaning "measured," the largest of the liquid measures (1 K. vii. 26, 38; 2 Chr. ii. 10; Ezra vii. 22; Is. v. 10). With regard to the relative values of these measures we learn nothing from the Bible, but we gather from Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 8, § 3) that the *bath* contained 6 *hins* (for the *bath* equaled 72 Greek *xestae* or 12 *choës*, and the hin 2 *choës*), and from the Rabbinists that the *hin* contained 12 *logs* (Carpzov, *Appar*. p. 685). The relative values therefore stand thus:—

Log.		
12	Hin.	
72	6	Bath.

2. The *Dry* measure contained the following denominations:—(*a*) The *cab*, mentioned only in 2 K. vi. 25, the name meaning literally *hollow* or *concave*. (*b*) The *omer*, mentioned only in Ex. xvi. 16-36. The same measure is elsewhere termed *issârôn*, as being the *tenth* part of an *ephah* (comp. Ex. xvi. 36), whence in the A. V. "tenth deal" (Lev. xiv. 10, xxiii. 13; Num. xv. 4, etc.). The word omer implies a *heap*, and secondarily a *sheaf*. (*c*) The *sĕâh*, or "measure," this being the etymological meaning of the term, and appropriately applied to it, inasmuch as it was the ordinary measure for

household purposes (Gen. xviii. 6; 1 Sam. xxv. 18; 2 K. vii. 1, 16). The Greek equivalent occurs in Matt. xiii. 33; Luke xiii. 21. The seah was otherwise termed *shâlish*, as being the *third* part of an ephah (Is. xl. 12; Ps. lxxx. 5). (*d*) The *ephah*, a word of Egyptian origin, and of frequent recurrence in the Bible (Ex. xvi. 36; Lev. v. 11, vi. 20; Num. v. 15, xxviii. 5; Judg. vi. 19; Ruth ii. 17; 1 Sam. i. 24, xvii. 17; Ez. xlv. 11, 13, 14, xlvi. 5, 7, 11, 14). (*e*) The *lethec*, or "half-homer," literally meaning what is *poured out*: it occurs only in Hos. iii. 2. (*f*) The *homer*, meaning *heap* (Lev. xxvii. 16; Num. xi. 32; Is. v, 10; Ez. xlv. 13). It is elsewhere termed *cor*, from the circular vessel in which it was measured (1 K. iv. 22, v. 11; 2 Chr. ii. 10, xxvii. 5; Ezra vii. 22; Ez. xlv. 14). The Greek equivalent occurs in Luke xvi. 7.

The relative proportions of the dry measures are to a certain extent expressed in the names *issârôn*, meaning a *tenth*, and *shâlish*, a *third*. In addition we have the Biblical statement that the *omer* is the *tenth* part of the *ephah* (Ex. xvi. 36), and that the *ephah* was the *tenth* part of a *homer*, and corresponded to the *bath* in liquid measure (Ez. xlv. 11). The Rabbinists supplement this by stating that the ephah contained three *seahs*, and the *seah* six *cabs* (Carpzov, p. 683). We are thus enabled to draw out the following scale of relative values:—

Cab.				
$1\frac{4}{5}$	Omer.			
6	$3\frac{1}{3}$	Seah.		
18	10	3	Ephah.	
180	100	30	10	Homer.

The above scale is constructed, it will be observed, on a combination of *decimal* and *duodecimal* ratios, the former prevailing in respect to the *omer*, *ephah*, and *homer*, the latter in respect to the *cab*, *seah*, and *ephah*. In the *liquid* measure the *duodecimal* ratio alone appears, and hence there is a fair presumption that this was the original, as it was undoubtedly the most general, principle on which the scales of antiquity were framed (Boeckh, p. 38). Whether the decimal division was introduced from some other system, or whether it was the result of local usage, there is no evidence to show.

The *absolute values* of the liquid and dry measures form the subject of a single inquiry, inasmuch as the two scales have a measure of equal values, viz., the *bath* and the *ephah* (Ez. xlv. 11): if either of these can be fixed, the conversion of the other denominations into their respective values readily follows. Unfortunately the data for determining the value of the bath or ephah are both scanty and conflicting. Attempts have been made to deduce the value of the bath from a comparison of the dimensions and the contents of the molten sea as given in 1 K. vii. 23–26. If these particulars had been given with greater accuracy and fullness, they would have furnished a sound basis for a calculation; but, as the matter now stands, uncertainty attends every statement. The diameter is given as 10 cubits, and the circumference as 30 cubits, the diameter being stated to be "from one brim to the other."

Assuming that the vessel was circular, the proportions of the diameter and circumference are not sufficiently exact for mathematical purposes; nor are we able to decide whether the diameter was measured from the internal or the external edge of the vessel. The shape of the vessel has been variously conceived to be circular and polygonal, cylindrical and hemispherical, with perpendicular and with bulging sides. The contents are given as 2000 baths in 1 K. vii. 26, and 3000 baths in 2 Chr. iv. 5, the latter being a corrupt text. Lastly, the length of the cubit is undefined, and hence every estimate is attended with suspicion. The conclusions drawn have been widely different, as might be expected. If it be assumed that the form of the vessel was cylindrical (as the description *primâ facie* seems to imply), that its clear diameter was 10 cubits of the value of 19·051 English inches each, and that its full contents were 2000 baths, then the value of the bath would be 4·8965 gallons; for the contents of the vessel would equal 2,715,638 cubic inches, or 9793 gallons. If, however, the statement of Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 3, § 5), as to the hemispherical form of the vessel, be adopted, then the estimate would be reduced. Saigey, as quoted by Boeckh (p. 261), on this hypothesis calculates the value of the bath at 18·086 French litres, or 3·9807 English gallons. All the other computations agree in one point, viz., that the *bath* fell far below the value set on it by Josephus, and by modern writers in Hebrew archæology generally, according to whom the *bath* measured between 8 and 9 English gallons.

Josephus identifies the *bath* with the *metrêtês*, the chief Attic liquid measure (=8 galls. 5·12 pints). The *cor* (or *homer*) is made by him equal to 10 Attic *medimni* (the *medimnus* being nearly a bushel and a half), and by Jerome to 30 Roman *modii* (the *modius* being nearly a quarter of a bushel). But the statements of these writers, and of Epiphanius (*de Mensuris*) are full of such glaring errors and inconsistencies, as to raise the question whether the identification of the *bath* with the *metrêtês* did not arise out of the circumstance that the two measures held the same relative position in the scales, each being subdivided into 72 parts; and again, whether the assignment of 30 modii to the *cor* did not arise out of there being 10 *seahs* in it. Assuming, however, that Josephus was right in identifying the *bath* with the *metrêtês*, its value would be, according to Boeckh's estimate of the latter, 1993·95 Paris cubic inches, or 8·7053 English gallons; but according to the estimate of Bertheau (*Gesch.* p. 73), 1985·77 Paris cubic inches, or 8·6696 English gallons.

The Rabbinists furnish data of a different kind for calculating the value of the Hebrew measures. They estimated the *log* to be equal to six hen eggs, the cubic contents of which were ascertained by measuring the amount of water they displaced (Maimonides, *in Cel.* 17, § 10). On this basis Thenius estimated the *log* at 14·088 Paris cubic inches, or ·06147 English gallons, and the *bath* at 1014·39 Paris cubic inches, or 4·4286 gallons (*St. u. Kr.* pp. 101, 121). Again, the *log* of water is said to have weighed 108 Egyptian *drachmæ*, each equaling 61 barleycorns[17] (Maimonides, *in Peah*, 3, § 6, ed. Guisius). Thenius finds that 6588 barleycorns fill about the same space as 6 hen eggs (*St. u. Kr.* p. 112). And again, a *log* is said to fill a vessel 4 digits long, 4

[17] In the table the weight of the log is given as 104 drachms; but in this case the contents of the log are supposed to be wine. The relative weights of water and wine were as 27 to 26.

broad, and $2\frac{7}{10}$ high (Maimonides, *in Præf. Menachota*). This vessel would contain 21·6 cubic inches, or ·07754 gallon. The conclusion arrived at from these data would agree tolerably well with the first estimate formed on the notices of the molten sea.

As we are unable to decide between Josephus and the Rabbinists, we give a double estimate of the various denominations, adopting Bertheau's estimate of the *metrêtês*:—

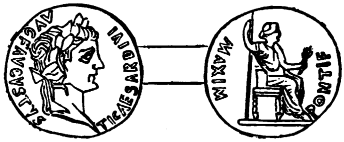
TABLE VIII.

	[*Josephus.*] Gallons.		[*Rabbinists.*] Gallons.	
Homer or Cor..........	86·696	or	44·286	$10\frac{3}{4}$ or $5\frac{1}{2}$ bushels.
Ephah or Bath	8·6696	or	4·4286	
Seah..................	2·8898	or	1·4762	
Hin...................	1·4449	or	·7381	
Omer..................	·8669	or	·4428	
Cab...................	·4816	or	·246	
Log...................	·1204	or	·0615	

In the New Testament we have notices of the following foreign measures:—(*a*) The *metrêtês* (John ii. 6; A. V. "firkin") for liquids. (*b*) The *chœnix* (Rev. vi. 6; A. V. "measure"), for dry goods. (*c*) The *xestês*, applied, however, not to the particular measure so named by the Greeks, but to any small vessel, such as a cup (Mark vii. 4, 8; A. V. "pot"). (*d*) The *modius*, similarly applied to describe any vessel of moderate dimensions (Matt. v. 15; Mark iv. 21; Luke xi. 33; A. V. "bushel"); though properly meaning a Roman measure, amounting to about a peck.

The value of the Attic *metrêtês* has been already stated to be 8·6696 gallons, and consequently the amount of liquid in six stone jars, containing on the average $2\frac{1}{2}$ *metrêtæ* each, would exceed 110 gallons (John ii. 6). Very possibly, however, the Greek term represents the Hebrew *bath*, and, if the bath be taken at the lowest estimate assigned to it, the amount would be reduced to about 60 gallons. Even this amount far exceeds the requirements for the purposes of legal purification, the tendency of Pharisaical refinement being to reduce the amount of water to a minimum, so that a quarter of a *log* would suffice for a person. The question is one simply of archæological interest, as illustrating the customs of the Jews, and does not affect the character of the miracle with which it is connected.

The *chœnix* was 1-48th of an attic *medimnus*, and contained nearly a quart. It represented the amount of corn for a day's food; and hence a *chœnix* for a penny (or *denarius*), which usually purchased a bushel (Cic. *Verr*. iii. 81), indicated a great scarcity (Rev. vi. 6).



"Denarius of Tiberius=The Tribute Penny."

Obv. TI CAESAR DIVI AVG F AVGVSTVS. Head of Tiberius, laureate, to the right (Matt. xxii. 19, 20, 21). Rev. PONTIF MAXIM. Seated female figure to the right.

"Whose is this image and superscription? They say unto him, Cæsar's."—Matt. xxii. 21

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